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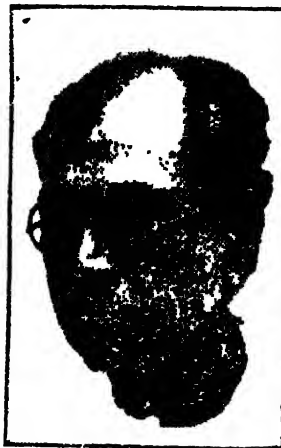
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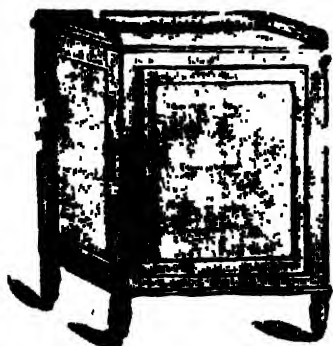
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OPINION

of

SRIJUT RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The reproduction of a photograph of mine done by the Indian Photo-Engraving Company has given me great satisfaction,

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June 18, 1927

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1934

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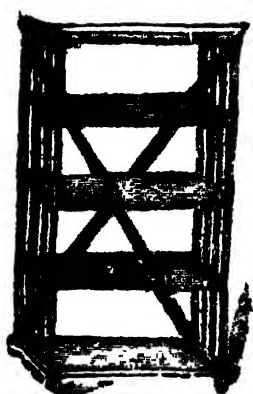
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1933

AN INTERVIEW AT GENEVA

By DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WHEN I was last in Europe three years ago arrangements were made for me to meet a group of publicists and students who had gathered from all parts of the world at Geneva in connection with the League of Nations Assembly. Questions on all sorts of topics were asked for me to reply, one or two of which refer to subjects that are of perennial interest. For instance, I was asked to give some of my ideas on Internationalism. What I spoke to them on the subject I may conveniently put down here.

“ Internationalism ” is a word that has become much too hackneyed and I don't like to talk about it because I have talked over and over again on the same subject. Possibly my idea may be somewhat different from the ideas prevalent about Internationalism at Geneva. In the first place let me tell you one fact—how I got my own inspiration from one of the greatest of my countrymen—an Indian, Rammohun Roy, who was born in 1774 and died in 1833. He was the first man I know of that time who really believed in Internationalism though he was not brought up on an English education like most of his countrymen, when young. He was a great Sanskrit scholar and knew Greek, Arabic and Persian. When quite old he also learnt English. I have never known any one so broadminded, especially in those days when these ideas had hardly any place in the history of the time. He made a comparative study of religion, and studied the Bible in the original and also the Koran of Islam. He had wonderful sympathy for all humanity and yet he was typically Indian and steeped in Indian culture.

My idea is this—that every nation has its own affairs which represent the collective worthiness of the people which is only for their own betterment. They have their own self-interest, but if they

are confined within that range of self-seeking then they become like dark stars, they do not reveal their common humanity which we all have—the wealth of man which has to be expressed in something which exceeds the boundaries of their own race and tradition. Now that we have come close to each other through easy communication it is our duty to develop that humanity which can realise deeper human unity in spite of superficial differences. I have very great faith in man and I believe that now that the opportunity has come it must develop itself as it has done in former times when we had our geographical boundaries. The individuals who were gathered within those boundaries, if they fought against each other and if they had mutual suspicion and jealousy they would perish, and I am sure there were many races who perished owing to their failing to develop those moral qualities which could unite them together. But the problem at that time was the problem of those individuals only, who by chance gathered together within certain geographical enclosures and they cultivated their own particular national culture within that limit and they produced great civilisations—Chinese, Greek, Roman, Indian. They formed themselves into different peoples, but now the problem has become much wider as politics do no longer sever individuals who have met together. In order to create a corporate life there should be developed a code of moral conduct which makes it possible for them to become one people. To do this the several races should come closer to each other and the same effort that was made within those small narrow areas in former days to save themselves from extinction has to be applied to this problem.

This spirit of mutual suspicion and exploitation of the weak by the strong can never lead to peace or to anything which is great in its wealth of humanity, and I am sure that this age which has its own message and mission is working towards this latter ideal. Without our knowing it, in different countries there are individuals who are all thinking about the same problem and it is wonderful to realise how even amidst the race conflicts and political struggles and suspicion so many associations are springing up spontaneously as it were, whose one object is to bring a spirit of reconciliation between the conflicting interests of different nations. We see that this fact is there and that means that it is working in the human mind all over the world. It is in the air and we cannot help taking up this problem; the call is sounding within us, and I can only tell you this, that it is this call I have tried to respond to, and for a long time I have been wishing to give shape to this idea of the spiritual

unity of man in my own institution and my writings. I must say I have to work patiently—one cannot have immediate results, and we do not really know the results, how it is ripening behind without our knowing it, and then when we despair, when we complain of the apathy of people and feel as if our effort has had no fruit, without our knowing it, it is all the while growing, maturing itself, and we ought to have faith. I have that faith and I hope that the mission of the age will not be wasted and ignored through the stupidity of the politicians who are leading their people into this whirlpool of war and bloodshed. The higher spirit of man will be victorious.

Nationalism when sober is right. I have no objection to it. The idea that man should have no self at all is wrong, we cannot get rid of our selves, we can get rid of our selfishness. In the same manner, nationalism when it is not the right spirit of a nation is like sentimentalism. Sentiments are not wrong in themselves, but a certain excess of sentiment is termed sentimentalism. In the same way a nation has its own self and that is valuable, we all have that difference. That is where we have the responsibility to offer the best that we have to humanity. That very right of our national self should urge us to make the best contribution to the world.

You who come from China know what happened in the East, that glorious time in India, how those messengers of peace and goodwill crossed the deserts and seas and went to your country and other countries. That was the right spirit and thereby India did not hurt itself. The light when it goes out is not lost. For the glory of one's own country we should offer something which would live for all time to come and belong to all men; only what is best should survive. We all know what of Greek history remains to-day and is working through history of man: things that do not exclusively belong to Greece but are acceptable to all humanity, not the narrow nationalism of Greece. There are nations whose names will not reach the future history of man for those acts which possibly brought to themselves certain benefit at the moment; but if they have produced anything which has eternal value for man they will be known only through this. I was saying about the Chinese that they were the least governed of all people in the world. You hardly had the burden of government imposed upon you because you had kings and different dynasties, but the civilisation of the people was widespread through all your villages and all over the country, and you had your own self-government in your own hands and through it you kept secure your own culture and developed it, your

great art, your philosophy, and all this was in spite of the government which did not however, spread all the country over; it touched only a fraction of it. And of all nations it is China alone that looks down upon militarism. Soldiers do not have any homage and admiration paid to them there. This is the one exception in the whole history of man; in all other countries they have tried to glorify the art of war and how to kill men in a militaristic manner, but I think in China they have not done so, you never were taken hold of by some centralised power too rigidly, and that power did not reach all over the country, so that part of the country was left to itself to develop its own life and culture and was not troubled by laws and regulations in the hands of one central power. You do not have to think about military problems—that was left to some professional people whose profession it was to kill men, like an executioner's—it was the executioner's profession to execute criminals, but people did not think very highly of him. Your mind was free from all that obsession, and you could think about other things, better and nobler; and of immortal works of art. That is something which was great. Your nation, because it was not too self-conscious of its own nationality, could produce its great works of art and philosophy. The self-conscious man is too conscious of his own self and that is a sort of disease, and all self-conscious nations are too much aware of their national self and we see this in the West in such a painful measure. They never forget it, and so can never come to a real solution of the peace and war problem. Their mind is not at ease and they are not in natural relation with each other. We in India are not free from this contagion which is widespread and our minds are not superior to this passion of patriotism; we are steeped in it all over. All diseases have their breeding ground in the unfortunate condition of the people who are poor and insulted and driven to fears. They have to develop this passion of nationalism to keep their self-respect which is unhealthy and demoralising like the plague which only gets its hold upon a neighbourhood that is poor. The plague of nationalism finds its breeding ground among those people who are oppressed by other nations and who have been impoverished. All the same we have one thing to our credit of which we can rightly be proud. It is the ideal of revolution without violence and brutal instruments of destruction. It must be admitted that even non-physical resistance can have the true aspect of violence though it is better than the violence which is brutally physical.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND ITS CRITICS

By SIR J. C. COYAJEE, KT.,

Professor, Andhra University

IT does not seem so long ago when the most optimistic views and roseate hopes used to be entertained about the work and potentialities of the League. We all remember the time when M. Briand, in welcoming the German Delegation to the League, asserted that "War had vanished" and bade adieu to the gun and the mitrailleuse. Optimism was rampant in those days, alike regarding the Economic task of the League and its organisation of Peace. The work of Economic reconstruction was indeed going on most hopefully with the assistance of America and of its great banking authority—Governor Strong. The echoes of war had almost died down and the great French orator and pacifist could go on to say "No more War. We do not accept the position that, in any case, for any cause, in any circumstance, war, which we have nailed to the pillory as a crime shall again go unpunished." Much of this optimism was no doubt created by the influence of the three great promoters of political and economic peace who have now passed away—Briand, Stresemann and Strong. But no doubt there is such a thing as rhythm and ebb and flow in public opinion on all important matters. At the present day we are witnessing a flood of criticism and an alarming diffidence in the matter of the League. Perhaps when we examine the facts of the case we shall find that the present mood of pessimism has been as exaggerated as the former optimism had been overdue. The main charges against the League are that it has failed to check the Jingo policy of Japan and China and that it has shown undue hesitation regarding the achievement of the objects of the Disarmament Conference, but suspicion when once roused is apt to become hydra-headed; and many other counts are brought forward against the League. It is believed in some quarters that behind the façade of the League the Old Diplomacy has taken up its residence sheltered and concealed perhaps by the personnel of the League Secretariate. The policy of the League, its moral courage and its personnel have become simultaneously the objects of widespread suspicion. It is the object

of all well-wishers of the cause of Peace and of International co-operation to sift these accusations thoroughly and to see whether there is any measure of truth in them.

A preliminary consideration presents itself to our minds before we enter upon any detailed study of the League's policy. The decade or so of life which the League has enjoyed is surely too short for basing a proper judgment on its policy and achievements. Let us take as an illustration of this idea the history of the Concert of Europe which has been justly termed "one of the most successful experiments towards International Government prior to 1914." Casting a glance at the fortunes of that Concert we find that, although projected as far back as 1791 and planned in 1804, it began its effective career only in the twenties and thirties of the nineteenth century. It entered then on the period of its maturity and height of power; but even then it failed to prevent several wars of great importance, the Crimean War, the war between France and Austria over the Italian question, the war between Germany and Austria, and finally the Franco-German War. As its historian Prof. Mowat observes, the Concert was sensibly growing weak after the Franco-German War. He goes on to define the narrow scope of its work by observing that "the Concert of Europe could restrain small states and could thus help to maintain the treaty system of Europe. It could, if given a chance, tide over a war crisis even between Great Powers. But if a Great Power deliberately chose to break an engagement, the conquered could not call it to account." This was the position of the Concert of Europe after seven or eight decades of active life, and at a time when the political equilibrium of Europe was far better established than it is at present.

To take a fresh example, we might note with advantage how slow and hesitating has been the progress of another great institution dealing though it does with the status and mutual relationships of the members of a single Empire. From this aspect the history of the Imperial Conferences of the British Empire is very instructive as regards our present line of study of the League. For there have arisen varied interpretations of the reports of these Conferences. Thus, there have come forward important problems as regards the development of diplomatic representation on the part of individual Dominions. Other questions have come up as to how far a treaty concluded by the United Kingdom can bind the Dominions, and also as to how far they have a right to be consulted in the matter of the conclusion of these treaties. There are outstanding problems regard-

ing the extent of the sovereignty of the Dominions. These are only a few illustrations of the complicated questions which have come forward as the result of the Conferences to simplify and determine the mutual relations of the Dominions belonging to one Empire. As Sir Arthur Keith, the great authority on this subject, has observed, "there is much that remains obscure in Imperial relations" and "much must be done to clarify the position before final pronouncements either on constitutional or international status will be possible." The problems of the League, which is almost co-extensive with the civilised world and which has not only to determine the mutual political relations of its members but to organise International co-operation on the wider scale and for the most varied objects, must be far more complicated than those of an Empire, and cannot be expected to be solved in a decade or so.

To revert for a moment to the case of the Concert of Europe we notice that the League began its career under much worse auspices than the Concert. The League had on its hand at once the baneful legacy of the Treaty of Versailles and the imminent Economic Depression—the greatest economic blizzard that the world has ever witnessed. On the political side the former equilibrium of Europe had entirely disappeared. If Count Beust had lived until the year 1919 he could have used the words "*je ne vois plus l'Europe*" with far greater justice than he did after the year 1870. Instead of the old system of Europe there was only a much aggrandised France and its little Entente allies on the one hand and the hungry, desperate crowd of defeated belligerents on the other. Further, the two sources of *malaise*, the political and the economic, reacted on each other and as a consequence each of these factors grew from bad to worse. With the deepening of the political troubles the clouds of Depression soon lost any silver lining that they ever had. The maintenance of peace for over a decade under the conditions is something of a miracle. Everything seemed to be contributing to the increase of armaments and the imminence of war. The statistics of armament have never shown such a steep upward curve. The victorious allies increased their military predominance, while France itself was turned into a huge fortress. Such increase of armaments on the one side added to the bitterness of the countries which had been compulsorily disarmed. On the top of all this an intense and incessant economic warfare was being carried on in the ruthless spirit engendered by the Depression. It was in the midst of these most disheartening circumstances that the spirit of co-operation with

which the League imbued its members bore fruit, and the exchange of views at Locarno succeeded, at least for a time, not only in turning the world from the path leading straight to a political and economic *debacle*, but gave an entirely new orientation to the world. Had that spirit survived, and had power remained in the hands of those leaders who had been responsible for the work at Locarno, the world would have been spared some of its greatest political and economic trials and the policy, work and spirit of the League would have been brilliantly and once for all vindicated. But in the world as it is actually constituted final progress is only achieved at the cost of numerous and severe set-backs. The League was soon to be faced by greater trials and difficulties.

It must be noted also that much of the present disappointment as regards the League is due to a mistaken conception of the true character of the League—and indeed there has been an inevitable ambiguity about its nature. Thus one school of thought has gone so far as to express the view that the League was a sort of Super-state. No doubt when the idea of the League was first mooted it was implied that it was to be “the sole and final arbiter in international relations,” and that, in so far as the sovereignty of the member states was thus limited by its very existence, the League was a Super-state. Another view, which has also prevailed widely, was that the League was a Confederation of states. As a matter of fact the first view, that the League has the character of a Super-state, is only a distant idea; and so was the latter view also. There were tendencies which would result in the remote future in developing the League into either a Confederation or a Super-state—tendencies based upon and favoured by the expanding forces of Democracy and Internationalism. But there are also other forces to be taken into account which are tending in the opposite direction. The old ideas of state sovereignty and of its absolute character in the field of foreign policy particularly are very much alive; and the real position and the power of the League results from a compromise between these opposed forces. The member-states are very reluctant to part with material elements of their sovereignty, especially in the matter of international relations. The result is an atavistic reversion on the most important occasions to the older conceptions and procedure of diplomacy. At the utmost, the League has the character of a loose confederation, and whether it will develop further depends upon the march of public opinion. Under such conditions to expect that forcible action from it which can emanate only from an all-powerful Super-state is to look

forward to an impossibility. It would be far more logical to be content with the realistic conception of the League held by authorities like Prof. M. O. Hudson and to envisage the League as only a *method* of international co-operation through the medium of Conferences, the Council of the League and through other League machinery. Even so, as has been well observed by an eminent student of international administration like Mr. C. Delisle Burns, "the efficacy of the method is not certain. It depends upon the survival of reason and sanity not only among statesmen but among the groups which believe in war. But the system and the method have so far proved efficacious in preventing resort to armed force on the part of any government even for the defence of what it believes to be its legitimate interests."

This then is the true and proper point of view to take up in judging of the work of the League in its most recent phases. Let us examine whether that method was applied sincerely, persistently and in its full integrity by the League to, say, the Manchurian problem and to the Disarmament question which have been so often treated as the criteria of the efficacy and moral courage of the League. The Manchurian affair might be taken up first as an exemplification of the application of the method of the League in applying pressure to a member state suspected of straying into the paths of belligerency. We shall see how there were different phases of the application of such pressure upon Japan. The first phase consists of the measures taken by the Council of the League on this important occasion. A high American authority (Mr. Felix Morley) has contended that the achievement of the Council in this respect was by no means inconsiderable. "In spite of the tremendous advantage given to a single recalcitrant member by the unanimity rule, the Council was able to make Japan go clearly on record as having 'no territorial designs' in Manchuria or elsewhere in China, and to secure pledges of withdrawal of Japanese troops into the zones where they are permitted by treaty 'as soon as possible.'" Another point gained by the Council was to make Japan consent to the appointment of a commission of enquiry and indeed to share half the expenses of the commission. Mr. Morley adds that on three important points the Council "definitely overruled the Japanese government and forced its compliance with policies which Tokio had ably and resolutely opposed." In the first instance Japan had to yield to the decision to invite the United States to sit with the Council. In the second place it was decided that "Article 15 of the Covenant could properly be invoked without prejudice to measure already initiated under Article 11. The third was

referring the whole dispute to the Assembly where Japan's position was much weaker and less easily defended than was the case before the Council." (Felix Morley, *The Society of Nations*, pages 494-96.) The importance of these views of such a neutral, judicious and first-hand observer of the Sino-Japanese dispute before the Council is obvious. It is well to note that he gives due credit to the Council for its vigorous and well-meant efforts to settle the dispute and attributes its failure to settle the dispute not to any want of courage on its part, but partly to the deficiencies of the Covenant and partly to the fact that none of the permanent members of the Council was willing to exert more than moral pressure. The fact is that the great Powers could not put aside thoughts of their national and individual interests when envisaging the affairs in Manchuria. The Continental powers had also to bear in mind that the vigorous and effectual operation of the League in Manchuria might set up a precedent for similar contingencies on the Continent. The blame therefore, if any, attaches to such Powers and not to the League or to its Council.

The next phase of the dispute was before the Assembly. There, even more than in the Council, the temper of the majority showed itself to be strongly favourable to the Chinese cause. Delegate after delegate showed his anxiety for the withdrawal of the Japanese forces from Manchuria and for its evacuation. The delegate of Switzerland asserted that "the principle of the withdrawal of the Japanese forces could no longer be questioned." Speaking for the Irish Free State, Mr. Connelly refused "to recognise a state set up under the condition which have operated in Manchuria." On behalf of Czechoslovakia, M. Benes urged that the machinery of the League must be applied to the case of Manchuria because, otherwise, all countries would make exceptions and might in future bring forward similar arguments to settle their disputes without reference to the Covenant. Then followed the dicta of two eminent jurists on the problem before the Assembly. M. Politis stated carefully the limitations on the right of self-defence put forward by Japan. In the first place, under the League system and the Kellogg Pact, no state can evade a discussion of such action by other member-States; and, in the second place, such alleged measures of self-defence must in their nature be "subjected to the sovereign appreciation of the Council or of the Assembly." M. Madariaga, representing Spain, argued that in upholding the principles of the Covenant the League would be maintaining the permanent interests of Japan itself. There would be no case for the existence of

either the League or the Covenant if the world was convinced "that Article 10 permits of Chinese Manchuria becoming Japanese Manchukuo, that Article 12 allows of military invasion becoming permanent, and that the principles of the Covenant must be waived in exceptional cases or in future all cases are and always will be exceptional cases." The Great Powers also were for conciliation, but obviously, the smaller countries felt more on the subject and four of them moved a resolution against the recognition of Manchukuo and against considering Japanese actions as measures of legitimate self-defence.

During the third phase of the dispute the matter was brought before the Committee of Nineteen. It made clear that the Pact of Paris and the Nine Power Treaty should be respected and that, following the concluding chapters of the Lytton Report, there should be a definite non-recognition of Manchuria.

Thus we see that, at each stage, considerable pressure was put upon Japan and this in spite of the fact that Japan was by no means without a case or without great provocations. International co-operation can only be based on the willing co-operation of nations, and there are many who doubt whether China is entitled to all the implications of nationality in its present fissiparous and chaotic condition. The just treaty rights of Japan were repeatedly assailed by the war-lords and peace-lords of China. As a distinguished publicist has observed, "China proceeded to assail the privileged position of Japan not by war, but by methods of chicanery and by the boycott. Under the old order Japan would have been fully entitled to seek redress for herself, under the new order, she had renounced this right; but what was the alternative to using it? The League had no effective power to help. China could always plead that the anarchy in Manchuria was beyond her control and could produce ample evidence of similar disorder elsewhere in her vast muddle of a realm." Indeed there are not wanting writers like Mr. Bland who has argued, in his book on *China. The Pity of It*, that owing to the special conditions of China the Nine Power Treaty had ceased to apply even before Japanese movement into Manchuria. Thus those authorities are obviously right who argue that the Sino-Japanese dispute contained all the elements of the most arduous task which could ever face the League.

There can be no doubt that Japan would have succumbed to the pressure brought upon it by the world opinion which the League had mobilized against it but for the existence of very special conditions which materially strengthened Japanese hands. America, England

and other countries were preoccupied with the Depression and other most urgent problems. Thus, America had on its hands its great Banking Crisis and the phenomenal growth of unemployment. England and continental countries had their own problems to face. With the rise of Hitlerism Europe entered on a new crisis of a most formidable character and was broken up into opposed camps. The problems of Reparations and War debts were also engrossing public attention. Russia also could not afford to interrupt her Five Years Plan and she was apprehensive that she was also open to aggression by the military power of Japan. Thus everything favoured Japan in her aims on Manchuria. With anything like normal conditions Japan must have yielded to the world's opinion. As it was, the political and economic distress of the world favoured her to a most exceptional extent and proportionately reduced the power of the League to take effective measures against Japan.

We now come to examine the second of the two aspects of the League's work upon which the critics love to dilate. One has only to cast a glance at the successive efforts of the League in the field of Disarmament in order to appreciate the persistence and intensity of that work. Here the League had to attempt to meet the needs and views of certain of the former Allies who emphasised—or perhaps over-emphasized—the idea of security for themselves as well as to envisage the task of general disarmament. We need only enumerate the various phases of the League's attempt at a solution of these difficulties. The appointment of the Temporary Mixed Committee and the proposals regarding the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance formed the first phase of this long effort. At the next stage, attention was concentrated on the Geneva Protocol which however failed on account of the attitude of the Japanese delegation to the total condemnation of war, the opposition of some other delegations to the extension of their obligations under Article 16, and the fall of the Labour Government in the United Kingdom. But the determination to secure disarmament was invincible and a very promising situation was created by the Locarno Agreements and by the entry of Germany into the League. These happenings appeared to have opened a new era in the history of disarmament. Then came the suggestion of the idea of a treaty of financial help to the victims of military aggression. Finally, a Preparatory Commission was created on December 12, 1925, for preparing the Draft Disarmament Convention—a task which was achieved early in 1933 after several years' incessant work. As this Convention however did

not secure the approbation of several delegations, even as a basis of discussion, it was left to Mr. MacDonald to step into the breach and to present a new Draft Convention. This Convention was an admirable piece of synthesis and presented many valuable features. It proposed the prohibition of chemical, bacteriological and incendiary weapons. Then there were proposals for a supervision of civil aviation and for the abolition, or at least a severe limitation, of military and naval aircraft. Further, there was the idea of maximum specification for the calibre of guns and the tonnage of tanks. A most important item consisted of the putting down of maxima for armies—maxima which were much lower than the actuals of the day. As regards security it was attempted to meet the French point of view by provisions for a further development of the Pact of Paris, and for the uniform organization of continental land forces.

The compromise proposed by Mr. MacDonald also met a most important issue of the Disarmament problem, *viz.*, the claim of Germany to military equality. In fact the task of disarmament had been rendered immensely more complicated by the determination of Germany to enforce its claim to equality at all costs. It cannot be doubted for a moment that, but for the existence and persistent activity of the League, this claim would have led forthwith to a European war. In assessing this claim on the part of Germany the League had to bear in mind opposite considerations. Morally, if not technically, the claim of Germany to an equality of armaments was indisputably strong. But then a great war would have been very near indeed if Germany had been allowed to arm fully in defiance of the Versailles Treaty, and further, to use this piece of successful defiance as a precedent for breaches of the Treaty of Versailles on her Eastern frontier. Hence the need for a skilful compromise like the one suggested by Mr. MacDonald. While Germany was promised ultimate equality, there was provided a five years' period of transition for this equalisation, as well as a general undertaking not to resort to force—all elements making for peace. The issues of the subject of disarmament had been notably cleared and narrowed, and a programme had been arrived at to which something like general consent could have been extended. Unfortunately the idea has been wrecked, at least for the time being, by one of the excesses of Nationalism in Europe. The French delegate indeed went so far as to offer Germany an eventual equality of land armaments on the Swiss militia basis. But Germany made other proposals which could not be accepted. For example, it urged that

"a decision should be taken on the limitation of permitted war material before pronouncing on the principle of the standardisation of arm types." It also claimed the right to all types of weapons not prohibited to others. It is clear that the responsibility for the present set-back of the cause of disarmament is to be attributed, not to the League but to the excesses of Nationalism in certain quarters. The disappointment felt generally on the subject is however tempered by the reflection that the League will soon find some way to carry forward the work of disarmament.

Summing up the experience of the League in its work in the cause of disarmament, Prof. Alfred Zimmern thus indicates the main factor on which success must depend in the matter. "It is not the looseness of the new international system which endangers its working, but the lack of that which holds the British Commonwealth together, a common political outlook. It is on this supreme need, rather than on propaganda against armaments and other symptoms of the old order, that the peace movement should have concentrated." At present all that unites the partisans of the League and of the Disarmament is the negative philosophy "of the common fear of war." What is required is the coming into vogue of a changed political outlook which alone can make a success of the League as a co-operative system. This insistence of Prof. Zimmern on a change of psychology is fully justified. In that sense there is a good deal of truth in a paradoxical statement by Dr. Fedor Vergin in his recent work on, *Subconscious Europe*: "The League of Nations would be an effective factor in the cause of peace if only its governing idea were not registration but the psychological investigation of the differences by which nations are divided."

Too often the critics of the League concentrate their discussions on the two questions of Manchuria and the Disarmament, and conveniently neglect numerous other problems which the League has solved or is solving. Thus it has solved the question between Columbia and Peru over Leticia. As the delegate of Mexico remarked on the occasion it was a "historical moment which was an auspicious date for the cause of peace and the moral prestige of the League of Nations." The hostilities between the two countries were terminated by the acceptance of the Council's recommendations. About the same time the trouble between Denmark and Norway regarding Greenland was also adjusted by reference to the World Court. Norway had alleged that it had occupied certain portions of Greenland; and against this procedure Denmark appealed to the Court which decided in its favour.

The critics of the League also ignore the outstanding success of the Mandate policy of the League which has given such an important check to the policy of Imperialism and of exploitation of backward nations. Mr. H. R. G. Greaves who is a critical but fully enlightened writer on numerous aspects of the League's work has observed that "the Mandates Commission is steadily building up in print, as well as by personal contact, generally acceptable principles for colonial government. The influence of this extends far beyond the territories immediately under its supervision. The more publicity is given, the more definite does the influences become." He also notices that when a Mandatory Power has been considered to be remiss, the Commission has been "severely critical." But the admirable work of Mr. Greaves on the League Committees and World Order was written too early to provide us with an account of the brilliant success of the Mandate regime in Iraq. This is no place again for giving an account of the League's most important and successful work of the promotion of public health throughout the world and for the suppression of the Drugs Traffic. But it might be mentioned that in the midst of the Manchurian trouble and the Economic Depression the work of the League is being carried on triumphantly in both these directions. On the side of the Drug Traffic there has been reached the new Convention for the Limitation of Manufactures and the Regulation of the distribution of Narcotic Drugs of 1931. It might be added that sufficient ratifications have by now been received to allow the Convention to come into operation. It supplements and completes the Hague Convention of 1912 as well as the Geneva Convention of 1925. This is so because it contemplates a triple system of control of the manufacture and distribution of drugs. In the first place there is an international control in the shape of annual estimates fixing the limits of manufacture and of trade. Then there is a national control through factory and wholesale licences. Finally, there is provided a supplementary international control through the instrumentality of the examination of the statistics of manufactures and trade. It has been noted that "this is the first time that the manufacture of any product has been completely subordinated, as an economic measure, to humanitarian and moral considerations." It is even anticipated in some quarters that the Convention might serve as a precedent for the organisation of the control of the manufacture of and trade in armaments.

The latest aspect of the development of the League's policy in promoting public health is the assistance that has been given to

China by sending a number of sanitary experts on temporary missions, including the survey of medical education in China, and a plan for reorganising the quarantine service. But such assistance on the part of the League is by no means confined to China. The League's permanent commission on Biological Standardisation has been working for years. The Health Centre at Athens is now in full activity. In the Union of South Africa a Conference of Directors of Public Health Services in certain African territories has been summoned with the assistance of the Health Organisation of the League to discuss public health matters of common concern to the various districts of Central and South Africa and in need of urgent solution. In Paris the international School of Advanced Health Studies is being started under the auspices of the League. These few examples will show the vast scope and importance of the activities of the Health Organisation of the League.

The economic work of the League is not second in importance to any other aspect of its activities, and it has been becoming more intensified with the advent and progress of the Economic Depression. With the creation of the Economic Committee of the League this portion of the League's work has been constantly growing in value. A great and long campaign has been carried on for the improvement of the national and international commercial policies and for the abolition of trade restrictions of all kinds. In 1824 the Conference for the abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions was held and efforts were made for improving the treatment of foreigners in commercial matters. Soon after, in 1927, the first World Economic Conference was held and it formed the most important stage in the economic work of the League. Its deliberations and report were of the highest value, and had the world given anything like a fair trial to the recommendations of the Conference the intensity of the present Depression would have been greatly reduced. That report dealt with the problems of commerce, of customs tariffs and of commercial policy and treaties. On the industrial side it made important proposals regarding Rationalization and international industrial agreements. It further considered the problems and potentialities of agriculture and emphasized the interdependence of agriculture, industries and commerce.

Although in the end the world did not adopt fully the recommendations of the Conference, the League carried on its work to give a new impulse to commercial policy. At its Assemblies the idea of Economic Disarmament was constantly kept to the fore and

the alternative policies of the complete most-favoured-nation policy and of some modifications of it, at least during the period of Depression, were repeatedly discussed. There were also negotiations for a "Customs truce." These well-meant efforts of the League were denied their full results by the rising tide of Depression which compelled the nations to resort to desperate expedients in order to secure somehow a favourable balance of exports, which was a matter of life and death for so many of them, in a period of such distress.

The World Economic Conference of 1933 was a fresh and very hopeful effort in the direction of the wise regulation of the economic policies of the world and of the amelioration of the Economic Depression. No conference could have been more timely and none could have had its ground better charted or prepared. Its programme was most comprehensive and the world entertained the highest expectations of it. Nevertheless, there has been a suspension of its work on account of divergencies of national economic policies. The fact has not been generally noticed that the prolonged battle between Inflationism and the Policy of price stabilization which has been raging throughout the post-war period found its climax at the present Conference—with very regrettable results. America sees before it a brilliant opportunity, not only of solving most of her economic troubles, but also of getting a start of other countries by adopting a policy of steady Reflation. Consequently, the President as well as his advisers threw over the idea of stabilization, although that ideal had been put in the fore-front of the programme which the President himself had expounded only a few weeks ago. The idea of any immediate exchange stabilization was disparagingly placed among "the old fetishes of so-called international bankers." It was also implied in the American proposal that, so far as the United States were concerned, the day of the return to an international gold standard should be considered as postponed *sine die*. But even from the point of view of national self-interest of the United States the policy of Inflation of an isolated character seems open to serious dangers. As Prof. T. E. Gregory has pointed out, anything like the use of the great powers of Inflation placed in the hands of Mr. Roosevelt might easily cause "a flight from the dollar." Then, again, should a determined Inflationist effort on the part of America drive the "gold-bloc" off gold the world would see a fall instead of a rise of prices. A similar result would appear if that policy of America would shake the position of the pound in the sterling-bloc. The same

economist has pointed out that the Inflationist programme of America has so far been of a very vague character and has failed to define the fundamental point—the price level which is proposed to be attained in that country as the result of the Inflation.

But not all the blame should be placed upon America in this matter, and the gold-bloc too has to shoulder its full share of it. They pushed forward their views regarding the return to gold and the stabilization of gold prices in too uncompromising a spirit. It was open to them to gain the co-operation of America by going a little way on the road to a Reflation strictly and internationally regulated. For there can be no question about the necessity of at least a moderate rise of world prices. Had they made proposals for such co-operation, the President and his advisers would have been obliged to make their programme of Inflation more concrete. In this way a clear idea could have been arrived at as to the extent of the rise of prices contemplated by the United States. The alarm that has been felt in the gold-bloc countries regarding the effects of the American proposals for Inflation could have been in this way sensibly abated. But, further, there were other problems before the Conference as to which co-operation was always possible ; and deliberation could have been carried on during the period necessary for a *rapprochement*. Thus an effort could have been made to tackle the problems of the rising flood of tariffs and the deterioration of commercial policy in general. It is much to be regretted that such opportunities have not been availed of. Nevertheless, it is well to note the general hope that the work will be continued under the auspices of the League and on the lines of the Conference ; for, thanks to the League, the idea of international co-operation on economic lines has been too deeply ingrained to be easily upset (not to say eradicated) by any temporary discouragement. We can still envisage the undertaking of more spade-work and the resumption of the tasks of the Conference at no distant date. Indeed, any further economic difficulties that America might encounter would have the effect of instilling into that country the lessons of a steady co-operation with the League. As it is, the co-operation of America with the League has been of a wavering and spasmodic character. Thus during the Manchurian discussions America showed an intense zeal for action by the League. On the other hand, in the course of the Conference of 1933 the anxiety for co-operation has become "small by degrees and beautifully less."

Although for the time being the Economic Depression and the

political troubles of Europe had acted as brakes on the activities of the League yet it can be confidently expected that these very factors will teach the lessons of widening and deepening international co-operation. As a result the scope and efficacy of the League's work must necessarily expand. No doubt there has been manifested in some cases a tendency to revert to the former individualistic methods of diplomacy, and it has been pointed out that the Three Power Pact in London regarding Naval Disarmament as well as the separate discussions on the question of Reparations form illustrations of that tendency. As against this, it might be pointed out, however, that such individualistic or group diplomacy has not as yet secured any marked success in its efforts to avoid the forum of the League. Consequently this tendency to revert to the older methods of diplomacy is sure to meet with discouragement. Even supposing these attempts had met with some success, such partial successes in the sphere of disarmament would only have prepared the ground for carrying out the League's comprehensive task of general disarmament.

Nevertheless, it is the duty of the member-states and governments to check consciously such reversions to pre-war diplomacy. As has been suggested by Mr. Felix Morley, "the principle of direct contact between specialists with executive authority in their home governments has already done something to modify traditional national ideas of sovereignty." A time will come when the foreign Ministers or even the Prime Ministers of different states might have seats on the Council of the League. In any case what is essentially wanted is what Mr. Delisle Burns calls the modernization of Diplomacy. As he has justly pointed out, such modernized diplomacy will go beyond the ideas of "close" and selfish states and "assumes the existence of a state system in which each state is only a part"—a system which further accepts its inspiration from the League. Such a change in the methods of diplomacy must in its turn be based on the realisation and "understanding of the changed character of government in modern times." For it is obvious that, as that author remarks, the state is rapidly extending its functions, and many of these functions require co-operation across state frontiers. Consequently even the possibility of a war renders the performance of such functions either difficult or imperfect. It is therefore that diplomacy should learn the lesson that "the preparation for future war is obsolete." Here again it is the progress of public opinion that will count in remodelling diplomacy. Prof. Alfred Zimmermann has emphasized the fact very recently that "in spite of the defects which

time has revealed in the Covenant, there exists to-day the scattered elements of a co-operative world organization in the Kellogg Pact, the Locarno Agreements and the Covenant of the League of Nations. But there is no automatic machinery to hold it together." Such a binding force can only be exercised by public opinion; and it is only when that public opinion is properly developed and has become vocal that the League can become the fully efficient and successful instrument of International Co-operation. .

ELEMENTS OF NEW GERMANY *

By DR. HERBERT RICHTER,

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I AM much obliged to your great poet who gave me the opportunity to speak before you about Germany's recent political development.

You know how difficult it is to understand events which happen in foreign countries. The man in the street gets his political information from his daily paper, and generally he is inclined to believe it. It is the duty of the intelligentsia to study things more thoroughly and without prejudice. In the following I shall try to give you a true impression of present Germany. I intend to convince you rather more by facts than by persuasion and I shall be glad if I can succeed in my purpose to contribute to the mutual understanding between two great countries, the more as most friendly cultural relations always existed between India and Germany.

The making of the National Socialistic Movement is closely connected with after-war politics. The stupendous rise of National-Socialism directly results from the political and economical conditions under which Germany was compelled to live under the so-called Treaty of Versailles. But these influences from outside would not have been sufficient to create new Germany, and the break-down of the liberal parliamentary system would not have been so complete, if not the ideological basis of the constitution had been shaken and undermined long before. Our great philosopher Hegel said Reality cannot resist when the world of the ideas becomes revolutionized. *Ideas* as well as political and economical *facts* and currents have been active in order to establish a new regime.

Consequently I shall give you firstly a short survey of the after-war period, and after I shall design the lines of Germany's recent ideological development from which finally the present political situation was derived.

The *Treaty of Versailles* which was imposed upon defenceless Germany in June 1919, can rightly be considered one of the most brutal peace-treaties of modern history. I only mention here its most outstanding paragraphs.

* A lecture delivered at the Viswa-Bharati, Santiniketan, under the presidency of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

Surrender of Alsace and Lorraine to France, Posen, Western Prussia and Upper Silesia to Poland.

Handing over of all our Oversea-posessions to the Allies.

Separation of the Free City of Danzig and of the Saar District from Germany.

Reduction of the army to the standard of 100,000 men without any kind of modern equipment, as airplanes, tanks, heavy guns, etc.

Surrender of almost the whole navy and mercantile fleets to the Allies.

Obligation to pay all war damages, including pensions to war widows, orphans, veterans, etc., of all ex-enemies. Occupation of the Rhineland for a period of 15 years.

But not contented with the paragraphs which deprived us of our material wealth and strength the victorious Powers also tried to affect our national honour, to humiliate us and to denounce us for ever as the outlaws of mankind. We were coerced to acknowledge our sole responsibility for the war and to concede the extradition of our leaders, amongst them even Field Marshal Hindenburg, the present chief of our State. This latter paragraph never has been fulfilled owing to the exasperated and united resistance of the whole nation but it never has been formally abolished and clearly shows the spirit of the so-called peace-treaty and its originators. World opinion is beginning to consider that Treaty as the greatest wrong ever done to a civilized nation. The Allies had pretended during the war to fight for peace and justice, for liberty and democracy. They had declared not to fight against the German nation, but only against her leading class, her Dynasties, her so-called, "militarists and squires." Peace could be concluded easily, they had said, if the German people got rid of that sinister set of Prussian generals and land-owners and adopted a constitution on a parliamentary and democratic basis. President Wilson in his famous 14 points solemnly had promised peace on an ethical basis, and the German people, after a struggle of more than four years against an overwhelming coalition finally had yielded to the enemies' promises. Trusting upon the American President's declaration, our exhausted, but still resisting army retired from its strongholds in France and Belgium. In the dark winter of 1918-19 Germany changed into a democratic republic. It was the most dreary period of our history: people at home worn out by the then four years' lasting hunger-blockade, our youths lying in the graves on the battlefields in France and Belgium, in Italy, Russia, Palestine, Mesopotamia or on the bottom of the sea, those left behind

with the bitter feeling that their sacrifice was made in vain, the soldiers who have returned from the front fighting in the towns against the bolshevist revolt, law and order hardly maintained. In those days of *hopeless depression, of anarchy, of civil war and complete national enervation*, Germany's political transformation was accomplished more or less in accordance with the request of the victors. But as you have heard before, the political change had not the least influence on the decisions of the Peace Conference. Completely disarmed while the allied troops were standing on the Rhine, we had to accept the enemies' dictation, and before the constitution of the newly created Republic was formally adopted, her ministers had to sign the Treaty of Versailles. The connection between revolution, defeat and Republic was a bad start for the new State and German patriots never forgot that the Republic was born in the worst period of our history.

The victorious powers though they had praised the democratic and parliamentary system as the highest status to be aimed at did not do anything in order to make this system popular with the German people. During the first five years after the war, the unsettled problem of the so-called reparations was used as an instrument to encroach Germany's political and economical reconstruction. The total amount of the reparations which had not yet been nominated in the Treaty of Versailles was fixed in the ultimatum of London on the 5th May 1921, on 13,200 crores of gold marks that meant, then, about 10,000 crores of Rupees. As this phantastic sum could not be paid by gold or paper-money, a certain percentage of its value had to be delivered in goods. These material deliveries permanently served as a pretext for further intervention of the Allied Powers. On the end of 1922, the French delegates of the Commission of Reparations found certain irregularities in the shipment of woods and although the same amounted only to a few hundred telegraph posters, it was a sufficient justification for the French to occupy with military forces the whole of the Ruhr valley, our most important industrial district. This automatically stopped our payments of any kind. The passive resistance of the German population in the Ruhr taxed the capacity of the government to the utmost, for the government had not only to pay for the upkeep of the occupation army but also had to care and provide for the many hundred-thousands of fugitives and the transferred population. The government had also to pay to the industrial firms in the occupied area at least the wages and the salaries of employees who could not work during the occupation period. This drain upon the German finance was so terrific

that it gave the final impetus to what is known to the world as inflation of the German Mark.

After the provisional settlement of the problem of Reparations by the so-called *Dawes* plan, and later, by the *Young* plan an end of the reparation payments was definitely agreed last year at the Conference of Lausanne. Finally economical reflections proceeded to political aspirations and resentments of revenge. But the recognition of economical facts came too late. In the meantime our reparation payments and deliveries had strongly contributed to the outbreak of the economical crisis under which the whole world is still suffering. It does not need a special knowledge of political economy to see that international payments such as the reparations can be brought up only by enforced exports of the debtor country. Germany had to increase her exports in order to get the exchange which was necessary for the reparations. These our exports of course meant a strong competition to the same countries which were our reparation-creditors. The creditors in order to prevent the undesired competition raised their custom duties, so at the same time forbidding the imports of German goods and depriving Germany of its only means to fulfil her financial obligations. It was a vicious circle, which checked international trade and worsened unemployment firstly in Germany but subsequently in other countries too.

Though the problem of the reparations has now been settled there remains another question to be solved—the question of disarmament. As I mentioned before, Germany had been compelled to dissolve her army which was based on compulsory conscription. We were forced to drop it and to adopt a military system which does not correspond either to our history and tradition or to our geographic situation in the centre of Europe amidst neighbours who are armed to the teeth. Our present army of 100,000 men is not allowed to have heavy guns, tanks or aircraft. Even anti-aircraft artillery has been forbidden so that Germany is defenceless against bombing squadrons. Although our present army is well trained, it would be helpless in a modern war.

According to the Treaty of Versailles Germany's disarmament was meant to be the first step on the way to general disarmament. For 12 years the whole world has been kept waiting for that general disarmament and the last Disarmament Conference had to be adjourned without any hope that the next one will come to better results. The present status which makes a nation of 65 millions defenceless is unbearable for us. It creates a feeling of uncertainty which paralyzes

economical activities. Besides we have to ask why the League of Nations has been founded and dozens of non-aggression treaties have been concluded when other nations apparently do not trust these international guarantees, but only rely on their swords. *It is the fault of the victorious Powers* that our people became extremely suspicious against the phrases of pacifism and international understanding as they are used in Geneva. Pacifism had widely spread over Germany after the war. Even now, we do not ask for re-armament, only for equality of status. But it is no wonder that we try to awaken our youth to a strong patriotic spirit, as this is the only way to maintain our national existence. Even in a condition of military weakness a nation can be strong if she is united. It was this feeling which mainly made Germany ripe for the national-socialist revolution. In our condition we cannot afford any more the luxury of parties and parliaments with their fruitless talks and criticism but we have to stick together under one strong leadership. So, from outside, the Allies themselves made the parliamentary system unpopular in Germany. On the other hand it cannot be denied—and herewith I come to our internal development—that the policy carried on by our own parties was not suitable to instigate constructive work.

The young Republic was backed by Socialists, Democrats, and by the Catholic Centre Party whilst the Opposition mainly was formed by the Nationalists and later by the National-Socialists. The Socialist party's programme was based on the ideas of Marx, whose standard work "Capital" is known to you, as I suppose, either in its full contents or in its fundamental lines. The Socialist ideology is absolutely materialistic. Marx only recognizes economical interests as the decisive influence in the life of individuals as well as in history. From that conception, Marx comes to the conclusion that the last aim of human development is the material welfare of the society. As Marx believes that only material conditions and tendencies are efficient in the making of mankind he only recognizes the existence of groups of men who are connected by common economical interest, the so-called "classes." Marx emphasized on the international solidarity of the Proletarians of the whole world.

He taught them to consider the capitalists of their own country as their most dangerous enemies. Marx denied the existence of nations as those are formed by elements, which have no room in his historico-philosophical system, as race, language, culture, religion, etc. In accordance with Marx, citizens have to fight only for the dictatorship of the Proletariat, never for liberty and welfare of the nation.

The German Socialists though some of their leaders were honest and disinterested men not without patriotic feeling, never got rid of those Marxist ideas which spread more and more over the hand-working classes and alienated them to their natural love for nation and country.

The democratic party, which in the after-war period shared the government with the socialists, had different views on the political and economical organization of the state. Its ideas originated from the French Revolution. "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity for everybody" It is undeniable that the promulgation of these ideas, once, meant a step forward in the development of mankind and that the declaration of the "Right of man" was a necessity in a century of tyranny and absolutism. During the last century, the postulates of the great Revolution were more and more adopted by all nations and classes and changed into an unlimited individualism. Individualism, transferred to the economical sphere justified the rising of capitalism and the exploitation of the economically weak classes by a few enterprising capitalists. Politically, individualism undermined the feeling of social responsibility and national duty, and morally, it led to the decomposition of every ethical and religious bond. Unlimited individualism actually means egoism which is opposed to the commandments of every high ethics and religion.

Although Socialists, especially in the first years after the war, ruled the State without having to face any important opposition, they did not carry out their Marxist programme. They did not change private property into public property nor did they regulate production and distribution of goods. They did not fulfill Marx's postulates, because, since long and specially after the failure of the bolshevite experiment in Russia, they themselves doubted about its realisation. But, on the other hand, they did not avow their former errors and continued to preach hate against the bourgeoisie and to prophesize to the masses a happy future after the end of capitalism. They hampered private initiative by any way they could, bureaucracy, overtaxation and by an artificial system of social insurance which did not correspond to the actual capacity of the economy.

The internal administration of the State as carried on by the Socialists failed completely. Corruption, which was unknown in the Civil Service of pre-war Germany prevailed in every branch where Socialists had personal influence. I am sorry to say the history of our great Municipalities of Berlin for instance, during the last fifteen years, was full of scandals and, in every scandal leading men of the

Socialist party were involved. The low moral standard of the Socialist leaders became evident after Hitler's revolution. Scarcely one of the former big men dared to defy the new power or to put his existence or life on stake for the defence of his system. They hastily emigrated abroad and attacked their own country by a press-campaign from outside after having brought themselves into safety.

The Socialist Government was not only unable to handle the economical situation. The whole structure of Europe at certain moments after the war threatened to break up. Germany, as you know perhaps, was a federation of about 20 States with one Central Government. The biggest State was Prussia, but an important part was played by Bavaria, Saxony and others. Under the past monarchy, uniform policy of the Federation was guaranteed because almost all federal States were ruled by dynasties which were connected by common interest. The Chief of the German Empire was at the same time King of Prussia. So the biggest Federal State never was able to encroach the Policy of the Central Government. After the establishment of the Republic, however, that personal union between the Crowns of the Empire and Prussia was loosened. There were two governments, both in Berlin, which often pursued opposed aims because both depended upon fluctuating parliamentary majorities. Other difficulties came from the second Federal State, Bavaria. The Bavarians ever inclined to particularism and as their majority belonged to conservative parties, they were in permanent conflict with the Socialist-Democratic Government in Berlin. So Germany was split up not only in a dozen of parties and hundreds of economical groups, each busy to save its own egoistic interest, but the separatistic and egoistic tendencies awoke again and menaced the unity of the Empire. Patriotism was threatened to be suffocated by egoistic interest.

The feeling of uneasiness and uncertainty which prevailed under such circumstances was strengthened by the expansion of Communism under the masses of the population. The Communist party, acting under the directions of Moscow, was rapidly growing. It did not at all hide its aims, but cynically spoke about the coming world revolution, the annihilation of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the Proletarians. The socialistic and democratic Government was neither able nor willing to face the bolshevist danger. The Socialists felt a certain affinity to their Marxist cousins and hoped to unite with them on the march against capitalism, while the democrats following their ideas of Freedom and Equality for everybody never allowed an energetic action against decided enemies of Constitution and Society.

The Communist deputies under the protection of their parliamentary immunity were allowed to declare war to law and order and to preach openly the revolution to the desperate masses. Under such circumstances oppression from outside disorder and mismanagement inside, a complete moral and political change was slowly going on. The decay of the socialist and democratic ideology became evident when their representatives were unable to avail themselves of the chance which history had given to them after the collapse of imperial Germany. It may be necessary to say that I do not speak here about the socialist or parliamentary democracy generally. I only speak about the value of these systems for Germany. Socialism may be good for Russia, Parliamentary democracy for England and other countries. They did not fit to Germany. That feeling became stronger and stronger until it reached its practical realization when Adolf Hitler was appointed Chancellor of the Reich in January, 1933.

I cannot deal here with every up and down of the National and National-Socialist movement during the past 15 years. I only wish to say that the patriotic movement after the breakdown 1918 grew up slowly and gradually and became deeply rooted under the masses of the population. The event which is generally called the National-Socialist "revolution" does not mean at all a breach of constitution of a minority, of a few fanatics who keep the population under an iron yoke. National-Socialism, a few years after it was started by Adolf Hitler, became a mass-movement, which did not need any anticonstitutional violence. Hitler availed himself of the ordinary constitutional machinery and vanquished parliamentary democracy by its very means, general election. Hitler, as the Leader of the biggest Party, was quite constitutionally appointed Chancellor by the President, and after his appointment, got a two-thirds majority which empowered his Government to carry out every kind of measures and reforms. Hitler enjoys the confidence of his electors as well as of the Parliament. The National-Socialist Government, in Germany, is based upon democracy in a better sense than before. Democracy here means discipline of the citizens under a leader of their confidence. The difference with the parliamentary democracy consists in the fact, that the Leader having got the necessary power is no more dependent on the confidence of the ever-fluctuating parliamentary majorities. That means that legislation gets extremely simplified and government can work without regard to any vote of censure.

National-Socialism wants to give a new feeling of national and social responsibility to every citizen. On the present stage of human

development the nation is considered the highest form of human community. The citizen, firstly, belongs to his nation, his private interests are postponed to the national necessities. The nation is entitled to request from her members every kind of sacrifice, even sacrifice of life. The egoistic, material instincts are replaced by a new idealism. Germany is returning to her best ethic and political traditions, as National-Socialism teaches the citizen that, firstly, he has duties, no rights, and that we do not live on earth to enjoy life, but to do our duty. The old Prussian State was built up by the same leading principle which is not easy and does not please everybody. But it is a heroic, manly conception of life and has—that is my personal feeling—a striking affinity which the ideal praised in the Bhagavadgita.

National Socialism gives a new and brighter outlook to the social question, the question how the natural differences between rich and poor, intelligentsia and illiterate masses can be compromised. Such differences will ever exist, but they can be modified. When all members of the nation are considered like relations of one great family, the exploitation of the economically weak groups must end. The rich have to treat the poor as their brethren, they have to help them to get a standard of life which corresponds to their dignity as German citizens. By this way, the Marxist idea of classes will be overcome. All that sounds very natural and plain but it was not plain at all after the period of inter-class struggle which now belongs to the past.

Let us see what kind of measures were taken by the National-Socialist Government in order to realize the new political conception; firstly, the old system of federal States which formed the German Empire had to go, regional sovereignty being incompatible with the conception of the united nation. The federal states were put under the rule of Lieutenants, who are appointed by the Chancellor. Now uniform policy in the whole Empire is guaranteed. The Central Government to-day is stronger than even under Bismarck, our Empire-builder. Particularism and centrifugal tendencies, which often were so dangerous to the unity of the nation, are abolished.

The Government further intends to replace the present representative system through general elections and parties by so-called Corporations, that means unions of the different professions, as hand-workers, intelligentsia, merchants, industrialists, bankers and so on. This scheme is still under consideration. When in force it will give a completely different aspect to the political and social life. As the

different corporations will have equal rights the inferiority complex of the handworking classes will disappear. Workmen will feel themselves as respected citizens with full rights and honours, no more as contemptible proletarians.

As to the economical programme of National-Socialism, it is not intended to encroach private initiative by political interference. On the other side economy as an important branch of national life has to subdue its interests to the general national necessities. Government will do its utmost to stimulate economical life. A grand scheme to fight against unemployment is already under work and Government tries in any way to instigate business. 2½ millions out of 6 millions of unemployed have already been brought back to work by the measures of the Government. To give you an impression of the measures which Government has taken during the last months I mention the complete abolition of the wheel tax on motor cars. Consequently our motor car industry has already risen from its depression and many factories do night-work in order to satisfy increased demand.

Many dull things have been said about the foreign policy of National-Socialism. Germany, more than any other Nation, needs peace after a four-years' war and a fourteen-years' period of social and economical depression. The new Government wants calm in the sphere of foreign politics in order to carry out its programme of moral and economical reconstruction. Besides such practical reasons, the National-Socialist conception of the nation as the highest form of human community involves the recognition of the existence and individuality of foreign nations. Though the National-Socialist Government always will defend the rights and justified claims of Germany, it never will deny the same claims to other countries. The new Government will be—that is my deep conviction—a factor of stabilization in international politics. With a firm and steady hand it will settle the difficult problems which at present are disturbing the peace of Europe and the world. I am sorry to say that the proclamation speech which Chancellor Hitler made in the Reichstag Meeting on March 23rd was in the foreign press either passed with silence or criticized as hypocritical. Chancellor Hitler said: "The German nation wants to live in peace with the world. The Government of the Reich will, however, just for this reason, advocate the final elimination of the division of the nations of the earth into two categories. If this wound were to be kept open, it would lead the one to mistrust and the other to hatred and in consequence bring about general uncertainty

The National Government is ready to extend a friendly hand of sincere understanding to any nation who is willing definitely and finally to close the sad chapter of the past.'' I think it is fair to give a chance to our Government and it is not fair to condemn its intentions as a matter of course.

Let me in the end say a few words about the problem of Jews in Germany which has excited the outside world much more than ourselves. The Jewish Community in Germany, which amounts only to 10% of the population, never became so completely assimilated with the nation as for instance, in England, France or other countries. But in spite of their small percentage the Jews were able to get an overwhelming influence in some most important spheres of national life, as in the press, on the stage, in literature, Universities, on the bar and in the Civil Service. Jews took a decisive part in the bolshevist revolts of 1918. Thousands of Jews fluctuated over our borders from Russia and Poland in the years after the war but they did not at all thank us for the hospitality we granted to them. They observed the disturbed economical conditions to make money out of our pockets. Nobody who does know Germany in these years from his own experience, should criticize the better feeling created from this situation. Nevertheless, the tale about pogroms in Germany are without any foundation. Legal measures have been taken against Jews so far as they were in the Civil Service. With some important exceptions they have to retire but get their pensions. Besides that marriages of German officials with Jewish girls are no more allowed in order to conserve the purity of the Aryan stock of the leading class, a measure which must be comprehensible to my Indian friends. Jews are absolutely free as to any activity in trade and commerce. The above-mentioned measures only aim to limit their *political* influence so long as they are felt as a heterogeneous element in our national body. However, I think it is our own business to put our house in order and everybody should deal with his own affairs.

I hope I succeeded in explaining before you the necessities which led to the foundation of our new State—pressure from outside, decomposition inside, and the knowledge that we could not handle the situation with a constitution which was based on a decaying ideology. We consider the National-Socialist revolution as a national renaissance, a liberation from political forms and ideas which we felt as relics of a past century, as heterogeneous and dangerous to our national individuality. Although we do not want to make National-Socialism an export article, we feel that it means a contribution to human progress.

Germany has not "set the clock back." After the defeat, the complete collapse of our political power 1918, the complete loss of our national fortune, Germany under its new political form, under the third Realm as we call it, has sufficient energy to look at the future with fresh hope and to take up struggle of life with an optimism, which seemed impossible yet 6 months ago. That, at least, proves a wonderful vitality. As our new flag we have adopted the Swastika, the eternal Symbol of Sun and Life.

It is a truism that education of all grades has hitherto suffered in this country by reason of inadequate financial assistance from the State. Let us not forget that education is the one subject for which no people has ever yet paid too much. The more they pay, the richer they become, for nothing is so costly as ignorance, nothing is so cheap as knowledge. Explore the history of civilization, ancient and modern, you will find that the people who provide the greatest educational opportunities were always the most wealthy, the most respected, the most secure in the enjoyment of every right of person and property. This truth will be a hundredfold more manifest in the future than it has ever been in the past, as the struggle for existence grows keener and keener, and the very right arm of all future national power comes to rest in the education of the people. Yet, in these strenuous times, when government and institutions of all descriptions are beset with financial peril, notwithstanding unlimited powers of taxation which have been exercised to the utmost limit, we are reproached as bankrupt, because we have exhausted our resources in the fullest measure for the spread of high education and advancement of research. Those who admonish us forget that education is a necessary preparation for the discharge of civic functions in a progressive age and that indifference and hostility to the spread of education is liable to be attributed to the fear that knowledge and intelligence might create a wish for freedom.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee
in his Convocation Speech 1923.

IS RE-CONVERSION TO HINDUISM PERMISSIBLE ?

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A FEW years ago when the celebrated Arya Samaj apostle, Swami Sraddhananda was living, the Hindu world was taken by surprise when the news spread that villages after villages which had been inhabited by the Muhammadan Malkana Rajputs were being reconverted to Hinduism. The Sanatanists and the orthodox Hindus began to shake their heads and question whether such a step was in consonance with the scriptures as it certainly was not in consonance with the practice. It is true that the Malkana Rajputs were originally converted to Muhammadanism by compulsion, that they were all along following their original Hindu customs and practices inspite of their outward change of faith and that they were always willing to come back into the Hindu fold provided they were allowed to do so. Although these things were highly in favour of the Malkana Rajputs, their actual reversion to Hinduism shocked the orthodoxy of the Sanatanists and the High Priests of Hinduism who maintained that a Hindu to be a Hindu must be born a Hindu and that no religious rite could purify the fallen and re-admit them into the Hindu fold.

Every student of Indian History, however, knows that in ancient times many aboriginal and foreign races became hinduised and merged into the Hindu population. This process of absorption, so essential to the self-preservation and continuance of a race or people, ceased to operate at a time, not yet determined, when the Hindu society became crystallised into a rigid and impenetrable caste system, and the belief was engendered that a Hindu must be born a Hindu and that if he performed any socially heinous act, consciously or unconsciously, deliberately or even through compulsion, he lost his caste for ever and ceased to be a Hindu. There is no *buddhi* that could afterwards purify him and restore him to his original status. Such is still the belief of many Hindus and particularly of the priestly classes. The question, however, arises : whether this was ever a fact before the Muhammadan domination was supreme over the whole of India, or, in other words, whether no *buddhi* was even enjoined to

meet cases of any religious lapses or aberration, knowingly or unknowingly. This question we shall try to answer in this note as briefly as possible.

The present *śuddhi* movement, so far as we know, originated with the Arya Samaj. When the Malkana Rajputs were being taken back into the Hindu fold, it created a great furore in the Hindu society. In defence of their action the Arya Samajists were ransacking the Hindu scriptures with a view to find out whether they sanctioned such a step and laid down any purificatory rite for it. The Smṛiti literature, above all, was rigorously scrutinized with this object in view. Their efforts were crowned with success, and they lighted upon many such texts from the law books. They have been all culled together by Pandit J. B. Chaudhury, an Arya Samaj preacher, in the form of a brochure entitled *Śuddhi Sanātana Hui* which he published in 1930. He has therein discussed the subject from many points of view. What we are here concerned with is the quotations he has given from the Devala-Smṛiti, Atri-Saṃhitā, and the Atri and Brihadyana-Smṛiti.¹ This doubtless shows that there were more than one Smṛiti which enjoined *śuddhi* for all such cases. The most important of them, however, is the Devala-Smṛiti, and it is to this Smṛiti that I want respectfully to direct the attention of the social reformers as well as the students of history who are interested in the subject.

The sage Devala, we are told, was staying on the banks of the Sindhu, when the ascetics and saints approached him and questioned him on this subject of *śuddhi*. This is how the Devala-Smṛiti opens: "How, oh! blessed one," they asked "may the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, who have been carried away by the Mlechchhas, attain to purification? What ablution, what purificatory rite, what penance may be prescribed? What observance may they follow? Explain all that to us in detail." The answer to this question constitutes the end and scope of the Smṛiti which is a neat and tiny composition not exceeding ninety verses. Let us see what light it throws upon the Hindu society of the period of which we know so little.

We have already seen that the object of the Devala-Smṛiti is to prescribe *śuddhi* for all the orders of the Hindu society—the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras—who have fallen into the clutches of the Mlechchhas. The question arises: by what

¹ These and others have been published under the title *Smṛiti-nām samuchchayaḥ* in the Anandasram Sanskrit Series (No. 48).

unfortunate circumstances could they have been reduced to these straits ? And we are told that their misfortune consisted in being captured or carried off by, or living together with, the Mlechchhas. This is how they became defiled, and stood in need of *suddhi*. What caused their actual impurity is further explained thus: "Being forcibly made slaves by the Mlechchhas, Chandalas and Dasyus, they were compelled to commit an impure act such as (1) the slaughter of the cow and other animals, (2) clearing or eating the leavings of their food, (3) eating the flesh of the donkey, camel or village-pig and (4) intercourse and dining together with their women." These are the modes of defilement, and various are the expiations laid down to remove them, which of course depend upon the nature and period of defilement. The period may extend from one month to twenty years.

Now, who are the Mlechchhas referred to in this Smriti? To all appearances they are Muhammadans. In the first place, even a cursory perusal of this Smriti leaves the impression on the mind that in that period the forcible carrying away of the Hindus had become a matter of common occurrence. This is possible only at a time when there was a vigorous attempt on the part of the Muslim power to conquer India. The inference is supported in a two-fold manner. In the Smriti there is a distinct reference to the cases of persons whose father or mother had embraced the Mlechchha religion. In such cases the son is advised to offer *pindas* neither to his father nor to his mother who has been so converted, but to his grandfather and other forefathers. Surely no Indians are known to have espoused the Mlechchha religion up till the Muhammadan conquest. Many foreign hordes poured into India and occupied the different parts of the country. But they all became Hindus and were absorbed into the Hindu population. The phenomenon of a Hindu becoming a Mlechchha arose for the first time when the Muhammadans began to penetrate into this country. That this is the plausible view may be seen also from the fact that the Smriti speaks of Mlechchha-sabha in one place and enjoins expiation on Hindus who have touched or remained together for a long time with the Mlechchhas in such an assembly. With this may be coupled the fact that in another place the Smriti lays down an atonement for a Hindu who has been snatched away by the Mlechchhas but has thereafter returned to his country. These facts lead to the inference that the Muhammadans had at that time come right down to the frontiers of India or at the most conquered and occupied some of the frontier-districts, without being able to push their conquests

further into the interior. This receives confirmation from a passage of our Smriti which makes mention of such frontier provinces as were tabooed for a Hindu. Two of these are Sindhu and Sauvira, which a Hindu can visit on pain of performing a *śuddhi* on his return. Now, we know that in the time of Al-Masudi (A. D. 943) the Muslim power was confined to the 'two tiny principalities of Mansuhra and Multan¹ which regularly correspond to Sindhu and Sauvira. We shall not therefore be far from right if we assign the Devala-Smriti to the beginning of the 10th century A.D. We have seen above that when the ascetics and the saints approached the sage Devala for enlightenment on the subject of *śuddhi*, he was then living on the banks of the Sindhu which could not have been the Indus of Sind as it was already a Mlechchha country but must stand for Indus of the Punjab, just the place where the proselytising activities of the Muhammadans must have assumed a most aggressive form both from the south, *i.e.*, Multan, and from the west, *i.e.*, Afghanistan, which had then been subjected to the Islamic power. Then again we have to note that Devala, the author of our Smriti cannot be the Devala whose Smriti has been frequently adverted to by the commentators on law-books. To take one instance, Vijnanesvara (A.D. 1076-1126) who wrote a commentary on Yajñavalkya-Smriti has quoted many verses from Devala, none of which however is traceable in our Smriti. This indicates that there were two Devala-Smritis, one which was known to Vijnanesvara and which was a full-fledged Smriti, and the other the work which is here engaging our attention and which deals only with one subject, *viz.*, *śuddhi* of the Hindus that had been defiled through contact with the Mlechchhas. This latter surely was composed to meet a special situation, created by the advent of the Muslim power, whose over-ardent proselytising zeal began to affect Hindu society very seriously.

It will thus be seen that the Devala-Smriti which we are here considering deals solely with the question of reclaiming the Hindus who are defiled by contact with the Mlechchhas or the Muhammadans. And it is expressly laid down that everybody, male or female, healthy or diseased, shall perform a purificatory rite, if he or she is from eleven to eighty years old. That this picture of mass *śuddhi* depicted in our Smriti is real and not imaginary may be seen from what the Muhammadan historians themselves have written about this matter, as has been recently pointed out by Prof. A. S. Altekar.² To take

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. 1, pp. 23-4.

² *Indian Review*, July, 1933, pp. 446-7.

one instance, during the Caliphate of Hisham (A.D. 724-43) Junaid was governor of Sind. It was he who sent expeditions into the interior of India and spread terror in Rajputana and Gujrat. Junaid was succeeded by Tamim, and the latter by Hakim. While Hakim was the governor, says Baladhuri, the people of Al-Hind apostatized and returned to idolatry, with the exception of the inhabitants of Kassah.¹ This means that all the Hindus, who had become Muslims in the parts of India subjected to the Islam power, again became Hindus as soon as this power crumbled up. This state of things, continued till the time of Al-Beruni (*circa* 1024 A.D.). "I have repeatedly been told," says he, "that when Hindu slaves (in Muslim countries) escape and return to their country and religion, the Hindus order that they should fast by way of expiation, then they bury them in the dung, stale, and milk of cows for a certain number of days, till they get into a state of fermentation. Then they drag them out of the dirt and give them similar dirt to eat, and more of the like."² It is true that Al-Beruni asked the Brahmans if this was true, but they denied it. This is intelligible enough, because that was a point on which the Muslims were then very touchy and a reply in the affirmative might probably have made them victims to their fanaticism. But there can be no doubt that *śuddhi* was in unabated vigour even in the time of Al-Beruni. How else could he be told, not once but *repeatedly*, that Hindu slaves became Hindus again on return to their country? How again could the mode of expiation referred to by him practically agree with that specified by Devala? There is therefore nothing surprising if the Christians or Muhammadans who were originally Hindus are taken back into the Hindu fold, provided they have still preserved their original Hindu customs and ceremonies.

What has been summarised from the Devala-smṛiti above is doubtless very interesting. But interesting though it is, it is not so important as that portion of it which has not yet been touched upon. Most of the cases of *śuddhi* adverted to above relate in the main to men, not to women. But we must remember that men alone were not seized upon by the Muhammadans. Women also were carried away as slaves. Naturally, therefore, purificatory rites have to be prescribed for them also. And so have they been prescribed by Devala. These do not differ materially from those laid

¹ Elliot, *loc. cit.*, p. 126. R. C. Majumdar, *The Arab Invasion of India*, p. 42 (reprinted from *Jour. Ind. His.*, Vol. X, Pt. I).

² Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, pp. 162-3.

down for males. But women, just because they are women, give rise to special cases. To take one instance, what is their position in the Hindu society if they are ravished by the Mlechchhas and, what is worse if they thereby conceive? This was a special feature of the enslavement of women. And it may reasonably be asked whether Devala has tackled this question, and, if so, with what results. It is not the object of this note to go deep into the subject, and it will suffice here to say that according to Devala if a woman has been merely ravished by a Mlechchha but has not conceived, she can purify herself by a three days' fast. If, however, she has become pregnant, her relatives shall wait till she is delivered of a child, which should be given to somebody, otherwise it will create a *varna-samkara*. The woman should then undergo the necessary purificatory rite, and be received back into the caste. This foetus in her womb, says Devala, is like a thorn (*salya*) in her body, and when this foreign substance is once removed and she has had her monthly illness, she is as pure as gold (*hanchana*) freed from its dross. Devala's verses bearing upon this point are quoted also in the Atri-smriti and Atri-samhita. Again, Devala and Atri do not seem to be alone in this liberal treatment of women. Even Vijnanesvara expatiates on this subject in the same strain in his gloss III. 265 of the Yajnavalkya-smriti. There also he quotes verses from many smritis to show that a woman can be taken back into the caste even if she is raped by a chandala, Pukkasa or Mlechchha. If that had not been the view of Vijnanesvara, he would fearlessly have combatted it as he does in the case of Sati.¹ In the latter case, being in favour of Sati, Vijnanesvara explains away all the Smriti texts that run contrary to it. But in the case of ravishment of women, he is in favour of taking back into the caste, and has therefore quoted many Smriti texts in support of his view. It is thus clear that up till the beginning of the twelfth century, that is, up till the time when Vijnanesvara lived, it was considered to be a correct procedure, both in North and South India, to purify a woman raped by a Mlechchha. This must smooth the path of the social reformers of India whose mind is at present being harrowed over the abduction of Hindu girls, which has become a menace almost as serious as terrorism to this province. It is true that these cases have mostly occurred in the lower classes of the Hindu Society, but they are by no means unknown among the higher classes also. Among the former, the girls,

¹ See his gloss on Yajnavalkya smriti, I. 86.

we are told, are generally taken back into the caste. But among the latter classes the unfortunate girls are for no fault of theirs discarded for ever by their husbands. And if they are received back by their parents, both are ruthlessly outcasted. Such is the Hindu Society of the modern day! Such is the gross and egregious injustice committed by Hindu (un-Aryan ?) Society upon the innocent people in spite of the clear injunctions to the contrary contained in the scriptures. Such a thing is unheard of in any civilised society, be it Jewish, Muhammadan or Christian.

Hindu Society is on its trial. There was a time when any foreigner could become a Hindu. Whatever foreign tribes entered India, they became hinduised and gradually lost into the Hindu masses. Even the self-complacent Greeks, who were proud of their Hellenism and branded all foreigners as barbarians, were glad to become either Buddhists or Vaishnavas. This state of things continued till in the seventh century A.D. the tide of Islamic invasion broke upon India, and the Hindus themselves were being converted to the Muslim faith. Even after this cataclysm which threatened Hindu Society Hinduism began and continued wonderfully to tide over for centuries by reclaiming all Hindus that were converted to Muhammadanism. But disintegration set in, and a time came, not yet determined, when Hinduism ceased to be virile. The proselytising activity of Hinduism, which was once noted for its overwhelming force and extended sweep, began gradually to ebb and contract till it is now completely extinct, and the slogan is repeated *ad nauseam* that a Hindu to be a Hindu must be born a Hindu. What is worse, the ranks of Hindu Society are being thinned away by the fervid missionary fervour of the rival religions, Christianity and Muhammadanism. And what is worst, the untouchable and despised castes which were once proud to call themselves Hindus are now threatening to secede, before being completely absorbed into the Hindu population. When the power of assimilation is once gone, anæmia, toxæmia and motor paralysis must be the consequence. It is therefore no wonder if the Hindu Society is now in a moribund condition. Let us see what means the Hindu leaders and the Hindu Mahasabha are devising to galvanise it into activity. A more adequate proportion of votes in a legislative council or assembly will not suffice. Some far-reaching and constructive measures are required to restore its assimilation and rejuvenate its social system so as to enable it to regain its original activity of conversion and reconversion. Otherwise the Hindu Society will before long be a defunct body.

RECOVERY OF CALCUTTA BY THE ENGLISH IN 1757

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(1)

AFTER reaching Calcutta Sirajuddowla overwhelmed the Company's troops in Bengal. The English were utterly humiliated, and their Governor, with other fugitives at Fulta, had to spend very bitter days for want of provisions and shelter ¹ At last on the 13th of July, 1756, Mr. Drake decided to despatch Mr. Manningham and a French Officer Lebeaume, to Madras, in order to unfold there the story of their disaster and to ask for help and reinforcements for the recovery of Calcutta. So on the 14th of July, Manningham, accompanied by Lieutenant Lebeaume, sailed on board the *Syren* ² with the following letter from the Council at Fulta to the Council at Fort St. George: "Our utmost efforts have been employed to dispatch to you sooner the intelligence of the capture of Calcutta by the Moors acting under orders of Souragge Dowlat, the New Nawab, which account we doubt not have reached you before this can possibly arrive by means of Pattamars (couriers) from the Shroffs or Foreign Nations. A narrative of this unhappy event will be in our opinion faithfully related to you by Mr. Charles Manningham, which we have not time to commit at present to writing. The above gentlemen we depute to your Honour, etc., on the United East India Company's behalf, and require from his representation that you will support us with the whole force, you can obtain on your coast, Military and Marine together with a sufficient quantity of Ammunition, cannon and all other warlike stores Military and Marine, which may enable us to re-establish ourselves in those Provinces, which we esteem of the most essential consequence to the East India Company and trade of India in General." ³ Manningham's ship arrived at Vizagapatam on 12th August but was detained there for about a month owing to a heavy downpour and the consequent difficulty of procuring palanquin-bearers. But he sent the Bengal Council's letter to Madras through M. Lebeaume on 28th August. ⁴

¹ Letter from Drake, Manningham, etc., to William Watts and Matthew Collet, dated on board ship "Doddale" off Fulta, the 6th July, 1756.

² Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. I, p. 195.

³ *Bengal and Madras Papers* (I.R.D.), Vol. II.

⁴ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 242.

Already in response to the Bengal Council's previous letters regarding the Nawab's hostile behaviour towards the Company, the Madras authorities had sent on 20th July a detachment of 230 men, mostly European,¹ on board the *Delaware* under the command of Major Killpatrick. Major Killpatrick arrived at Fulta on 30th July and found himself placed in a very bad situation "amidst gentlemen, driven out from their habitations, driven out from all they have in the world, and what is worst, having lost all or almost all that had been committed to their charge, where many people around them who have also lost their all, are discontented and even troublesome, pretending to find fault and give their opinions without showing that respect which they ought."² So, with insufficient troops and ammunition, and owing to the prevalence of sickness among his soldiers Major Killpatrick could not undertake any offensive action.³

He had to wait for further reinforcements from Madras,⁴ but before these could reach, he tried to humour the Nawab and to cultivate his friendship through some of his friends. On the 15th of August the Major wrote a letter to the Nawab "complaining a little of the hard usage of the English Honorable Company, assuring him of his good intentions notwithstanding what had happened, and begging in the meantime, till things were cleared up, that he would treat him at least as a friend," and would give orders that his people might be supplied with sufficient provisions.⁵ On 22nd August he himself received a letter from Omichand "assuring him of his good intentions and of the desire he had to serve him." That letter was sent through Coja Petrus and Abraham Jacobs, who promised "great things from Omichand as greatly in the interest of the Honorable Company" and at the same time advised the Major to write complimentary letters to Raja Manikchand, Jagat Seth, Coja Wajid and Raja Dewpal (Devapal).⁶

In the meantime news of the capture of Calcutta had reached Mr. Pigot on 16th August through a letter written to him by Messrs. Walts and Collet,⁷ and on the next day he informed his Council about it.⁸ In consideration of the "great importance of the Settlement of Calcutta to the Company," the Council

¹ Orme, *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindusthan*, Vol. II, p. 84.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 197, and Vol. II, pp. 80-94.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Consultation on board the *Phoenix Schooner*, Fulta, 22nd August, 1756.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Hill, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 304.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

agreed that "the utmost efforts should be made to recover it"¹ and thought it desirable to consult Mr. Watson in the matter. On a special request² Admiral Watson and Admiral Pocock attended the Council next day, and offered to use their squadron for the Company's services in Bengal. The Council then resolved to send a small force with the object of recapturing Calcutta only but Admiral Watson was not disposed to send the expedition before the end of September and wrote the following letter to the Council on 25th August: "And having further considered this expedition, I am apt to think, if it is delayed, till the last week in next month, there will be a much greater probability of success attending it than if the ships were to proceed immediately, as they will then escape the rainy season which is allowed by everybody to be the most unhealthy part of the year, and in all appearance, if the ships were to go now, one third of the men would fall sick before there would be an opportunity of doing any service."³ After a long debate it was unanimously resolved on 26th August that "Admiral Watson be desired to send the Fifty and Twenty Gun ships down to Bengal, with about two hundred and forty military with the intent to re-take Calcutta only without attempting anything more until joined by further succours, and that all necessary preparations be made, as expeditiously as possible, to send all the Forces that can be spared from hence with the remainder of the squadron, if in the interim the expected Advices from Europe (about the outbreak of a war with the French)⁴ should make it necessary to alter these measures." It was also decided to write to the Council at Fulta informing them of that decision and advising them "not to conclude any terms with the Nabob, but if he should be inclined to treat, amuse him" until they received further forces or advice from Madras.⁵

The Council met again on 29th August when the first point of consideration was whether the survivors of the late Council in Bengal still retain the same powers and rights as they had before. After a long debate the question was decided in the affirmative.⁶ The resolutions of the 26th instant were also altered, and it was resolved that "Admiral Watson be desired to suspend any orders he may have given for the departure of the Fifty and Twenty Gun ships and that the

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, pp. 191-200.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁴ Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 85.

⁵ Consultations at St. George, 26th August, 1756, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II (I. R. D.).

⁶ Consultations at Fort St. George, 29th August, 1756, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II (I. R. D.); Ives' Voyage, p. 94.

Embarkation of the Men intended to be sent on them be also countermanded. That in case the expected ships from England should not bring the news of a war with France, Admiral Watson be then desired to proceed down to Bengal with the whole squadron at once. That Colonel Adlerson be desired to proceed on the squadron with his whole regiment and Train of Artillery. And that all preparations of stores and necessaries be made with all possible Expedition, in the same manner they would be, were it peremptorily resolved such an expedition should proceed at all events." ¹ The Madras authorities were relieved of a great anxiety when the Company's ships *Chesterfield* and *Walpole* arrived from England on 19th September without any news of the actual outbreak of war. ²

But there were also other issues which demanded solution before the expedition to Bengal could be undertaken. There was difference of opinion as to who should command the land forces, what should be the extent of his authority in military operations and in negotiations with the Nawab, and what should be done with the captures of the war, etc. ³ A Council of War, held at St. Thomas Mount near Fort St. George, on 20th September, 1756, decided to send the expedition under their own officers and troops at Madras from considerations of material necessity. ⁴ Six hundred rank and file and one hundred of the trained were ordered for the expedition under the command of Colonel Clive. It was decided that Mr. Smith, a member of the Madras Council, and Mr. John Walsh should be joined with Colonel Clive as deputies from the Madras Council and Mr. Maunsell should also accompany him. The Council also agreed to give the following powers and instructions to Messrs. Clive, Smith, and Walsh :

" (I) That the Gentlemen at Calcutta be desired by us to form a plan of a Treaty which the Deputys be directed to abide by the

¹ Consultation at St. George, 29th August, 1756, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II (I. R. D.). About the reasons for arriving at this resolution vide Letter from the Select Committee, Fort Saint George, to the Select Committee, Fort William, dated 21 February, 1757. Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 232-233.

² Letter from Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors, dated 13th October, 1756, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II.

³ Orme, Vol. II, p. 87.

⁴ (a) ".....the steps which in case of the expected success may be thought proper to be taken for the benefit of the Company's Interest will be indisputably placed in the power of their servants who will be subject to our orders." (b) ".....in case the Nabob should not by treaty make ample Reparation for the immense damages the Company have sustained by his violences, it is the Intention of the Board to reimburse the Company as far as possible by Reprisals. But as the Board are uncertain whether the laws direct distribution of things acquired by arms, the duty they owe the Company demands that a matter of such Importance be not left in doubt and liable to contest when they may have it in their power to secure the property of such Acquisitions to the Company by employing their own officers and troops."—Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II.

tenour of, and make the basis of their correspondence or transactions with the Nabob.

(II) That Colonel Clive be directed to proceed to all such Hostilities as he thinks will most likely bring the Nabob to those terms until he has had the success to do so, or until he find utterly impracticable, or he is recalled by us.'

(III) ' That the Deputy's be desired to receive and attend to the Advice of the Gentlemen at Bengal, to weigh the same maturely, and if they think proper to deviate from it in any respect that they have the power to do so, but on assigning reasons to us to be transmitted to the Company.'

(IV) ' That the Deputy's be directed to re-establish the Gentlemen of Bengal in Calcutta as soon as their successes shall render it proper, and that they do when the place is in a sufficient state of security put these Gentlemen in possession of all such part of Company's Effects as shall remain with them, and be of no further use to them. And that in case the Nabob should agree to a reasonable treaty with the English, that they do put all the possessions acquired by the Treaty under their management.'"¹

It should be noted here that according to the Court of Directors' letter of 13th February, 1756, sent through *Walpole* and *Chesterfield*, "the management of all affairs of war and diplomacy" had been transferred into the hands of the Select Committees at Madras and Bengal. So, on 22nd September, the Select Committee undertook the management of the Bengal expedition. According to the desires of the Select Committee, the Council, in its sitting of 28th September, granted a commission appointing Colonel Clive as the Commander-in-chief of "all the troops sent and to be sent on the Expedition to Bengal" and also empowering Major Killpatrick to succeed him in the command in case of his death and absence. The Council also granted 40,00,000 Arcot rupees to the treasury on account of the Bengal expedition, and 40,000 Arcot rupees and 3,250 pagodas to Mr. Walsh, Paymaster to the Bengal expedition, for meeting the expenses there.²

At the sitting of the Select Committee on 29th September,³ Mr. Watson, who had been entrusted with the command of the expedition to Bengal by sea, recommended that "it be conducted in all respects like that to Gheria." With regard to the expedition to Gheria it is to be noted that Mr. Watson and Mr. Pocock were joined with

¹ *Ibid.*

² Consultations at Fort St. George, 28th September, 1756, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II.

³ Consultations at Fort St. George, 29th September, 1756, *ibid.*

Colonel Clive and Mr. Hough in a commission for the conduct of the expedition and that every thing taken at Gheria, even the guns and ammunition, " was appropriated to the benefit of the captors, although the Company was at the whole expense of fitting out the Armament and also at repairing the damage done to his Majesty's ships." But the Committee did not accept Mr. Watson's recommendations on the ground that there was a great difference between the expedition to Gheria and the intended expedition to Bengal. The former was, as the Committee pointed out, meant for rooting out a " robber who had long infested the seas and so to give a future security to their Trade, and by the capture of his places to acquire new possessions to themselves "; while the latter was " intended for the recovery of the Ancient Rights and Privileges of the East India Company, which have suddenly been wrested from them, and to reimburse by reprisals, if all other means prove ineffectual, the immense loss they have so recently sustained in their own property." The Committee, therefore, thought it proper " to exert their utmost efforts to secure to the Company that immediate possession of their own settlements that may be retaken and such portion of the reprisals that may be made upon the Moors." Mr. Watson assured the Committee that, so far as his personal advantages were concerned, he was ready to forego these for the benefit of the Company, but as the interests of everyone in the squadron were concerned he wanted to lay the proposal immediately before a Council and promised that he would communicate the results as soon as possible. The Select Committee framed the following regulations for the Councils of War that might be held in Bengal, with the unanimous consent of Mr. Watson, Mr. Pocock and Colonel Clive: (i) "at all councils of War held on board his Majesty's Ships, the Commanding Officer of the ships shall preside, and call to his assistance such other Captains of the squadron as he shall see proper, together with Colonel Clive and any other Field Officer ;" (ii) " at all Councils of War held on shore Colonel Clive shall preside, and call to his assistance such Field Officers as he shall see proper, together with the Captains of such part of the squadron as are employed on the joint service. This is understood to be in the absence of any Flag Officer."

Mr. Manningham, who had arrived from Vizagapatam to Fort St. George, on 29th September, objected to the resolutions of 21st September, which gave the Deputies the powers to deal with the affairs in Bengal and to put the gentlemen there in a proper position, after Clive's military success had made their position secure. He

argued that the investment of such powers to these deputies meant that the Council of Bengal had no existence of its own. The question was much debated. Messrs. Clive and Orme were in favour of the resolutions of 21st September but at last they had to submit to the opinion of the majority of the members, who decided, on the 1st of October,¹ that the deputies would not be sent and the Council of Bengal should be entrusted with those powers. Colonel Clive, who was invested with independent powers to deal with "all military matters and operations" was also furnished with sufficient money and was empowered to draw bills.² He was advised to "weigh and consider well the plans he shall receive from the before-mentioned Select Committee of Bengal, and in case he shall judge any part of them not to tend to the most speedy and efficacious method of obtaining the hoped-for advantages to the Company, then to give his best advice on the subject to those gentlemen, and in case their opinions should still differ, then finally to pursue those measures which he shall judge to be most for the Company's benefit," stating clearly to the Madras authorities his reasons for such a proceeding, as these were to be referred to the Court of Directors.³ He was also furnished with an independent power to return back to the coast in case his recall there was demanded by the outbreak of a war with the French or by any other emergencies.⁴ We should note that the object of the Madras authorities in sending out this expedition, as they pointed out in their letter to the Select Committee in Bengal, dated 13th October, 1756, was not merely to retake Calcutta or recover their lost settlements and factories, but also to have "all their privileges established in the full extent granted by the Great Mogul (Emperor Farrukhsiyar) and ample reparation made to them for the loss they have lately sustained."⁵ They were, however, of opinion that "should the Nabob on the arrival of these forces make offers tending to the acquiring to the Company the before-mentioned advantages" then the "sentiments of revenging injuries, although they were never more just, should give place to the necessity of sparing as far as possible the many bad consequences of war, besides the expense of the Company's treasuries"; but they mentioned that "sword

¹ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 223-227; Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 88; Ives' Voyage, 'p. 91. Ives' notes, on the authority of Admiral Watson's Secretary, that the Admiral was strongly in favour of retaining these powers in the hand of the Council in Bengal. This is also supported by the correspondence between Admiral Watson and the Select Committee at Fort St. George, 30th September, 1756.

² Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 88.

³ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 225.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 237-241.

⁵ *Ibid.*

should go hand in hand with the pen, and that on the arrival of the present armament, hostilities should immediately commence with the utmost vigour. These hostilities must be of every kind which can either distress his dominions and estate or bring reprisals into our possession."

(II)

On the 16th of October, 1756, the fleet under the command of Admiral Watson, "being victualled and watered for six weeks," sailed from Madras.¹

Colonel Clive took with him letters written by Salabat Jung, Nawab of the Deccan, by Muhammad Ali, Nawab of Arcot, and by Mr. Pigot "exhorting Surajah Dowlah to make immediate reparation for the injuries and calamities which the English had suffered from his unprovoked resentment."²

The whole squadron had to encounter various difficulties and distresses before it reached Fulta, chiefly owing to the heavy rains in Bengal of the months of July, August and September.³ Admiral Watson tried his best to make way to Balasore Road, but was obstructed by "trifling winds and strong southerly currents" and found his squadron driving for three weeks to the southward till it got into the Latitude of 6°30' N.⁴ On the 10th of November "the appearance of a tedious passage obliged the squadron to be put to two-thirds allowance."⁵ On 15th November the seamen and military were put to half allowance of provisions, and two-thirds allowance of water, and many of them were attacked with scurvy.⁶ Next day *Marlborough*, one of the Company's ships, sailing very heavily, was left behind by the rest of the fleet, which reached the ground of Point Palmiras on 1st December.⁷ On 4th the squadron came accross a pilot sloop and took on board Mr. Grant, the pilot. About this time the Military and the seamen were put to a great distress for want of water and provisions and many were down with scurvy.⁸ Mr. Scrafton observes that "when the forces came from Madras, they were greatly reduced for provisions, in so much that there was no rice left for the Gentoo (Hindu) Seapoys. and nothing

¹ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 30-401; Ives' Voyage, p. 95.

² Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 89.

³ Ives' Voyage, p. 96; Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 119.

⁴ Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757.

⁵ Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc; Orme, Vol. II, p. 119.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Orme, Vol. II, p. 119; Journal of the Expedition, etc.: Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757; Ives' Voyage, p. 97.

⁸ *Ibid.*

to serve out to them but beef and pork ; but though some did submit to this defilement, yet many preferred a languishing death by famine to life polluted beyond recovery."¹

On the 5th of December Admiral Watson anchored in Balasore Roads, and was joined on 8th, by the *Tyger* and *Walpole*. On that day the Admiral met Messrs. Watts and Becher, who had been deputed to him from the Governor and Council at Fulta, to acquaint him with the miserable state of their affairs as well as of the detachment sent under Major Killpatrick, of which only thirty men were fit for duty.² The Admiral then consulted the two English pilots, who had come with Messrs. Watts and Becher, about carrying the *Kent* and *Tyger* over the braces. The pilots were of opinion that it might be done with safety during the springs, and said that if the Admiral permitted them, they would take charge of the ships up the river to Fulta. Encouraged by Captain Speke, who had been before several times in the river, the Admiral decided to make an attempt. On 12th he reached Injee and on the next day anchored at Culpee, where Messrs. Drake and Hollwell waited upon the Admiral and Colonel Clive.³ On 14th the Admiral wrote to Mr. Bisdorn at Chinsura and Mr. Renault at Chandernagore warning them against giving any assistance to the Nawab.⁴ Mr. Bisdorn replied to his letter on 19th by promising to observe neutrality.

On the 15th of December, the Admiral reached Fulta in Company with the *Tyger* and *Walpole*, and found there the *Delaware*, the *Protector*, and the *Kingfisher*, whom he had sent from Madras, sometime before the squadron sailed, to inform Mr. Drake and his followers of the squadron's advance for their assistance.⁵ On the same day Colonel Clive opened negotiations with Manikchand, the Nawab's Governor in Calcutta, by writing a letter to him and also sending him a draft of a letter for the Nawab.⁶ Manikchand replied to his letter on 23rd December and sent his agent Radhakrishna Mallik to him. He pointed out that the letter intended to be sent to the Nawab had been written in improper terms, and suggested that it might be rewritten in a milder tone.⁷ But Colonel Clive replied that he could not accept his suggestion of writing to the Nawab "a

¹ Reflections on the Government of Indostan, p. 11.

² Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757. Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc. Ives' Voyage, p. 97.

³ Journal of the Expedition, etc.

⁴ Hill, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 54.

⁵ Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757; Journal of the Expedition, etc.; Ives' Voyage, p. 97.

⁶ Hill, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 56.

⁷ Ibid, p. 74; Orme, Vol. II, p. 121.

letter couched in such a stile (style) which, however proper it might have been before the taking of Calcutta, would but illsuit with the present time, when we are come to demand satisfaction for the injuries done to us by the Nabob, not to entreat his favour, and with a force which we think sufficient to vindicate our claim."¹ On 16th the Company's troops and sepoy on the *Kent*, *Tyger* and *Walpole* landed at Fulda and joined the detachment under Major Killpatrick; the military encamped in a place to the eastward of the town, and the sepoy were placed on the roads leading to it.² On the same day Admiral Watson wrote to the Dutch asking for the help of their pilots but the latter expressed their inability to help him with these.³

On hearing of the arrival of the squadron, the Nawab's officers in Calcutta, "not thinking the forts of Tanna and Busbudgia (Buzbuz) to be a sufficient defence, were raising new works on the banks of the River."⁴ They commenced the erection of a fort, called by them Alinagur, "on the bank of the river opposite to Tanna; but only a part of the rampart commanding the river was finished."⁵ On the 17th of December both Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive⁶ wrote directly to the Nawab in strong and threatening terms.⁷ The Admiral did not receive any reply from the Nawab. On 25th the pilots acquainted the Admiral that the time was favourable for advance, and on 27th he sailed from Fulda with the *Kent*, *Tyger*, *Salisbury*, *Bridgewater* and *Kingfisher*.⁸ The sepoy were ordered to march overland⁹ against Colonel Clive's wishes,¹⁰ and Captain Barker followed in boats with 80 of the train and two field pieces properly completed.¹¹ Next day, at about three in the afternoon, the troops and two field pieces landed at Mayapur, where they joined the sepoy. At five in the evening they marched from Mayapur, under the command of Colonel Clive and conducted by "Indian guides," in order to lay in an ambuscade on the roads leading from the fort of Buzbuz to Calcutta and Alinagur, and by that means to intercept the retreat of the Nawab's people to those places.¹² For

Ibid, p. 76.

Journal of the Expedition, etc.

Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 72.

Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757.

Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 121.

² *Egill, op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 71.

³ Ives' Voyage, p. 98; Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 70.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 121; Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757; Ives' Voyage, 99.

⁵ A Journal of the expedition to Bengal, etc.

⁶ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 95-98.

⁷ A Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.

⁸ Orme, Vol. II, p. 122; Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.

this they had to undergo "infinite labour and fatigue by a continued march all night, which was made difficult by the deep creeks and morasses the troops and cannon were obliged to pass." ¹ At 8 in the morning they passed through Paikpara, and after an hour halted at the place of ambuscade, "having the ships at anchor in view, though not the fort which was obscured by clusters of trees." ² Kesar Singh, the Commander of the sepoys, with two hundred sepoys. and Captain Pye, at the head of the Grenadier Company and the rest of the sepoys, were ordered to reconnoitre Captain Cauppe with his Company, and the volunteers were posted on the Calcutta Road to inform timely if the Nawab's troops approached by that way. ³ The rest of the troops, about 260 Europeans, remained with Colonel Clive. The soldiers were so fatigued that they left their arms in order to take some rest; but they fell suddenly asleep without taking the precaution of stationing sentinels. ⁴ Clive had no knowledge of the fact ⁵ that Manickchand, the Governor of Calcutta, had arrived the day before to Buzbuz with 1,500 cavalry and 2,000 infantry. ⁶ With this body of troops the latter made a sudden attack on Clive at about 10 o'clock. ⁷ The surprise attack at first created a panic and confusion in the rank of Clive's troops; the forces of Manickchand advanced and kept up a continual, though irregular fire wounding several, and killing an ensign. ⁸ But the advance of two platoons soon dislodged them from their position, and Manickchand had to retreat to Calcutta on his elephant. ⁹ The skirmish lasted for half an hour in which the English lost Ensign Kerr with 11 private men and about twenty were slightly wounded. ¹⁰ On the side of Manickchand 150 men were killed and wounded with four *Jamadas* and an elephant. Manickchand himself received a shot on his turban. ¹¹

The fleet arrived before the fort at about 7 A. M. and at half past seven Manickchand's people began to fire on the *Tyger* from inside the fort. ¹² At noon the cannon of the fort was "silenced by

¹ *Ibid.*

² A Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.; Clive's Letter to Pigot, dated 8th January, 1757.

³ Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.

⁴ Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 123.

⁵ Clive's letter to Pigot, dated 8th January, 1757.

⁶ Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 123.

⁷ Letter from Clive to Pigot, dated 8th January, 1757.

⁸ Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 123.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757.

¹¹ Clive's Letter to Pigot, dated the 8th January, 1757; A Journal of the Expedition, etc., Ives' Voyage, p. 97.

¹² Ives' Voyage, p. 98; Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 3.

the squadron" ¹ but the English forces, who had "marched down to the advanced battery near the river which the enemy had abandoned in the morning," and had drawn up "in front of the fort under cover of a high bank" ² and had an intention to storm the fort before night, fired some guns for most part of the day.³ At 7 P. M. the Admiral sent Captain King with 100 seamen ⁴ to storm the fort by that evening; but it was deferred till the next morning ⁵ at the suggestion of Colonel Clive, who pointed out that he himself, Major Killpatrick, and other soldiers were extremely fatigued on account of the last night's tedious march. ⁶ So all thought it proper to take rest for that night. But suddenly, amidst "a loud and universal acclamation," the Admiral heard that the fort had been taken by storm,⁷ due to the exuberance of a drunken sailor, belonging to the *Kent*, named Straban. Thus as Coote observes in his Journal, "the place was taken without the least honour to any one." One Captain Campbell lost his life "as he was posting sentries over a magazine" ⁸ and four soldiers were wounded.⁷ With this loss only, the English captured the fort which was "extremely well-situated for defence, and had the advantage of a wet ditch round it."⁸ Captain Coote remained in charge of the fort for the night.⁹ Next day (30th December) the troops re-embarked in the evening after "disabling the guns, carrying off the powder, demolishing the parapets of the fort and batteries and burning the houses."¹⁰ The sepoy marched along the bank of the river and the squadron proceeded up the river throughout the whole of the next day.¹¹

At 5 A. M. on the 2nd of January, the Company's troops being joined by the sepoy, marched towards Calcutta.¹² Thinking that two ships would enable him to attack Calcutta, Admiral Watson proceeded with the *Tyger* and the *Kent*, leaving *Salisbury* at Tannah "as a guardship to prevent the enemy from regaining it."¹³ The

¹ Ives' Voyage, p. 100.

² A Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.

³ Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated the 31st January, 1759.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Orme, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 124.

⁶ Coote's Journal, Hill, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 39-41.

⁷ Ives' Voyage, p. 88; Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated the 31st January,

1757.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated the 31st January, 1757.

¹⁰ Ibid; Coote's Journal.

¹¹ Ibid; Coote's Journal.

¹² A Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.

¹³ Ibid, Ives' Voyage, p. 101.

¹⁴ Ibid, Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.; Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 125.

¹⁵ Watson's Letter to Cleveland; dated the 31st January, 1759; Ives' Voyage, p. 101.

Tyger, which was the leading ship, was within sight of Calcutta at about 9 A. M. and at forty-five minutes past nine the Nawab's troops began to fire upon her from their batteries below Calcutta¹ killing and wounding several men.² At twenty minutes past ten, "the *Tyger* anchored abreast the line of guns at Calcutta, at half an hour after the *Kent* anchored."³ 'Both the ships then began to fire so warmly that at eleven the Nawab's troops were compelled to run away from the fort.⁴ According to the Admiral's orders Captain King took possession of the fort in the name of His Majesty the King of England and it was garrisoned with a detachment of Aldercron's regiment under the command of Captain Coote, who received the following instructions from the Admiral: "You are hereby required and directed to garrison the fort of Calcutta with His Majesty's troops you have now on shore, and take care to post your sentinels and guards so as not to be surprised by the enemy. In the evening I shall be on shore, and you are not to quit your post, or deliver up your command till further orders from me. During your continuance on shore you are to take care that no disorders be committed by his majesty's troops or any other people, but to treat the natives with humanity and take particular care that there is no plundering, as such offenders may depend on the severest punishment."⁵ After some time Colonel Clive arrived at the spot with the Company's troops. The Company's troops were refused admission, but the sentries admitted Colonel Clive, who argued before Captain Coote that Admiral Watson had no authority to appoint Coote, who held a subordinate position, as Governor. With the consent of both, the matter was referred to the Admiral, who sent Captain Speke on shore to know by what authority the Colonel took upon him the command of the fort. The Colonel replied that he did so "by the authority of his majesty's commission as lieutenant-colonel and also commander-in-chief of the land forces." Captain Speke carried this reply to the Admiral, who sent him back with the message that if the Colonel "did not abandon the fort, he would fire him out."⁶ The Colonel replied that he could not answer for the consequence and refused to give

¹ *Ibid.*, Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 1-3.

² Orme, Vol. II, pp. 125-126.

³ Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated the 31st January, 1757; Ives' Voyage, p. 101.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 126.

⁵ Ives' Voyage, p. 102.

⁶ Ives' Voyage, p. 103; Clive's Evidence before the Committee appointed to enquire into the nature, etc., of the East India Company, 26 May, 1772; Hill, Vol. III, p. 809; Watson's letter to Clive, dated 2nd January, 1757; Hill, Vol. II, p. 77.

up the command. But after a while Captain Latham, who was a friend of both the Admiral and the Colonel, went to the latter and settled the dispute in such a way that the Colonel agreed to give up the command if the Admiral came himself on shore and took the command.¹ The Admiral agreed to these terms.

Early in the next morning the Admiral landed ashore, received the keys of the garrison from Colonel Clive, and formally delivered up the fort to Mr. Drake and his Council, who were the Company's representatives in Bengal,² "with the guns, military stores, and effects, publick and private, for the benefit and on behalf of the Proprietors."³ Captain Coote then marched out with the King's troops and quartered in the town.⁴ The fort contained "many guns of different sizes, round and grape shots, shells, grenadoes, a small quantity of powder (and some military stores) but no small arms; in the godowns were several bales of the Company's broad-cloth and about 650 bales of goods for the Europe market; and in the town about 1,400 bales of cotton, a small quantity of toothernague and some China ware."⁵ For the private property found there a notice was issued, so that the respective owners might take their own effects from the Company's Sub-Accomptant (Accountant) by giving a receipt in return, in order "to be responsible for the said effects or their amount, in case it should be contested and awarded to another."⁶ The Council in Calcutta then wrote to the neighbouring Zainindars to pay the rents and revenues of their respective districts, "on pain of having their country destroyed in case of refusal." Some of them sent their *vakils* (representatives) and promised to obey the Company's orders. The Council hoped to meet thereby the charges of further operations intended to be carried on against the Nawab.

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 82.

³ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 82.

⁴ Coote's Journal, etc.

⁵ A Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.; Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757.

⁶ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 189.

COST OF FEDERATION

By NALINI RANJAN SARKER

Calcutta.

A PROMINENT feature in the evidence tendered before the Joint Select Committee was the financial implications of the establishment of Federation. Obviously, a proper assessment of the value of the constitutional changes contemplated cannot be made without reference to the cost of initiation, for if the cost is too high it may to that extent materially detract from the advantages of the reforms. The extremely limited financial resources of the country and the incapacity of the people to bear any fresh burdens of taxation at the present moment lend additional strength to this consideration. It becomes necessary, therefore, to ensure that the additional expenditure that may be entailed by the inauguration of the reforms should be kept down to the minimum.

The most authoritative review of this subject is the memorandum entitled "The Financial Implications of (1) Provincial Autonomy and (2) Federation" prepared by Sir Malcolm Hailey on behalf of the Secretary of State for India and placed before the Joint Select Committee. The memorandum estimates the cost at about Rs. 10½ crores of which roughly about Rs. 6 to 8 crores is ascribed to the provinces. The basis of the calculation of the latter amount may be briefly stated. Three quarters of a crore is assigned to the overhead expenses of setting up the new provincial machinery, comprising the cost of the provincial legislatures and the cost of the electorates. About half a crore is involved by the provincial governments taking over certain expenditure that is now borne by the Central Government. Of the residue, Rs. 2 to 3 crores is estimated to result from the proposed separation of Burma, a further amount of Rs. 3 to 4 crores being provided for the removal of provincial deficits and for the starting of the provinces on a self-supporting basis. Against this estimated cost of Rs. 6 to 8 crores in connection with the reforms in the Provinces, an amount of Rs. 2½ crores is provided for expenditure at the Federal Centre, of which about $\frac{3}{4}$ crores is attributed to the fresh expenditure on the legislature and Rs. 1½ crores is estimated as the temporary budgetary loss on the establishment of the Reserve Bank, owing to the proposed diversion of currency profits to the

building up of the reserves of the Bank. This is the kernel of Sir Malcolm Hailey's memorandum.

The estimate of Rs. 10½ crores thus reached undeniably reveals a formidable state of affairs, which means that the Indian tax-payers will have to pay far too dearly for any advantages accruing to them as a result of the constitutional changes. In a statement on Sir Malcolm Hailey's memorandum, Sir Samuel Hoare has sought to extenuate the implications by pointing out that comparatively only a small sum, *i.e.*, about three quarters of a crore for the Provinces and about the same amount for the Government at the centre, would be required to meet actual fresh expenditure, while the residue was attributable mainly to two factors which were inevitable even if there were no constitutional reforms, *viz.*, the situation arising out of the necessity of relieving Burma of the two or three crores which she now contributes to the Indian Central Government and the necessity of meeting the permanent deficits of provinces like Bengal and Assam, requiring another two crores of rupees.

The Secretary of State, however, looked ahead with an expectation of a better turn in the conditions of trade and a rise in prices effecting a consequential improvement in the financial position of the Federal and Provincial Governments, and he has also expressed a hope (and he was very careful in not putting it higher than that) that as a result of the proceedings of the Capitation Tribunal, a "contribution of some kind towards the defence expenditure of India" might be obtained from Great Britain, thereby relieving the financial position of India to some extent. He had however to admit that these factors were more or less uncertain and he did not altogether overlook the contingency of his expectation not being realised and he actually suggested the need for an expert enquiry into the entire financial position in such circumstances with a view to making a fresh adjustment.

It is significant to point out in this connexion that he made it clear in his statement that "if the state of the world does not get better, if we still go on with commodity prices either at their present level or actually falling, not only does it make any change almost impossible, but it makes the existing system of Indian finances almost equally impossible." At any rate, "so far as we can see, for quite a number of years to come, there is no orange to divide up in India between the Centre and the Provinces." That is the position, in a nutshell, of the Government of India, and the implications are that whether we are going to have Provincial Autonomy or Federation at some near future, all scope has to be barred to any kind of development work. The

Indian public can hardly acquiesce in this state of affairs and while they have necessarily to accept the limitation imposed by the conditions of world trade, they are by no means satisfied that there is no way out of this *impasse*. Sir Samuel Hoare mentioned in a very casual way in his statement that he believed there was still opportunity for economies to be carried out in certain fields of administration in India, *particularly provincial administration*, but both he in his oral evidence before the Joint Select Committee and Sir Malcolm Hailey in his memorandum seem to rule out the feasibility of any economy in the Defence expenditure of the Government of India forming about 60% of the total Central Budget.

Indian opinion is unanimous that the expenditure on defence should admit of considerable reduction. It appears from a statement submitted by the Secretary of State in reply to a question put by Sir H. S. Gour that though the expenditure on this score has been reduced from Rs. 68 crores in 1921-22 to Rs. 46·20 crores in the estimates for the current year, it is still much higher than the figure of Rs. 29 crores in 1913-14. Much was made by Sir Malcolm Hailey in his memorandum of the fact that "the present budget figure is regarded by the military authorities as barely satisfying the normal requirements of the army at its present strength, for it has involved the depletion of stocks of supplies and the postponement of building and other programmes." But Sir Samuel Hoare had to admit in answer to a question by Lord Hardinge that "this reduction was not due to a failure to replenish reserves of guns, shells, rifles, ammunition, etc." "These reserves," he added, "have not been depleted during the past or previous years." This admission is, in my opinion, quite significant, showing, as it does, the utter hollowness of the cry of inefficiency of the army due to reduction in expenditure. In the next place, the progressive Indianisation of the army must inevitably reduce the amounts that are required for Defence, while, in fairness to India, a more equitable adjustment of India's defence expenditure between this country and Britain must be made. It is almost unanimously admitted that the Indian army also serves an important imperial purpose. If it had not been for the existence of the Indian Army and the fact that it is available for imperial purposes, Britain would have to spend much more than she does on her defence forces, in order to maintain a stronger standing army and to station more units in the Near and Middle East. It is only just, therefore, that a part of India's army expenditure should really be debited to Britain's account; and if India can secure justice in this respect the financial

burden of federation need not terrify the Indian tax-payers. Sir Samuel, as I have already said, was very guarded in committing himself to any definite statement in regard to the award of the Capitation Tribunal; we are told that the Report of the Tribunal is at present under the consideration of His Majesty's Government, and all that we can hope for is when their decision will be announced next autumn, India will not be disappointed in her claims for being amply compensated by Great Britain for the expenditure on Imperial Defence.

It is also amazing that the Secretary of State while showing a great concern for keeping the cost of the Federation within reasonable limits should have nowhere questioned the justification of the present level of emoluments and salaries. Unquestionably a Federal System of Government is more expensive than the present, but I must question the basis on which this cost has been calculated. The official estimates assume that the existing level of salaries and emoluments will be continued. But, I ask, whether it is necessary in order to maintain efficiency or even to attract the right type of men into the Federal Services that these salaries and emoluments should be retained at their existing high level? We are convinced that the present scale of salaries is extravagant and far too burdensome for our country. At any rate, there can be no question that first class Indians can now be obtained in India for the All-India Services on a salary substantially less than what is the present cadre. The scale of salaries of the superior services was fixed when it was understood they would be manned by recruits from England. When a policy of Indianisation is laid down, therefore, the whole situation becomes altered and calls for reconsideration. In this connection it is interesting to note the policy and experience of one of the greatest Indian-owned industrial corporations in the country. By following a policy of Indianisation, this Corporation pays to an Indian officer only two-thirds of the salary allowed a foreign officer he displaces. The policy has worked long and successfully. The salaries paid at present admit of considerable scaling down without injury to efficiency in the least. Moreover, when a new scale of salaries is fixed for new recruits, a fresh body of servants of the state will arise whose ideas and sense of values will be entirely different.

There is yet another important direction in which important economies are possible. The Federal Government of India will be one of the largest purchasers of material in the world and their total purchases will constitute the most important item of expenditure. It is

wellknown that in the past the policy of purchasing in the cheapest market in the world consistent with quality has not been seriously followed. If that were done, and our specifications so drafted as to give an opportunity to every country to quote, I am sure at least a 10% saving would be effected. We may also assume that the reckless extravagance that has characterised the execution of some of our greatest projects will disappear under a thoroughly Indianised administration, fully responsible to a representative legislature.

The importance of these economies lies not only in easing the difficulty of meeting the cost of Federation but also in the fact, which is even more important, that such economies would make an increasing amount available for the nation-building and social services. Under a true Swaraj Government the economic development of the country will receive particular, genuine and sympathetic consideration. I anticipate a great increase in the material well-being of the country and consequently a growing ability to meet larger expenditure. If only the form of Government is changed into a more costly one, without the real control of affairs passing into the hands of Indians but remaining as it is to-day in the hands of a more or less irresponsible alien bureaucracy, these expectations are, I admit, impossible of realisation.

In this connection, I should also utter a word of warning. Sir Samuel Hoare laid special stress on economy in the Provincial Expenditure. We are all conscious of the extravagance incurred in running the primary departments of the Provincial Government and the step-motherly attitude shown by the Provincial Governments towards what are called "nation-building departments," the declaration by the Secretary of State may therefore raise a suspicion in the minds of many that the axe will again fall on the latter in order to set the provinces "on a even keel." We must take our stand strongly against such a move. The Budget of the Reserved Departments of the Provincial Governments admittedly leaves much scope for economy, so that large sums may be spared for the nation-building departments. At any rate, that has got to be ensured if, as Sir Samuel says, "there is no sum at the moment to be divided up amongst the Provinces other than, say, a part of the jute tax or some such payment of that kind for dealing with the very exceptional position of Bengal." Speaking of Bengal, I may say that she could legitimately claim the whole of the proceeds of the jute tax. Had this legitimate demand been conceded, she would perhaps have had no deficits to-day, for half the proceeds of the jute tax is likely to be just sufficient to wipe out

the present deficit. Moreover, so long as the present allocation of funds between the Reserved and the Transferred Departments is retained there is not much of a hope for the economic development of the Province. I believe that is the case with all the other provinces as well, and hence the urgent necessity for drastic reduction in the expenditure on account of the primary functions of the Government.

“ Let me assure you with all the emphasis and earnestness I can command that plans for University development, whether judged by word already accomplished or activities yet to be undertaken, have been neither casual nor accidental. They have their solid basis on the rock of a definite conception of the true function of the University in the life of the Nation. It is the duty of the University to gather from the persistent past, where there are no dead, and to embody within its wall the learning of the world in living exponents of Scholarship, who shall maintain in Letters, Science and Art the standards of truth and beauty and the canons of criticism and taste. It is equally incumbent upon the University, for the living present and its persistence in the future, to enlarge the boundaries of human learning and to give powerful aid to the advancement of knowledge by the development of creative capacity in those disciplines through which men seek for truth and strive after duty. It is further incumbent on the University to convey to the community in popular, quite as much as in permanent form, the products of the highest thought on current problems of Science and Society, of Government and public order, of knowledge and conduct. The University can achieve this object and contribute to the welfare of the people in freedom, health and wealth, if it sends forth streams of liberally educated men and women to be leaders of public opinion and to be practitioners in all the brain-working professions of our time, for law, medicine, engineering, teaching and commerce, to architecture, agriculture, banking, journalism and public administration. A University so designed for the service of the Nation in all possible phases of its development, cannot be restricted to a narrow or chosen teaching, much less starved altogether in its activities. It cannot be treated either as a great scholastic sanctuary or as a glorified technical institute.”

—*Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in his Convocation Speech, 1922*

THE STUDY OF INDIAN ART

By ST. KRAMRISCH,
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MORE and more relics of Indian art become known and an increasing number of theories about them follows. A theory literally is a manner of looking at things and this would specially apply to works of art. They must be seen or else they cannot be understood. There is no other approach but through the eye and seeing means here something more than taking notice. It is a direct and absolute communion through the eye and the number of those able to partake in it is equally determined as the number of those who are predestined to understand, i.e., to hear music. Still, the unmusical person refrains from, and in any case is not expected to experience, music and to register his reaction.

On Indian art, there is however a mute consensus that irrespective of the presence or absence of the faculty of seeing, theories may be elaborated for the sake of justifying one's existence.

By no education will the unmusical person become musical, and by no operation does the eye unseeing in face of art, become seeing. The tongue may be practised. Words and notions are substituted for the "unseen," reading is a widespread habit, writing almost as bad, and theories are launched, believed in, disputed and give rise to others.

The various existing methods of approaching Indian art fall into two main groups. In one of them the eye is not put to any further use, no faculties are released, none even are expected differing from those of the eye that sees a leaf and makes you say green, a pond, twenty yards across, a girl, ugly. Codification of sense impressions, valuations that can be measured by the yard, others unfathomable in their limitations of which the opining individual is stacked, belong to the one group. Besides the scholar or expert is more or less well versed in Indian history or philosophy or various other branches of "learning." Sidelights are thrown while facts are gleaned. They are of importance, they may be indispensable even to one whose eye can see.

The second group allow their seeing eyes to dwell on Indian art and their conclusions vary according to how the record of their eye is received by their personality, its power of identification with Indian art and its faculty of rendering this relation by way of their 'systems.'

The first group is by far the larger. One of its branches is naive and righteous in method and claim. Its foundation lies where description takes for granted whatever can be given a name and where the rationale of a school training is indispensable.

This descriptive method,—image of Maya Devi (height), made of black *Kasti pathar*, in this posture under that tree, with six minor figures around it of which each is to be recognised according to insignia, numbers of heads, built of body, etc., etc., all have their names, this implies a meaning, mythology, lotus pedestal variety B, two donors on either side—finally puts "mediaeval" as date and proceeds to the next image. Without much ado and before having gone as far as that the dynastic history of the place as far as inscriptions, etc., will have revealed will be dwelt upon as a befitting introduction. Facts are communicated, the most important is the reproduction from an original photograph.

Let those who dare and can, spin the cobwebs of imagination round this clear piece of news!

A bolder access than the descriptive one is climbed by the historical method. Missing links are still welcomed when participation is lacking on the side of the scholars, with art. Step by step, gap by gap is filled in by evolution. What evolves, from where, into what direction, does it evolve at all, where is the measure and where the proof? Needless to ask; biology of yesterday driven from its position lives in the sheltered nooks of the art historian's mind. Pass Brahma day and Brahma night, another and yet another, creation and dissolution, its process towards creation, go on as long as it is certain that the diameter of the bottom of the lotus capital decreases in an inverse proportion to its height, as time goes on.

But the thin thread of the historical method has not as yet been twisted with any firmness, with the help of Indian material. In its stead tape is being applied of Western manufacture. It is used as a flourish, glitter of a safety pin. It tears the texture, never mind. The hand, also, is not too sure as yet as to how to apply it.

If the thin thread threatens to break why not strengthen it by the comparative method. Blue here, blue there, does it not always remain blue. Pull out a hair here, pull out a hair there, put the two

together, there is no end of it, what a mass of hair. It has been torn out, it need not grow again.

Or else excursions need not go as far as that, it is profitable to stay at home and to watch how cultural activities in other spheres determined or took a parallel course with art. What moves either, what pushes, is not the question. Observe the facts recorded and co-ordinate them and the picture is filled in. On what is it painted? No need asking, it looks a picture. What does it show? Many things, one next to the other, why should they be there. That they are, as they are how did it come about? The unseeing eye receives no answer. It has collected so many data, named, and compared them and has drawn its conclusions, the painting is complete and many more of its kind may be drawn.

If the descriptive method, unknowingly full of self-denial prepares the stones for a building, the historical method joins them. If all are laid in one line there is the danger of collapse, nor is the direction all too clear. Leaving aside the applicability of this method to Western art, it is of greater importance to ask—Can Western historical methods be applied to Indian history? Do not the Indian facts demand an order and approaches which fit the facts? Are they to be passed through foreign meshes and measured according to foreign standards. The tepid commonplace of the ultimate sameness of man is an abstraction at its best, but history means life, and its possibilities are uncounted. The Indian possibility carries a measure and destiny of its own. It communicates it to the student who does not tie it into his net of taught conventions. The student who can afford to forget, when he has been trained to behold, will have to take upon himself a task of which possibly he is not yet aware. Nevertheless and even then, the seeing eye will show the way and from no other source can light be shed on it.

Midway between the seeing and the unseeing eye stands what is commonly called art criticism. Fragments of the two first methods are joined by the personal predilections, preconceived 'aesthetic' ideals and a fair command of supposedly technical words. While formerly Indian art used to be judged according to Western classical standards and its value was found to be negative at present the terms coined to denote certain aspects of Western art are transferred to Indian art for the sake of an interpretation of its 'aesthetic values,' and as more and more *śilpa śāstras* become known, their terminology too, is made use of as if this would not express anything but the views held by craftsmen

and the interested public at an age that saw and expressed things different from ours. The living substratum, the valid tradition no longer being there, these terms and notions, are but a cliché, and it is of greater importance to go to the originals for their understanding, and this will impart life to the cliché too.

Most of the writings on Indian art, it is seen, have little to do with it and they brush its fringes, they may circumscribe the situation of the body which is left untouched, by descriptive archaeology, by art history and by aesthetic art criticism. The limits between these three approaches are not always sharply drawn and they intermingle. This arbitrary and fluctuating talking on art and specially on Indian art cannot but evoke mistrust. The outsider will say enough if there is art and people enjoy it and no self-appointed priest is required between the two. Others may think that a strangely misled taste of the public has to be educated and guided towards the discrimination of quality and if the art critic succeeds in this, his existence is justified. If his eyes are open, they may no doubt help others too, to behold with wonder what hitherto had remained hidden from them. This tutorial work may prove useful, it is however not the main aim of the study of Indian art.

What then is its aim? Literature, i.e., the written word had been hitherto the almost exclusive material, by which man and his standard could be approached. For this purpose the intellect had to be trained. But all there is in man does not find utterance in words and to be able to follow the articulations in material more tangible than sound, less elusive and obedient to a logic which is not that of the intellect alone, the eye has to be trained.

Assuming that a person born with the gift of seeing is trained systematically to co-ordinate the data of the visible, to what account may this knowledge be turned? Before sketching the various possibilities a word may be said about the elementary training of the eye and in what it consists. In relations of points, lines, surfaces, volumes, space, light and darkness and colours, there exists a coherence and it is this coherence that matters. Twofold may be the attitude towards this coherence. Beheld from outside the world of this coherence may be interpreted as the result of a specific mode of seeing and of correlating accordingly the visible values. From this point of view the mode of correlation is taken to be the result of certain given conditions, say for instance the sixteenth century sees like

this, the seventeenth like that. While the observations on the work of art are correct, arbitrariness creeps in where outer connections, such as the historical, are taken to be causally connected with the data observed. Rules consequently are seen into an "evolution" from one type of seeing to another. The question is not asked in this system whether these modifications in seeing may not be connected with other factors than the chronological and whether the element of time may not have to give way to others, such as those of the ethnical carrier, or the soil. This formalistic, historico-biological treatment may or may not fit the specific phase of Western art which was its starting point. If, however, such deductions and their corresponding categories are seen into any phase of Indian art their net will not fit any better than that of Western classical notions did at its time. The only gain lies in the novel attempt at seeing, while the interpretation is a process of applied thought and rules. Or else the stress may be laid not on the chronological but mainly on the ethnical element and then art will serve as an indicator of racial predestinations. In either case art is made into a means of demonstrating correspondences, be they biological or if the term may be used 'geo-sanguineus,' in each case the work of art is asked with a purpose and if the desired answer comes forth, its mission is fulfilled.

What is lacking in either method is the participation of the scholar in the work of art. His sociological pre-occupations stand in his way of ridding himself of the entire apparatus which he is expected to be able to master, and to enter art as a vehicle that leads from the seen into the ever unseen state of being and its paradoxical utterance, creation. Once this root is struck, all the ramifications unfold and are beheld in their proper places.

The study of Indian art demands from its interpreter not only that he should be fully alive to the situation into which he is placed in space and time, for how else could he make sure of his own limitations, of his own peculiar mode of seeing?—and that his eye should be seeing, but that while seeing he should contemplate and once out of his contemplation apply the whole critical apparatus, in the way in which he is guided by the experience gained during, and by the result of his contemplation. Once more, and different from the Indian craftsman of old he has to identify himself with the meaning and exact data of a *sadhana*, but this not a written or spoken formula, but a visible whole, be it a single work of art, or a phase or aspect of Indian art. Having participated in the urge. in

the compulsion that had brought forth Indian art, and stepping aside into the—as far as can be—neutral sphere of one's knowledge and awareness, it will be permissible to study Indian art, as that living form of the Indian mind, which utters what words cannot communicate in a consistent language of its own.

“I do not agree with those who are of opinion that our post-graduate students should rigidly avoid politics. The political field is the rightful inheritance of the well-educated man. To tell graduates that they are to refrain from all political controversy is in my opinion to create the inevitable desire for forbidden fruit. It seems to my mind far better in the interests of good government that the young men in our universities should study politics and learn to understand properly the politics of the world and particularly of their country, in a properly organised graduates' political society under the supervision of a responsible professor, so that when they leave their university they will be able to direct and confine their political opinions to their proper channels with beneficial results. It requires years of deep study to enable one to form a judgment of and to arrive at the right conclusion in any political problem. There can be no objection, I think, to graduates attending political meetings within reasonable limits if their object be to educate themselves in politics and to learn its difficult problems, accustoming themselves to discount at its true value the violent language which in most countries accompanies a political movement. Their education should enable them to carefully weigh all the arguments and to arrive at a conclusion dictated by their own judgment and commonsense. They will then be able to adduce intelligent reasons for the opinions they hold and to add weight to the uninstructed political opinions of the public. I would remind those who wish to follow in the footsteps of men like the late Mr. Gokhale that it is necessary to spend years in studying the knotty problems of politics and to learn to sacrifice personal and private interests to the public good before it is possible to become a political leader of the country in the true sense of the word.”

—Sir R. N. Mookerjee in his Convocation Address at the
University of Patna, 1919

THE CHINESE MYSTICISM

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THE Chinese mind, generally speaking, has no mystic bent. The Confucian positivism is its best expression and the greater bulk of the people have been ardent followers of the Confucian ethics. The abolition of imperialism, round which this Confucianism centered in ancient times, has made no difference in the country and the Confucian attitude of mind has not been disturbed in the least. The Confucian ethics is mainly based on conservative social dogmas. There is no place of divine revelation in it, and it insists on the reciprocal duties of the Emperor and his subjects, father and children, and the fellow-citizens. The respect of the subjects for the Emperor, and the respect of the children for their ancestors, constitute the real foundation of the Government and family. This is why it has been given the place of a national religion in Confucian ethics. In Confucian philosophy there is no place for a Creator God, and in fact Confucius himself refused more than once to be dragged into the speculation on the existence of a Godhead. He explains the mystery of the Universe by the formulation of two principles which he calls *Yin* and *Yang*. *Yin* is the female principle which is passive and *Yang* is the male principle which is active. These two in conjunction create the beings which populate the earth.

Such a simple positivist creed could not have given rise to mysticism, but still China witnessed very early the birth and growth of a very intricate mysticism. This mysticism known as Taoism was, if we are to rely on tradition, first introduced by Lao-tse in the 6th century B.C. Lao-tse was an elder contemporary of Confucius and lived between 570 and 490 B.C. Lao-tse which means the "Old Philosopher" was only the nickname of the teacher and the real name still remains in obscurity. In fact, the personal history of the "Old Philosopher" is not much known. It is admitted by all sources that he was the librarian in the court of the Cheou princes and while engaged in the study of the old documents he discovered his new mystic philosophy. About his last days there are two different stories: according to one, he left his office and went away to the West (West of China) and was never heard of afterwards; according to the other he lived in China till his death. His mystic philosophy is

contained in a canonical work which is called the *Tao-te-king* and attributed to him. About this treatise there are two stories: according to one, Lao-tse composed it during his journey in the West for his friend Yin-hi who was the guard of the Western pass; according to the other, admitted to be more authentic, he discovered it or at least records containing the exposition of analogous doctrines in the ministerial archives. If we are to rely on the second, we have to admit that the history of Taoism did not commence with Lao-tse, it had its pre-history, or, in other words, Lao-tse had his precursors. But this pre-history is lost in oblivion and for all practical purposes the *Tao-te-king* is our oldest authority on the subject.

About Lao-tse, what the famous Chinese historians Sse-ma-ts'ien of the 2nd century B.C. has said still remains true: "of the Old Teacher some say this, while others say that, and it can be only affirmed that this man deliberately effaced all the traces of his life because he loved obscurity above all." It is not known if he had any following during his life-time but in later times some of the well-known Chinese writers and philosophers professed his mystic doctrines and amongst them were counted Lie-tse, Chuang-tse and Yang-chu who lived in the 4th century B.C., wrote comments on the famous work and contributed to the spread and development of Taoist philosophy. The Taoist literature which consists of about two thousand treatises forms an important section of Chinese literature.

Tao literally means the way and is generally rendered as the principle. This *Tao* is conceived as the unique principle which existed before everything else. It is both transcendent and immanent and has no form, sound or colour. It can not be expressed or defined in language and "if a name has been given to it, it is as a symbol, if not of its unfathomable essence, but of the way in which it manifests itself on earth." Says the *Tao-te-king*:

"The principle which may be enunciated is not that which always existed. The being that may be named is not that which always existed. Before all times, there was an ineffable and unnameable being. When he was still unnameable he conceived the heaven and the earth. He then became nameable and gave birth to all beings. Man's knowledge of the universal principle depends on the state of his mind. The mind which is habitually free from passion knows its mysterious essence. The mind which is habitually full of passion knows only its effects."

The commentators, discussing this passage of the *Tao-te-king*, says: Before times and before all times there was a being who was

self-existent, eternal, infinite, complete and omnipresent. It is impossible to name him or speak of him because human words apply to perceptible beings. But the primordial being was at the beginning, and is even now, essentially imperceptible to the senses. Before the origin of the world there was nothing beyond him. His essence alone existed at the beginning. This essence possessed two immanent properties—the *yin*, concentration and the *yang*, expansion, which were once exteriorised under the two perceptible forms of heaven and earth. This was the commencement of times and since then the principle came to be named. The state of *yin*, i.e., the state of concentration and repose which the principle had before time is his real state. The state of *yang*, i.e., the state of expansion and action, the state of manifestation in perceptible beings, is his condition in time—a condition which is illusory. To these two conditions of the principle correspond in the mental faculty of man repose and activity or in other words void and fullness. When the mind is productive of ideas it is full of images, it is moved by passions and at that time it is able only to recognise the effects of the principle. But when the cogitation of the mind is absolutely stopped it becomes completely void and calm, it is then like a pure and unstained mirror in which is reflected the ineffable and unnameable essence of the principle itself.

This principle is further defined in the *Tao-te-king* as the true nature. The superior kind of wisdom consists in knowing this true nature of self. It can be attained by imposing one's own will on himself and in mastering his passions. It can be realised by renouncing all forms of conventional knowledge and worldly activities. In the words of Lao-tse a true sage "acts without acting, is busy without being busy, tastes without tasting, sees with the same eye the great and small, much and little." These words of Lao-tse are capable of only one interpretation. Man ought to realise the universal principle or the true nature of his self. This principle or true nature cannot be defined by words, it can be only felt or realised. This realisation is possible only when the passions have been mastered, the worldly ideas and images have been removed from the mind and a perfect calm has been attained. The mind goes back to its real nature or gets the image of its real self when it is completely clean and void. This cannot be attained through conventional knowledge. When the mind attains this true nature its attitude undergoes a complete change. The man then moves in the world but not as others do. As he has then no desires and passions he acts but he is not moved by any of his actions,

he looks at others but sees in them only one universal principle and does not distinguish between this man or that man,

There is however a practical side of this mysticism. The method by which the transcendental state can be reached is indicated by Lao-tse in the following words :

"Close your mouth and nostrils and you will run to the end of your days without any decadence. To talk too much and indulge in too many anxieties is to waste yourself away and shorten your life. To concentrate the rays of intelligence on the intelligence and not to allow the mental functions to disturb your body is to cover (or protect) the body so that it may endure long."

Chuang-tse states this method more clearly : One should retire to river banks or solitary places and abstain from doing anything just as those who really love nature and like to enjoy leisure, do. To take in breath in a measured way, to evacuate the air contained in the lungs and to replace it by fresh air lengthens one's life. However simple this method might have been at the beginning, it gave rise later on to a very complicated system of breath control.

The pantheistic conception of the universal principle and breath control and concentration prescribed for realising that principle within the self have no doubt close similarity with the Upanishadic conception of Brahma and certain Yogic methods adopted for its realisation within the self. The agreement is so close that one feels tempted to say that Lao-tse derived his ideas from the Indian source and his traditional journey to the West may supply its confirmatory evidence. In fact some Sinologists have expressed such an opinion. But there is a very great difficulty in accepting such a view because the ancient Chinese annals do not officially admit of any relation of China with India before the close of the 1st century A.D.

But whether of Indian extraction or of independent growth there is no doubt that the mystic philosophy of the " Old Philosopher " attain " a rare elevation although its very sublimity renders it sometimes obscure."

IMPRESSIONS OF INDUSTRIAL JAPAN *

By SIR LALUBHAI SAMALDAS, KT.

I feel very grateful to the Chairman and members of this Institute for inviting me to speak on my impressions on Industrial Japan. Before I give my impressions, I would like to say something about the period of my trip and the industrial concerns which I had an opportunity of visiting. One stayed in that country for thirty-three days and during that interval was able to see the working of six cotton mills, one cement factory, two porcelain works, one spinning machinery manufacturing work, one clock manufacturing work and one cloisonne work. In all cases permission had to be obtained beforehand for the visits and the management had previous information of these visits. I am giving this detailed information as I have often been asked if I was allowed to pay surprised visits. I did not ask for such permission nor would such permission, if granted, have been really useful as my ignorance of the Japanese language would have been a great handicap. Moreover, I did not think mill-owners and other industrialists will in any country allow a visitor to go over their mills at any time he liked. I would like to confess that I am not a technical man and my remarks are to be taken as those of a layman connected with the financial side of some cotton mills and other concerns.

The first and most lasting impression left on the mind of a visitor to Japan is the intense nationalism of the people. Their country right or wrong is the mental, if not the spoken, slogan of the people. The whole nation is united as a whole and an indivisible entity in Japan. One seldom sees the agriculturists fighting with the industrialists. The objective is the same, the progress of the country. There is not a single prefecture looking upon the other with jealous eyes as a rival. They both desire to work for a common cause, namely, the material advance of the country and its people. The second point that impressed me a great deal was the desire of the industrialists to look ahead and to go on introducing improved machinery in the mills so that it may continue to keep high efficiency. The industrialists think more of the future competition and of the preparations to meet it than of immediate dividends and managing agents' remuneration.

Of the cotton mills that I visited one is considered both by the Japanese and by the Indians residing in Japan as the best and biggest cotton mill in Japan. Others were smaller mills and not so clean and imposing as the Kanegafuch Mills, but the labour-welfare work done in all the mills was of an almost equally high standard.

In all these mills the majority of workers consists of girls. There are some men workers also. There are girls' dormitories, bachelors' dormitories for female and male workers. In some mills there are houses for workmen's families. The dormitories are quite clean and have very little furniture. The beds are of mat, are clean and kept in drawers in each room. Under a regulation, they have to be cleaned every morning and sun-dried once a week. The workers, both male and female, work for 8½ hours per day. There are two shifts per day and consequently the

* Synopsis of a speech delivered by Sir Lalubhai Samaldas at the Indian Institute of Economics, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 22nd August, 1933.

mills' work is done for seventeen hours per day. Under another regulation no woman is allowed to work in factory from 11 P.M. to 5 A.M. As the female workers are in a majority, the mills have as a result of this regulation to be closed for six hours a day. Out of the remaining 18 hours, there is a recess of half an hour per shift and thus the working hours are reduced to seventeen. I have seen the working girls in the mills and also during their recess and during their off-time and have found them cheerful and sprightly. All these girls have the advantage of seven years' compulsory education and few months' training as apprentices. They are naturally more intelligent and more attentive than the workers here. It has been said that the Japanese mill-owner sweats labour. A person working for 1½ hours less than the workmen in India cannot be said to be sweated labour. At least the industrialist here has no right to say so. If we compare the wages of the girls there with those of the workmen here and make allowance for the provision of dormitories and mess feeding at about half the cost, it must be acknowledged that the girls are financially much better off. Physically they are also far superior to our workmen. A Japanese girl attends to about 8 looms as against 2 looms worked till recently by an Indian workman. Although the work is nominally four times, there appeared on the face of the girls no effect of the strain of this extra work. In one mill working with the Toyoda Automatic Looms, a girl is able to work 30 looms and the Manager of the mill told me that practically a girl could manage 60 looms but experience showed that it was physically impossible for a girl to attend to more than 32 looms. A girl attending to even 30 looms means a reduction in labour cost, i.e., nearly 1/15 the Indian labour cost.

Management by Directors, one being in charge of each Department, is also much more efficient. Absence of the Managing Agency system gives direct control and interest to individual Directors and leads also to economy. As there is usually a combination of mills working together for the organisation of cotton purchase and cloth sales, they are able to purchase cotton at a cheaper price on the spot and sell their manufactured goods in the most profitable markets.

The Cotton Spinners' Association have an agreement with the Conference Lines for carrying all the cargo from India to Japan at a low rate. As all the mills work through the Association, the latter body is almost in a position to dictate terms. As there are no Japanese Lines in the Conference which has entered into an agreement, there is no likelihood of the Japanese Government giving any subsidy in lieu of rebate to a non-Japanese Company. Similarly, the Japanese Government are not likely to grant subsidies to cotton mills that are able to declare dividends. Bounties and subsidies are given to concerns which are in difficulties and are not able to earn profits. No Government, unless it is entirely ignorant and foolish, would give subsidies to profit-earning concerns.

The same efficiency and economy were noticeable in the cement and the porcelain factories. In the latter as well as the cloisonne factory, I was very much impressed with the artistic work. In these institutions, it is a genuine pleasure to see young girls and others doing delicate painting work on the porcelain ware.

The percentage of agricultural households is 47 out of the total households in Japan. Agriculture is, therefore, a very important industry, though not as important as in India. In agricultural industry also, Japan is forging ahead by the use of chemical manures and improved agricultural implements. The agriculturists have been able to raise the amount of rice grown per acre by some 50% in the past few years. Increase in the acreage under cultivation and the produce per acre are jointly ahead of

the increase in population. Agriculture is a growing and important industry. There are many farms for the growth of gold-fishes which are exported in large numbers to America and other countries, bringing a very appreciable return.

Sericulture is almost like a hand-maid to agriculture, as more than 22% of agriculturists are doing this work, thus increasing to a large extent the income they derive from agriculture.

Although I had little time at my disposal to inspect the small home industries, I found that the few I saw, were worked as efficiently and economically as the large ones.

PROTECTION AND GROWTH OF NATIONAL CAPITAL

By DR. H. L. DEY, M.A., D.Sc.

Dacca University,

and

DR. J. P. NIYOGI, M.A., PH.D.

Calcutta University.

I

In the course of his review of *The Indian Tariff Problem* in the August Number of this Journal (pp. 257-58), Dr. J. P. Niyogi, while conceding that protection is extremely bad from the point of view of distribution, does not accept the proposition, which I have set out on p. 33 of the book just referred to, that far from stimulating the growth of national capital, it is calculated rather to reduce the rate of its growth. I have tried to put as generous a construction as possible on the reverse proposition enunciated by the Indian Fiscal Commission (Report, para. 42) and further elaborated and illustrated by Dr. Niyogi. This latter proposition does not amount to much more than that protection *vid* higher prices effects an automatic transfer of purchasing power from the consuming classes to the producing-investing classes, who have a margin of saving over expenditure and who invest these savings through shares or debentures or undivided profits, *i.e.*, company reserves, thus increasing the industrial capital of the country. But the nature and significance of the transfer will become clear to us if we continue our search further backwards and forwards both into the antecedent and the subsequent state. Before the transfer took place, the purchasing power in question was in the hands of (i) the rural classes, *i.e.*, landlords, tenure-holders, agriculturists, village artisans, traders, etc.; (ii) the urbanised, middle class people and others; and (iii) the rentier class, which perhaps is a very small class in India. Now, in all these three cases, the higher prices brought about by protection *ipso facto* leave a smaller margin of savings than before, because a part of the former savings now passes *vid* higher prices into the hands of the entrepreneur and shareholding classes. That is, the difference between the pre-protection and the post-protection price-levels measures the *decrement of saving* for the first three classes and *increment of income* to the share-holders, labourers and entrepreneurs in the protected industries. But let us follow out the consequences of the transfer step by step. It is only stated, but not analytically proved, *e.g.*, by the Fiscal Commission and Dr. Niyogi, that the transfer will help the growth of national capital. It is difficult to see how the transfer of the savings of classes (ii) and (iii) above to the industrial classes, *i.e.*, entrepreneurs, share-holders and labourers in the protected industries, will lead to an increase in the aggregate national capital. The amount remains the same, only the ownership is different. Some significant change does indeed happen to the purchasing power that is transferred from class (i), *i.e.*, rural, to the industrial classes. The savings that would have otherwise remained

idle in the shape of hoards or jewellery, etc., i.e. potential but inactive capital, now become active and effective capital. That is, there is a change in the character of the capital. Even so, it is not clear how this change in the character of the capital leads to a change in the amount as well. On the contrary, since the rural classes have a comparatively lower and more stationary standard of living than the urban-industrial classes to whom the purchasing power of the former is now transferred, it is fairly obvious that such a transfer will mean a greater aggregate expenditure and therefore, lesser aggregate savings. Now, the larger aggregate savings that would have remained in the hands of the rural classes in the absence of the protection-high-price regime could be cured of their extravagant "shyness" through the spread of education and the popularisation of the modern methods of investing small savings in the post-office savings deposits, cash certificates, and co-operative societies—methods whose success have been amply demonstrated since the last war. This is the right treatment of the disease of hoarding. To attempt to cure it by a virtually compulsory transfer of the savings of the rural classes to the industrial classes is nearly as good as drying up the well itself in order to prevent leakage of water, or burning away the whole crop in order to destroy the weed, or cutting away the stomach itself in order to cure dyspepsia. I agree that the remedies I have suggested will take a comparatively long period to produce their full effects. And so, if I have understood Dr. Niyogi aright, he would theoretically support a protective policy as being beneficial in the short period from the point of view of capital growth through company reserves, etc. But if such a policy does not increase the aggregate savings, as argued above, I can only interpret Dr. Niyogi to mean that he would prefer to have a larger immediate increment to the invested industrial capital even at the cost of a decrement of aggregate savings, although the pursuit of the more direct, educative, method I have suggested would give us larger aggregate savings as well as larger investments in the long run. The short-period policy of protection gives us a small gain in increment of industrial investment but a larger loss through decrease of aggregate savings; Dr. Niyogi also agrees that this small gain obtainable under a protective policy is far outweighed by its injurious effect on distribution. If, then, these are the items on the debit and the credit side of the account, will Dr. Niyogi kindly attempt to strike the net balance again? I am sure he will find good cause for retracting even the small concession he appears to have rather incautiously made to the protectionist thesis.

Dr. Niyogi also contends that "protective tariffs on the necessities of life cause a transference of resources from persons with little or absolutely no margin for saving to persons who enjoy greater facilities for saving. If these sums had been retained by the poor these would have been expended on consumption goods, whereas the sums diverted to the rich are likely to be reinvested." I confess I have been unable to follow the point of this suggestion. If we assume, as we must, that the purchasing power of the poor with little or absolutely no margin for saving is fixed, the rich, i.e., industrial classes, cannot get more under a protective system than under the pre-protective one. They have transferred to them the same sum of money in both cases (assuming that they produce commodities both of elastic as well as inelastic demand). So that there is no chance of their being able to receive and save more in the one case than in the other. But there is certainly a lesser amount of savings left to the poorer classes in the regime of protection than under that of free trade. For, in the pre-protection stage of lower prices also they would have spent these sums of consumption goods; only they would have got either more

commodities with the same amount of money, or the same commodities with a lesser amount of money, there being a saving in the second case. In the post-protection stage of higher prices, they buy a lesser amount of commodities with the same amount of money as before, or an equal amount of commodities with a greater sum of money, there being negative saving in the second case. Thus, in the pre-protection stage there is a chance of saving or obtaining more commodities; while in the post-protection stage there is negative saving or receipt of a lesser amount of commodities. So that a protective policy produces exactly the reverse of the result which Dr. Niyogi, in company with the Fiscal Commission, envisages for it.

Nor do I think that Dr. Niyogi's third point that "in so far as a portion of the revenue from customs is applied in payment of the interest on national debt internally held the effect on savings is not likely to be prejudicial, for the sum so applied is likely to be re-invested," can stand the test of analysis. The customs duties are like all other taxes in their effect on the tax-givers, only with this difference that they take a larger proportion of the income from the poor than from the rich, whereas most other taxes do just the reverse. Exactly to the extent that the customs go to the payment of interest on public debt internally held, do they diminish the capacity of the consumers of all classes to pay interest on private debts. The customs duties do not reduce the aggregate amount of internal debt, private and public, nor do they increase savings more than what would have been the case in the absence of customs duties. (In considering the incidence of import duties, we must accept the verdict of Marshall, Pigou, and Sir Herbert Samuel that on the whole they should be assumed to fall on the consumers. Also cf. the Report of the Colwyn Committee.)

I tried my best to make my position on these points clear in the *Indian Tariff Problem*. (pp. 32-34). But it seems that it is sometimes exceedingly difficult to have a fair hearing for an unorthodox point of view even at the hands of academic experts. And that is the excuse for this further effort to elucidate the points at some length.

H. L. DEY.

II

Dr. H. L. Dey has referred to a few remarks of mine which I had made in the course of a review of his book *The Indian Tariff Problem*. these remarks which appeared in the August number of the *Calcutta Review* may be briefly stated as follows:—

(1) "In so far as a portion of the revenue from customs is applied in payment of the interest on national debt internally held the effect on savings is not likely to be prejudicial, for the sum so applied is likely to be reinvested."

Dr. Dey argues that this point cannot stand the test of analysis. In support of his contention he appeals among other authorities to the Report of the Colwyn Committee on National Debt and Taxation. I was surprised to see Dr. Dey calling to his aid this Report. For the position which I have taken up is identical with that of the Colwyn Committee. Might I refer to the following passage in paragraph 668 of the Report?

"Of the duties borne by small incomes by far the larger part will be met out of money which would otherwise be expended on consumption

goods of one kind or another; a much smaller part will be so expended by the debt-holders out of their interest receipts. In the case of debt repayment it is probable that nearly the whole of the sums received will be re-invested."

It appears that Dr. Dey has missed the whole point regarding the ultimate effect of the application of custom duties to the payment of interest on national debt. No one would ever contend that such duties reduce the national debt. But what would happen is that in so far as such duties are utilised for paying interest on national debt they effect a transference of resources from the poor to the industrial classes. This transference does bring about an increase of savings more than what would have been the case under any other arrangement, *e.g.*, under an income-tax. Dr. Dey's position is therefore unsound when he says "nor do they (customs duties) increase savings more than would have been the case in the absence of customs duties."

(2) "Protective tariffs on the necessities of life cause a transference of resources from persons with little or absolutely no margin for saving to persons who enjoy greater facilities for saving."

Dr. Dey's comment on this proposition is that the transference thus brought about means only a change in the character of the capital and not in the amount. "It is not clear," he says, "how a change in the *character* of the capital leads to a change in the *amount* as well." My contention is that in the absence of protection the resources left in the hands of the rural classes would have been spent on consumption goods. To the extent of this expenditure the aggregate saving would be less. I do not agree with Dr. Dey when he says that, as the rural classes have a comparatively stationary standard of living, they are likely to save much more under free trade than what the industrial classes would do under protection. The well-known fact that the expenditure of the rural classes on conventional necessities has gone up does not bear out Dr. Dey's thesis that their standard of living has remained stationary. Nor can it be maintained that the increased income of the urbanised classes would be thoughtlessly spent on luxuries without making any provision for the future. As a matter of fact the increased volume of insurance in recent years does indicate a growing realisation of the future which is helpful to capital formation.

It is thus evident that what takes place under protection is not, as Dr. Dey maintains, a mere change in the character of capital. The resources left in the hands of the rural classes under free trade and spent by them on consumption goods are certainly not capital. The resources become capital in certain circumstances when transferred *via* protection and high prices to the industrial classes. The volume of savings in any country depends as much on the magnitude of the national dividend as on its distribution. Protection, although it diminishes the magnitude of the dividend, might so alter its distribution as to facilitate a larger amount of saving by certain sections. It is conceivable that even if protection reduces the aggregate national dividend, it might cause a greater *proportion* of that reduced dividend to be devoted to productive purposes. Unless the national dividend shows a considerable shrinkage under protection, it is not likely that the aggregate saving will diminish.

Further Dr. Dey contradicts himself when he says that "the industrial classes cannot get more under a protective system than under a pre-protective one." For does he not himself make the admission in the first paragraph of his note that protective duties cause a transference of resources from the rural to the industrial classes? I refer to the following passage: "the urbanised industrial classes to whom the purchasing power of the former (rural classes) is now transferred, it is fairly,

obvious that such a transfer will mean a greater aggregate expenditure"... If the industrial classes cannot get more under protection, as Dr. Dey maintains, it is inconceivable how they can incur a greater aggregate expenditure.

(8) "In a modern society saving has to a great extent become impersonal and automatic in its nature. For the world has come to rely increasingly on corporate savings and the savings of public authorities for its supply of capital.....The stimulus given to company-promoting might result in a growth of national savings."

As no comment is made on this proposition, I refrain from making any observations.

J. P. NIXON.

PRODUCTION OF SOLAR EVAPORATION SALT OR KURKUTCH IN BENGAL

By BINAYBHUSHAN DASGUPTA
Bengal Civil Service.

In Chapter II, para. 7, of the *Report on the Possibilities of Salt Production in Bengal, 1932*, Mr. Pitt says, "Scrutiny of the history of salt manufacture in Bengal and Orissa reveals the fact that on the coast of Bengal, salt has never been manufactured by the process of solar evaporation." Again in para. 28 of the same chapter, he writes, "In spite of a close scrutiny of such old records as are now available, it is impossible to discover that any manufacture on the coast of Bengal or Balasore were carried out purely by solar evaporation."

The above two statements of Mr. Pitt, we are afraid, are not correct. The old records, that still exist on the subject, disclose clearly that an experiment of manufacturing *kurkutch* or solar evaporation salt was undertaken on the coast of Chittagong and was carried on for the years 1827-28 to 1831-32 (inclusive).

In those days of the Government salt monopoly, it was part of the Government policy to retail salt in the manufacturing localities at a cheap rate in order to prevent illicit production. A small quantity of salt was thus retailed in every agency. In Chittagong, however, instead of retailing the dearer boiled Agency salt, Government indented cheaper *kurkutch* salt from Madras for retailing it at a cheaper rate in the locality. The supply was obtained through a contractor who bore all risks. Writing in 1855, Mr. Plowden says that "the present contract price is Rs. 46 per 100 maunds, which yielded to the contractor a profit of Rs. 81 per 100 maunds."

Now, for five years from 1827-28 to 1831-32, Government carried on an experiment of manufacturing the *kurkutch* salt in Chittagong, instead of indenting it from Madras. The manufacture was carried on, in the island of Kutubdia, in Aurung Barchur, and on the main and on the opposite side of the Kutubdia channel, in Aurung Jooldeah. The Madras process of manufacture was followed and Madras Mulunthees were procured for the purpose. In the first year the manufacture was carried on by hired labourers but in subsequent years it was done by contract with the Mulunthees. The annexed statement shows the results of the experiment:

"It was calculated that the cost to the contractor of producing 100 maunds of salt did not exceed Rs. 20 or at the most Rs. 25 being at the rate of from 8 to 4 annas per maund, as follows:

A set of salt pans, capable of yielding 800 maunds in the season, required the attendance of five labourers whose wages for the season of six months at Rs. 8 per mensem, amounted to Rs. 90 or Rs. 80 per 100 maunds, but as in effect the constant attendance of the salt-workers was not requisite for more than two out of six months the actual cost of salt was estimated, as above stated, not to exceed Rs. 20 or 25 per 100 maunds."

The quality of the salt was variable and even that which was approved of as good quality when first made, seemed to deteriorate from being kept

any time in store. The good salt was considered to be superior to the salt usually imported from the Madras coast and was preferred by the people to that salt.

The Result of the Experiment.

We have it on the authority of Mr. Plowden that "It is supposed that the salt by solar evaporation does not admit of being manufactured in the Chittagong district to any great extent ; because it could only be made in the cold season, or from the latter half of December to early in March during which period the heat is insufficient to create such an evaporation as would ensure a very large production of salt. In March the low lands are commonly inundated and storms accompanied by rain commence, as shown by past accounts of the Agency. In one of the years of the experiment (1820-30) as appears from the annexed statements, the manufacture failed altogether owing to the unfavourable weather generally from February to April. Whenever the works were in a state of producing salt, a heavy fall of rain, with a stormy wind continuing for days impeded the manufacture and injured the works and saline mixtures.

In 1843 when one Mr. Velly again applied for permission to make *kurkutch* at Chittagong on the same terms as the Mulunghees make *punga* salt there, Government "thought proper to maintain the prohibition of 1833 against the local manufacture of salt by solar evaporation."

Thus the old records show the following facts very clearly :

1. *Kurkutch* or solar evaporation salt was produced on the coast of Chittagong on a small scale during the years 1827-28 to 1831-32.
2. The quality of the salt thus produced was good.
3. A large-scale production of *kurkutch* was not thought feasible under the climatic condition of Chittagong.
4. But the prospects of success of a small-scale production of *kurkutch* were quite good and the results attracted an English adventurer to undertake such a production though he was not allowed to do it under the then Government policy.

(For a tabular statement see next page.)

Year of manufacture.	Quantity of salt made.	Price paid for salt per maund.	Cost of the total quantity of salt made.	Rate of transport charge per 100 mds.	Total cost of transport to the store golas.	Total cost of salt including transport and storage charges.	Rate of cost per 100 mounds.	REMARKS.
1837-38	1,732 0 0 692 0 0	7 as.	1,080 0 7 303 8 7		38 10 1 14 0 0	1,118 10 8 317 8 7	64 6 0 45 12 0	The figures in the first line shows their results of the manufacture by hired labour, those in the second line the result by contract.
Total	2,424 0 0		1,383 9 2		47 10 1	1,431 3 3		
1838-39	28,623 30 0	7 as.	12,522 11 6	1 12 0	500 14 6	13,023 11 0	45 8 0	
1839-40	839 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1840-41	18,681 11 2	5 as.	5,837 14 6	1 11 0	315 3 10	6,153 2 4	33 0 0	
1841-42	70,550 10 0	5 as.	23,046 15 3	1 9 0	1,102 5 6	23,149 4 9	33 0 0	

The statement is taken from App. C, No. 2 of the Report of Mr. Plowden, the Salt Commissioner, 1856.

Miscellany

[*Public Works in Fascist Italy* (B. K. SARKER)—*The Regime of Technocracy* (B. K. SARKER)—*Special Labour Currency in the Nazi Campaign against Unemployment* (B. K. SARKER)—*Years of Life wrested from Tuberculosis* (B. K. SARKER)—*Savings Insurance* (B. K. SARKER)—*The Organisation of Seating in Japan* (B. K. SARKER)—*The Corporative State* (B. K. SARKER).]

PUBLIC WORKS IN FASCIST ITALY

The report on the balance-sheet for Public Works, affords further proof of the profound, far-reaching and beneficent changes brought about in the Fascist attitude towards public works. The following figures are of considerable interest :—

During the decennium ending 28 October, 1932, the Ministry of Public Works has spent sums amounting to over 15 milliard 500 million liras, while the independent Road Building Company has spent a further 1 milliard 800 million liras.

In addition to the above-mentioned payments, those made by the Under-Secretary for Integral Land Reclamation (*Bonifica Integrale*) after the separation of this service from the Ministry of Public Works, amount to over 657 million liras. The total expenditure on public works thus amounts to 17,513,944 679 liras.

The expenditure of the three services mentioned above as on 31 January, 1933, amounted to over 18 milliard liras according to the latest information.

The consequences of such a policy must be deeply felt throughout the nation as regards unemployment and also in relation to increased production and to technical, economic and social progress.—*Rassegna Economica* (Naples).

THE REGIME OF TECHNOCRACY

Technocracy, or the regime of technology, consists essentially in a criticism of the prevailing economic system whose bankruptcy it declares to be imminent and which it would replace by a new system. The fundamental features of the technocratic regime are envisaged to be, first, the banishment of money and property, and, secondly, the rigorous control of production and sources of energy.

Since the beginning of the century the output of labour per head has been quintupled on account of machinery. It is mechanism that has created in a great measure the enormous unemployment of to-day to be measured by tens of millions throughout the world. For every country according to its standard of living it is possible to fix upon the number of hours per week that an able-bodied man or woman should work with the machines available. For the United States the 4-hour day and the 4-day week have been considered to be the optimum.

The services are to be paid, in the technocratic system, not in money but in consumption-goods possessing validity for a distinct period. The standard of value is to be neither gold nor silver but a certain quantity of energy because its cost of production is more constant than that of metals. The 'electric dollar' is likely to replace the gold dollar under those circumstances.

Technocracy as proposed by the American engineer Howard Scott is in spirit communistic. It is as unrealizable in practice as were the anti-machine system of Sismondi and the followers of St. Simon or the abolition of profit by Fourier and of interest by Proudhon. But one cannot deny that the technocrats have called attention to the fact that the economic and social problems of mankind can hardly be solved by *laissez faire*—*Journal du Commerce* (Paris).

SPECIAL LABOUR-CURRENCY IN THE NAZI CAMPAIGN AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

The *Arbeitsbeschaffung* (creation of employment) measures of the Reich would involve enormous expenditure. The sum of RM. 1,000,000,000 has been earmarked by the Central Government for distribution along diverse lines. The money, however, is not to be considered as something paid in cash or currency notes. The Reich is issuing *Arbeitswechsel*, i.e., "labour notes" up to the amount named above and has declared itself bound to cash them when presented. The labour-notes run for one, two, three, four and five years. The period of maturity is mentioned on each note. The Reich knows definitely the due dates in each instance as well as the amounts to be paid each year. It is believed that the outgo of the Finance Department is likely to be less than the income because the expenses on account of unemployment insurance will tend to be reduced in large proportions.

The labour-notes are to enjoy all the privileges of commercial bills. They can be used for ordinary marketing purposes. Taxes can be paid with these notes, which can likewise be used while making voluntary contribution in order to promote national work. Creditors are to accept labour-notes as mortgage. Finally the Reichsbank is authorized to discount them as it does all other bills of exchange.

The bank law of Germany, subject as it is to the provisions of the Dawes and the Young Plan, forbids the Reichsbank to discount any bills running for more than three months. Besides the Reichsbank is not authorised to discount the Treasury Bills issued by the Government beyond RM. 400,000,000. In order to get over these technical difficulties the Hitler regime has hit upon measures such as serve to carry the plan of RM. 1,000,000,000 labour-notes to fruition.

The Imperial Minister of Finance is authorised to issue labour-notes valued at one milliard Reichsmarks. These notes are to be made over to the German Society for Public Works which is a Government company. The persons or companies who need Government help have to apply to the Minister of Labour who furnishes them with certificates in case he approves of their plan of business. On the strength of a certificate they can get the labour-note for the value declared. The labour note is then presented to the Society for public works for acceptance. Once it is "accepted" by the Society it can be used by the companies as medium of payment for their purchases. The labour-note then passes from bank to bank for discount and at this stage the Reichsbank is prepared to rediscount it. The labour-notes are to run for a maximum period of three months. But at the expiry of the third month each can be replaced by a new note or rather prolonged up to the period when the Reich according to the original note is bound to cash it.—*Verein Deutscher Ingenieure Nachrichten* (Berlin).

YEARS OF LIFE WRESTED FROM TUBERCULOSIS

Almost an entire year has been added to the general average duration of life by the successful battle against tuberculosis within the last decade, that is from 1920 to 1930; about another year's gain stands to the credit of the previous decade. That so much has been accomplished in increased life expectation through attack on a single disease is very remarkable.

According to the mortality statistics of the recent census year, 1930, the curtailment of the average length of life due to tuberculosis was just over one year for white persons of either sex. In 1920 it was a little short of two years. Still another decade further back in time it was about three years.

The loss of potential years of life through a given cause depends not only on the degree of the mortality from that cause, but also on the age-period at which its effect is concentrated. In this respect tuberculosis is in a particularly unfavourable position, and it is interesting, in studying the situation regarding this disease, to consider it in contrast with organic heart disease. Deaths from tuberculosis occur very largely among young persons or persons at the prime of life. As the result of this, although the death rate from tuberculosis has fortunately decreased in late years so far as to relegate this cause to the seventh rank among the principal causes of death, yet the number of years of life lost, on the average, is still a relatively important item.

Among white persons in the United States in 1930, the average length of life (expectation of life at birth) is shortened by 1.1 years through tuberculosis (all forms). Up to about the twentieth year of life the curtailment of the average remaining after-lifetime by tuberculosis remains nearly the same, irrespective of age, namely, about one year, according to the mortality as of 1930. After this age it falls rapidly. Among white males, for example, the loss of remaining after-lifetime at the age 42 is about one-half year, at age 62 only, i.e., .15 of a year, or less than two months.

The situation is strikingly different in the case of heart disease. There the loss of years of life is nearly the same for all ages up to 52, and only slightly less even at age 62, because heart disease claims most of its victims among persons in or past mid-life. *Statistical Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. (New York).

SAVINGS-INSURANCE

A system of savings-insurance has been introduced in Italy and is being operated by some banking institutes with the collaboration of the National Insurance Institute.

The system combines saving with life assurance in one of the various forms in use and grants the contracting party the widest facility, during the course of the contract, to decide as to whether such contract shall definitely assume the character and have the effect of an ordinary savings account or life assurance. The contracting party may also make deposits of such sums and at such times as suit him.

Medical examination is dispensed with for contracts with a maximum deposit of 20 000 lire. For bigger amounts examination is necessary.

The contracting party may obtain part or total repayment on demand of sums deposited together with accrued interest compounded annually, which from a minimum of 1½ per cent. may rise to over 2½ per cent. The insurance is then reduced in proportion. The system also provides for the granting of loans up to the amount of deposits made. In this case if the loan is not repaid within the time stipulated, it automatically becomes a withdrawal.

Interest is not allowed on those deposits of which the depositor does not demand repayment; or rather, such interest constitutes the price of the insurance and, when added to the deposits from which it is derived, its total cost.

The savings-insurance contract is therefore an alternative contract: when sums are repaid, the contract is one of ordinary savings to the extent of repayment and one of insurance for the remainder, if any.

There are two clearly distinct functions in the operating of savings-insurance: that of the banking institute which receives the deposits, manages them and arranges for their part or total repayment, and that of the insuring institute which attends to the formation of the capital insured. The banker pays interest to the insurer at the rate of $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the sums deposited by way of premium and retains the excess, if any, arising from the investment yield of such deposits. The nominal amount of the deposits is added to that of the insurance at the expiration of the contract of insurance.—Riccio in *Inconsulente Bancario* (Rome).

THE ORGANIZATION OF SAVING IN JAPAN

The biggest savings institution in Japan is the Post Office Savings Bank, which at the end of 1932, had deposits amounting to 2 milliard 750 million yen. The co-operative societies (which have a central bank) and the insurance companies also collect savings deposits. As to the Savings Banks which number 86, they are private institutions conducted according to the principles of commercial undertakings. They must have the structure of a juristic person and possess an initial capital of at least 500,000 yen. At the end of 1930, the capital of these Savings Banks amounted to 41,650,000 yen and the reserves to 33,780,000. Their activities are strictly controlled by Law. Their chief operations comprise the purchase of Government securities and the granting of personal, mortgage and unsecured loans. The profits of these institutions are considerable, net gains rarely falling below 10 per cent. In 1930 they paid a dividend of 10·8 per cent. The rate of interest of deposits in 1931 fluctuated between 4·2 and 4·7 per cent.—*Deutsche Sparkassen-Zeitung* (Berlin).

THE CORPORATIVE STATE

Italy has given an example of national co-ordination by dealing with the co-ordination of all branches of production and creating the essential instruments for this purpose. Those who imagine that Italian trade union organization, legally recognized and incorporated in the State, is intended only to solve the problem of the relations between labour and capital, have only a limited and erroneous conception. When the economic struggle was wearying all peoples, it was essential for a young nation to avoid any dispersion of its energy. Strikes and lock-outs represent serious waste and also a danger. It was necessary to prevent them and, therefore, to provide means for the fair settlement of the inevitable differences of opinion between categories and classes. That was not sufficient. It was necessary to re-organize the State with the participation of representatives of labour and industry.

"We have done that through our trade-union and co-operative systems, which have already been working for six years and which, by the continuous adjustment of the varying requirements of social and economic life, have produced increasingly important results. Our organization is being developed and improved, not only in the social sphere but also in the economic sphere where there is gradually being realized a collaboration which is at the basis of our whole regime.

"In our system the State does not intervene directly; no scheme of production is drawn up by Government departments, or imposed by the State. The State is not responsible for production as it would be if it established and administered enterprises. What the State does is to set up bodies responsible for the regulation of production. They are State bodies but they are composed of representatives of the categories concerned, and consequently, when the need is felt, there is self-government in production; and if we recognize the necessity of co-ordinating the various branches of production and of harmonizing and regulating them, we should also admit the desirability and utility of this being done by bodies consisting of representatives of the categories concerned. While the system of cartels, trusts, etc., places in the hands of a few powerful individuals the direction of the economic life of a nation, our system associates employers and workers in that task on an equal footing. Equality of rights in labour is not merely an affirmation of moral, social and political value, but under the Fascist Regime it is a constant practice. The corporative system is being realized and developed according to the requirement and according to the capacity of organization attained by each category. At the present moment new problems are arising, and others will arise in the future, including that of creating and developing *Consortia* to act as intermediaries between individuals and the corporation, and therefore to enforce the orders and rules of the corporation. All this cannot be improvised, because improvisation is foreign to our methods, and also because in economic matters it is necessary to proceed by stages when making improvements.

"I believe that I have sufficiently established my claim that under the Fascist Regime Italy has been the first country to work out a corporative system that has placed labour and capital on a footing of equality, has established social peace, and may become an efficient instrument for the restoration of that economic equilibrium which the world so anxiously awaits."—Biagi at the International Labour Conference (Geneva).

Reviews and Notices of Books

[Books in the principal European and Indian classical languages and vernaculars are reviewed in *The Calcutta Review*. But the Board of Editors do not guarantee reviews of all books received. Newspapers, periodicals, School and College text-books, pamphlets, off-prints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not reviewed. No criticism of book-reviews and notices are published nor receipt of books received for review acknowledged or enquiries relating thereto answered.]

[*The East India Company*, by J. D. S. Paul (PRIYARANJAN SEN)—*Mediæval India*, by A. Yusuf Ali (PRIYARANJAN SEN)—*Dream Cargoes*, by David W. Code (PRIYARANJAN SEN)—*A Junior Chemistry*, by E. J. Holmyard (P. RAY)—*A Text-book of Chemistry*, by H. A. Wootton (P. RAY)—*Elementary Organic Chemistry*, by B. C. L. Kemp (P. RAY)—*A School Course of Chemistry*, by J. R. Partington (P. RAY)—*Byathar Parag* by Krishnadhan De (MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHARYA)—*Nrurukta* Ed. by Lakshman Sarupa (KOKILESWAR SASTRI)—*Mana-meyodaya* by Narayana Bhatta—(KOKILESWAR SASTRI).]

The East India Company by J. D. S. Paul, M.A. (Yale), Ph.D. (London). Luzac & Co., London. 3 shillings.

The history of the East India Co. is full of interest for the Indian reader; the Company still lives in the mind of the villagers who dwell far from the town and who, in an emergency, call upon the Company to redress their grievances and grant them relief. In this volume Dr. Paul discusses its early trading organization and commerce, from the start to Sir Thomas Roe's embassy, a period of 22 years, 1609-1621. The provisions of the Queen's Charter are carefully noted as well as the status of the Factor; the Directorate were very strict in their choice of the agents, and the first venture was made for Bantam. The Dutch competition was a serious matter for consideration, specially with regard to the trade in jewellery. It is gratifying to note that the cloth of Bengal, specially "Cassia," was in demand at the Spice Islands, and at Bantam. There was a large element of piracy mixed up in the trade on high waters in those days.

The second half of the period treated, the years 1612-1621, witnessed greater commercial activity on behalf of the Company which now tried to get a foothold within the Moghul Empire. Surat was the chosen site, and Roe managed to secure bare privileges by 1619; though his attempts at securing more were foiled for the time being, British trade followed the route of the Moghul Court, and thus Kashmir, Lahoro, Ajmere, Agra, Delhi, all these places were visited by the adventurous traders. The English imports and the Indian exports are severally named, and they provide interesting reading. The British encountered the serious rivalry of the Portuguese and profited by the wise policy of the Dutch.

The book is well documented and Dr. Paul deserves congratulations for the difficult task of telling the story of those 22 years within such brief compass. The references and bibliography will, it may be hoped, stimulate other scholars to work on this highly interesting period.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Mediæval India by A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.). Oxford University Press, London, 1932.

This book contains the substance of four lectures delivered in Urdu at the Hindustani Academy of Allahabad in 1928. The author confines

himself to social and economic conditions that prevailed in India during the seventh, tenth, eleventh and fourteenth centuries which form distinct periods of history. Mr. Yusuf Ali first cites his authorities which include literary sources, travellers' tales, inscriptions and art and then proceeds to describe life as lived in those days. How did the people live, what they had for food and dress, the crimes they committed and the penalties that were awarded, the various social adjustments required by changing circumstances—these and similar topics have been discussed in the book, though in a summary fashion, for we have to remember the book is a "substance" of the four lectures, not the full-fledged lectures.

The importance of the book is obvious. The studies, to quote Prof. Hearnshaw, who has written a very enjoyable introduction, "relate to a little known but profoundly interesting period of Indian history. They deal, moreover, with an aspect of Indian life, namely, the social and economic, hitherto inadequately examined, an aspect incomparably harder to see in entirety and perspective than is the political or even the religious history of the great sub-continent." There can be no doubt of the truth of this opinion. Mr. Yusuf Ali has shown the way to a highly interesting line of research; it now remains for others to follow it up and present it to the people in their own vernacular. What has been possible in Urdu is possible in the case of the other vernaculars as well. The book should find a ready welcome with all students of Indian history.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Dream Cargoes by David W. Cade Published by Dean & Co., New York. 1928

This is a collection of lyrics on diverse subjects. Mr. Cade is accustomed to rhyming and the lines drop from him naturally, sometimes with delightful freshness. Specially enjoyable are the quatrains that are apparently used for padding. Mr. Cade is not afraid to experiment; though he is at best in the shorter line he can also exclaim

"Loom London's dark towers, frowning, warning and urging him,"
(*Jack Cade of Kent.*)

"To where pleasant harbors wait for all who greatly dare,"
(*"Joseph Conrad is dead."*)
and, most of all,

"Three endless, stagnant spaces, where never a song is unabashed
and never a long wave breaks"
(*"Death outside the gate."*)

Mr. Cade has the power of calling up a quickness of sensibility and the best example is to be found in his "*Drums ! Drums !*" The poet is not given to innovation except very occasionally, and those rare cases do not jar on the ear. The reader will learn to like him, as he reads the poems.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

A Junior Chemistry by E. J. Holmyard, M.A., M.Sc., D.Litt., F.I.C., pp. viii + 376. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London.

Dr. Holmyard has already gained a high reputation as a writer of juvenile text-books, and this has been ably maintained in the present volume as well. The book deals with some important metals and non-metals. The treatment, as the author remarks, is "mainly qualitative and the chemical theory has been reduced to a minimum." Exception has, however, been made, and rightly too, in the case of atomic theory, because it is not difficult even for the young mind to form some rough

idea or picture of matter, as being made up of numerous particles held together. This will enable the pupil to follow intelligently the reaction and properties of chemical substances, which he will encounter frequently during his study. At the end of each chapter there is a summary followed by questions.

The book abounds in illustrations with reproductions of the photographs of many eminent chemists of the past and present. Plates on many interesting subjects have also been reproduced. On the whole, the book has been written in such a fascinating manner that it will not fail to appeal to the interest and curiosity of the young readers. The author in the preface writes that he has "tried to make the book such that a boy or girl may read it for pleasure, not because he or she has so many pages to get up for prep." The author has certainly succeeded in this object.

P. RAY

A Text-book of Chemistry by H. A. Wootton, M.A., and C. W. R. Hooker, M.A., pp. viii + 488. Cambridge University Press.

The book has been written to cover the syllabus for the School Certificate Examination. Theoretical and descriptive parts of the subjects have been dealt together, and the authors believe that introduction to the theory at an early stage is helpful to the student. Many will, however, disagree with this view. Preparations and practical exercises including selected analytical methods have been placed in a separate part (Part II) of the book. Collection of questions from School Certificate Papers finds a place at the end. The book is liberally illustrated with reproduction of many portraits and plates. Emphasis has rightly been laid upon experiments as forming the basis of instruction in chemistry, and the book has been written in such a way as to clarify and illustrate the chemical theories by means of experiments. The book will be quite useful for the purpose for which it has been written.

P. RAY

Elementary Organic Chemistry by B. C. L. Kemp, M.A., F.C.S., pp. ix + 356. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London.

As the name implies, the book is written for the students taking their first lessons in Organic Chemistry. It, therefore, deals only with selected and fundamental topics. Suggestion for practical work has been added at the end of each chapter. The book is written in a lucid style with an attractive presentation and a simple and apparent scheme. Principles of modern and up-to-date industrial methods have been briefly described, and several plates showing manufacturing processes have been reproduced. A short and clear account of the theoretical principles, neatly illustrated with model figures, has also been given in the beginning of the book. All the diagrams are very clear and well-printed. In the opinion of the reviewer, the book may be strongly recommended for the beginners.

P. RAY

A School Course of Chemistry by J. R. Partington, M.B.E., D.Sc., pp. x + 388. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1930, London.

The present book may be regarded as an abridged form of the author's "Everyday Chemistry." The subject-matter has been arranged in such a way as to suit the school course and to enable the students to follow the sequence of topics without much difficulty. The book has been written in a simple but orthodox scientific style. Like the author's two other excellent

and well-known text-books, written for advanced and intermediate students respectively, the present volume is also likely to achieve as much popularity.

P. RAY

Byathar Parag (a Bengali Book of Poems) by Krishnadhan De, published by Asokachandra Chatterjee from the Prabashi Office at 120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, pp. 81. Re. 1-8.

This is a small volume of lyric poems in Bengali. There are very few writers of Bengali poetry in these days who have not come under the influence of Tagore or of the tradition created by him and kept up by some of his disciples like Datta, Bagchi and Mallik. It is not therefore surprising that these lyrics should bear some trace of the author's close study and imitation of the great poet whose work is marked by a distinct poetic diction and a characteristic type of imagery.

Mr. De says that this is his first effort, and as such this volume is certainly a welcome production. The poems are in the form of complaints—a device which, though not original, is rarely resorted to in Bengali literature, and it is this form which has suggested the title of the book in which flowers unburden their souls in a melancholy strain. Some of the poems carry the mind back to the glory of Ancient India—to the love-episodes of immortal poets like Kalidas,—and some to the moonlit gardens of Iran and Basrah.

The reader, however, feels the monotony of reiteration as he goes through these complaints, but the author has tried to introduce variety as far as possible in his treatment and imagery. It is not always true that one cannot have too much of a good thing; for even perfection of rhyme and metrical effect may sometimes become wearisome and degenerate into a mere sing-song. While our poet has managed to steer clear of this extreme, the defect nonetheless appears in his work, though in a less pronounced form, and we fail to find there what has been called 'concerted harmony.' It may be noted that what have been called 'run-on' lines are conspicuous by their absence and end-stopped verses, in consequence of their predominance, have grown wearisome and monotonous. The music in some of the poems at least is cloying and one is led to wish that there were at times a more manly note. But Mr. De has undoubtedly the gift of song, though it may require more assiduous cultivation. He has also got a directness of utterance which is not a very prominent mark of current Bengali poetry. Clear thinking never fails him, though at times it is blurred by an exuberant fancy. When all is said and done, we may congratulate our young poet on his first publication, and we hope to see more of his charming work.

MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA

Nirukta (with the fragments of two commentaries of Skandaswami and Maheswara). Edited with variants at the foot of each page by Prof. Lakshman Sarupa, M.A., of the Oriental College, Lahore.

This is a valuable Vedic treatise. But our only regret is that only a fragment has been obtained and published.

The learned editor whose name has already become associated with the *Nirukta* has, after a good deal of discussion, come to the conclusion that of the two commentaries published herein Skandaswami wrote the *Bhasya* on *Nirukta* and Maheswara only commented upon this *Bhasya* for further elucidation of the difficulties. The explanations given in the *Bhasya* appear to be thorough and complete and learned, so much so that such explanation is indispensable for the clear understanding of the subjects dealt with in the *Nirukta* itself, and of the hymns quoted therein.

We only regret that both the *Bhasya* and the *Tika* are fragmentary, but we hope that the energetic editor will one day discover the whole of these.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

Mana-mayodāya. (A primer on the *Mīmāṃsā*) by Narayana Bhatta. Edited with an English translation by C. Kunhan Raja and S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri of the University of Madras. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

It is a good sign of the day that valuable materials for the study of Indian philosophy in its various schools which are contained in the works of *Prakarana* type composed by best scholars who have made their subject their special study, are now and then being published, and their number accumulates as years pass. There are subjects which are not so well known to the reading public, as most of them lie as yet in MSS. and even when some of these are printed, the difficulty is not removed in the absence of explanatory comments. But thanks to the loving labour of devoted scholars hailing now and then from different parts of India we find almost every year works with good English translations which make the path easy for those students of philosophy who take interest in their subjects, enabling them to comprehend the abstruse matters which without such help will remain a sealed book.

One of such works we have got for review. The value of the text can hardly be overestimated. It contains everything useful for the followers of the Kumarila school of *Mīmāṃsā*. The valuable information supplied by the work with regard to the collection of facts and criticism, makes it indispensable for students and scholars. Now that the energetic editors have come forward and boldly undertaken the difficult task of presenting this well-known treatise on the *Mīmāṃsā* school under an English translation, they have indeed earned the permanent gratitude of Indologists by publishing this priceless treasure. So far as we have seen, the English translations appear to have been executed with a scrupulous care that reflects great credit on the joint editors. As the study of Indian philosophical works is becoming increasingly popular in this country, the publication of such reliable and faithful translation has been most opportune. The book is also calculated to be of great service to all students qualifying for the M. A. degree course of Indian Universities, as it gives a clear and lucid account, in English, of the various topics treated herein, which are not always easily understood by the students of *Mīmāṃsā*, far less by the general public. The book will serve as an admirable and very serviceable introduction, as it will initiate the students into the mysteries of a subject, the value of which for a proper grasp of some of the well-known but the knotty subjects and problems, cannot be exaggerated. The supreme merit of the original text is the fact that it avoids controversies for the most part and yet it is neither too brief nor too big. It does not condense things so as to make them unintelligible except to a few, nor does it launch upon long and subtle controversies beyond the grasp of ordinary readers. It has adopted a middle course and is therefore just the kind of work which will be welcome to those who are interested in the subject.

The text is mainly divided into two parts: the first part gives the *pramāṇa*, i.e., the means for acquiring valid knowledge of objects dealt with in the *Mīmāṃsā* school. This part contains such means only as are admitted by this school, viz., *pratyakṣa* (Immediate Perception), *anumāna* (Inference) together with *hetvabhāsa* (the fallacious reasonings), *upamāna* (Analogy), *arthapatti* (Presumption), and *abhāva* (Non-existence or Negation). The second part enumerates and discusses the *prameya* which are the objects of valid knowledge—categories admitted

in the *Mimamsa* school. Incidentally, it also deals with the Law of Causality contrasting it with the theories held in other schools, such as *asatkaryavada*, etc. In discussing the nature of Atma, one of the categories, the author refutes materialism here, *viz.*, the theories which hold the views—body is the soul, the sense-organs are the soul, the series of ideas are the soul, etc., etc. Then the text goes on to review the nature of the theory of *sphota* and examines the views of *Sankhya* and *Sankara-vedanta* on this point. Then discussing the nature of the Genus or Universal he closes his discussion on the Category or Substance. After examining the Quality, Action, Negation, Similarity, Inference and the Category of *Sakti*, the author gives us a clear account of the different sects of the Bauddhas—the *madhyamika* theory of *Sunya* (void); the *Yogachara* (cognition); *Soutrantic* and *Vaibhasic* theories. An examination of the true character of Illusoriness then follows.

The author has not unnecessarily overloaded his pages with hair-splitting discussion of his subjects but has given, in each case, the most salient features of the topics in hand. He has not forgotten the fact that he was writing a manual for the beginners. The special feature of the work is its comparative study of various important topics. In giving a lucid account and exposition of the leading tenets of the *Bhatta-Kumarila*-school, the author brings under contribution the corresponding tenets of other philosophical schools—*Prabhakara*, *Nyaya*, *Advaita* and *Bauddha*.

The book is an excellent manual for a beginner and it stands in the same relation to the larger works on the *Mimamsa*, as the *Vedanta-Paribhasa* serves for the larger *Advaita*-works. Towards the close of the translations of the text, the editors have taken care to append some 'notes' which explain somewhat elaborately certain difficult and hard topics discussed in the original, for the better and clearer grasp of those topics. A good Glossary explaining the meaning, in English, of some Sanskrit words is given at the end.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

Gleanings

A NEW UNIVERSITY FOR TURKEY

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* (London) gives a very interesting account of a new University for Turkey. The whole educational system of Turkey is being reformed from top to bottom. On August 1, the seventy-year-old University of Stamboul, known as the Dar-ul-funun, was abolished and a new University set on foot in its place.

"At one time it had been proposed to erect the new institution at Angora, but it was decided later on that another university should be established at the capital and that for the moment the best thing to do was to destroy and rebuild the Constantinople institution. So a Swiss professor was called in to report, and was finally appointed to the three-year task of creating a fresh university on modern lines capable of giving to Turkish youth all the advantages of an up-to-date world culture.

"The Angora leaders complained that the Dar-ul-funun was not helping in these new times. It was standing apart from the great national changes. It was giving no lead to the youth of the country. The seventy-year-old University had shown itself out of touch with the revolution. It had taken no part in the formation of the new alphabet and language, no part in the creation of the new legal codes, no interest in the new tendencies of Turkish historical studies under the Ghazi, and no initiative in economic reforms. All these matters, which were matters for learning to tackle, had been worked out by the politicians themselves in the midst of State affairs. The University had made no contribution. It was clear, therefore, that an institution so out of touch with the new Turkey must go and must give place to something which would provide living scientific interests to the generations of the revolution.

"The new University has been endowed with four faculties and eight institutes. The faculties consist of literature, science, law, and medicine. The institutes comprise the Institute of the Turkish Revolution, which will be one of the most important sections, and those of national economy and sociology, geography, Turcology, psychology, chemistry, electro-mechanics, and Islamic Studies. It is to be noted that the Faculty of Theology has disappeared and has been replaced by the Institute of Islamic Studies, which will have a wider range and will preserve for Constantinople the possibility of being a true centre of Islamic knowledge. The training of theologians will practically cease, but there will be no danger of Turkey ceasing to maintain at least a scientific connexion with her Islamic past.

"Care has been taken to make the new institution liberal as well as utilitarian and scientific. Ancient Latin and Greek are to be taught for the first time. But there is no doubt that one of the chief results is expected from the section on the Turkish Revolution. This will be largely attended, and will aim at giving to Turkish youth a complete knowledge of the political, legal, and social principles behind the new Turkish State. It will provide the binding element between learning and the Republican ideals. The fact that Ghazi Kemal Pasha is himself the initiator of the present reform is shown by the fact that the first step he took in his holiday was to visit the University, and the chief secondary school at

Constantinople and to examine the students personally in matters concerning the new Turkey and the rationale of her emergence as a National State."

THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT: ITS CONSEQUENCES.

The Third battle of Panipat is a theme of peculiar interest to the student of Maratha history and supplies a fruitful subject for historical investigation. It has recently offered an opportunity to Mr. G. S. Sardesai to discuss the causes and consequences of that fateful battle in the pages of *The Modern Review* (Calcutta). In course of his study Mr. Sardesai observes :

"The battle of Panipat is usually understood by most writers to have given a final blow to the rising power of the Marathas. This I think is far from being the case. The loss was doubtless heavy so far as man-power was concerned ; but beyond this, the disaster did not materially affect the Maratha fortunes. A younger generation arose to replace quickly the losses suffered at Panipat and so far as the Afghans were concerned, they did not gain anything by their victory. Ahmad Shah, already worn out by a long and harassing campaign of eighteen months and not caring to trust Najibud-Dowla or his lukewarm allies any longer, took his final leave, early in March 1761, of the Indian plains which had brought him no material profit and no longer sustained his claim to the Panjab, where the indigenous Sikhs were already establishing their sway. The Marathas made good their fortunes ten years later when the next Peshwa and his spirited generals including Mahadji Sindia brought the legitimate Emperor to Delhi and installed him on his hereditary throne under Maratha protection, thus fulfilling to the letter the sacred undertaking of 1752, and indirectly also the grand ideal of *Hindu-Pad-Padshahi* for which the Peshwas had been striving from the beginning of their regime. The crowning and declining point of Maratha fortunes was not the day that brought upon the Marathas the disaster of Panipat, but the day on which their best and most highly qualified ruler, Peshwa Madhavrao (I) died a premature death in 1772. The great Maratha historian corroborates this view indirectly when he writes that 'the plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Maratha Empire than the early end of this excellent prince.'

"Even to-day Panipat stirs the heart of the Maratha as nothing else does. It is the disaster that has invested the event with all the glory and pride of a true soldier. More than once during the long wait of two and a half months when a body of over three lakhs of people were cooped up at Panipat, an escape was suggested by taking to flight and as often was the ignominious idea of saving life either by flight or by capitulation, spurned away equally by the non-combatants including women and servants. Writes Major Evans Bell: 'Even the battle of Panipat was a triumph and a glory for the Marathas. They fought in the cause of India for the Indians, while the great Mohammadan princes of Delhi, of Oudh and the Deccan stood aside intriguing and trimming ; and though the Marathas were defeated, the victorious Afghans retired and never again interfered with the affairs of India.'

"But in a different sense the battle of Panipat did verily prove a turning-point in Indian history. In the middle of the 18th century, there were two strong parties contending for the mastery of India : the rising Marathas and the waning Moslems. A third Power, the British, were just rising on the Indian horizon. The first two so weakened each other by their mutual struggles culminating in Panipat that the field was made clear for the

third. The learned author of the *Origin of Bombay* (Dr. Gerson da Cunha) has fully grasped this point when he says that 'the fall of the Angrias and the disaster of Panipat freed the British from the thralldom of insidious neighbours and hastened their rise.' This is amply corroborated by the easy manner in which four years after Panipat, Clive obtained the Diwani of Bengal, i.e., practically the mastery of that rich province and consequently of India. Bengal had then been subjugated by the Bhosla of Nagpur and had the Peshwas been victorious at Panipat, one feels certain that neither the Bhosla nor the Peshwa would have allowed Bengal to slip out of their hands so easily, leaving the situation for Clive to manage as best as he could under the prevailing circumstances."

ASSAM: AN UNTRODDEN FIELD FOR RESEARCH

In *The Journal of the Assam Research Society* (Gauhati, Assam) which is the organ of the recently constituted "Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti" contains an illuminating article under the caption, "Assam as a Field for Research," by Mr. J. P. Mills, in which is put forth an able plea for undertaking systematic excavations in the untrodden surfaces of the province.

"Both the traditions and physical characteristics of some of the hill tribes make it pretty certain that the earliest inhabitants of Assam were of Negrito stock. The spade is not likely to reveal anything of these wandering folk, but they have left behind them an immense number of stone celts, probably the blades of digging sticks. These are found on or just below the surface and differ in a most interesting way in different areas of the Province. Though Negritos seem to have survived till comparatively recent times it is unlikely that any of their physical remains will be found. There is a strong tradition, however, that the remnants of the race were blocked into a cave near Haflong by a Kachari king. The site has never been revealed, but if it could be found it would be worth investigating.

"In dealing with more recent times the spade is an essential aid to research. There are tantalizing stories current of great walled towns buried deep in trackless jungle. Any clue of this kind should be followed up. Even the wonderful monuments of Dimapur lay forgotten for centuries. But apart from unknown sites Assam is rich in ruins which have never been properly cleared. There are, for example, the Kachari sites of Maibong and Khaspur. With spade and axe they could be cleared to enable a survey to be made. Many sites in Assam consist of earthworks only but they are none the less interesting on that account. For instance, there is a chain of immense forts on the Jaintia edge of the high plateau N. E. of Haflong. Who built them we do not know. All sites of towns and forts have rubbish heaps. It is these that should be most eagerly sought, for it is in them that we can hope to find coins, beads and other small imperishable objects.

"An archaeological characteristic of Assam of world-wide fame is its wealth of megaliths. Indeed it is one of the few places in the world where monuments of this type are still erected. Some of the old ones are of great age and interest. So covered with them is the high, sparsely populated plateau N. E. of Haflong that one dreams of a day when some of it may be turned into a National Park for the preservation for all time of the monuments and the wild animals that now roam near them at will. Among the monuments are groups of huge sandstone cists of a type unknown elsewhere. It fell to my lot to discover them. Though they

were visible for miles sticking up out of the short grass, they never seem to have been noticed before—a striking example of how much lies ready to hand for anyone interested in the past. Both on megaliths and rocks in Assam are often found most interesting drawings. The recording of these has been almost entirely neglected. Yet they are of the utmost interest.

“ There is another task for which the aid of the camera and pencil is essential. There must exist in private hands in Assam a very large number of antiques of artistic interest,—brassware, silverware, ivory carvings, etc. There is good reason to believe, for instance, that only within the last fifteen years some of the insignia of the Ahom kings were melted down by the person into whose possession they had come. Such a crime can claim no forgiveness, but the loss would not have been so irreparable had a record first been made of these precious relics. I would suggest that the Samiti beg all private owners to allow any antiques of artistic merit in their possession to be photographed and described. There would be no loss to anyone and no expense involved, but a pictorial record of Assamese art would be built up.

“ It is time now to turn from the dead past to the living present, not only because the present throws light on the past, but for its own intrinsic interest. For some years now the Government of Assam has financed a series of monographs on the hill tribes of Assam known wherever ethnology is studied. Much remains to be done and will, I trust, be done, till a series of unique value has been built up. But quite apart from research among the wilder tribes there is work of the utmost importance to which I would like to draw the attention of the ‘ Kamarupa Anusandhan Sam’iti.’ Throughout the plains of Assam Hindu ceremonies are performed which differ in greater or less degree from those of other provinces. Kamakshya, for example, is a site regarded as sacred throughout the length and breadth of India. Can we not have a full description of the temple, with the date of the building of each part, and a picture of the ceremonial both past and present? Or again there are the great Gossains of the Majuli. Their disciples number thousands, but nowhere have we a picture of their mode of life, the beliefs they hold, the buildings they inhabit, or the ceremonial connected with them. Offerings have poured in for countless years and one’s mouth waters at the thought of the relics of past ages they must have brought. Could not some keen, skilled researchers portray and describe the precious things in their possession? It is not good enough to say, ‘ It will do later.’ Ceremonial changes and antiques are destroyed or lost. Now is the time for study. Similarly with the village festivals throughout Assam. Years go by and they remain undescribed. For such research clear descriptions, photographs and drawings are required to be placed in the safe keeping of the Samiti. It is fatal to wait till there is money available for publication. The first step is to collect and preserve the material. Money for publication will come all in good time.”

INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON GURU NANAK

Under the above caption Sardar Piyara Singh is contributing an interesting series of articles in *The Muslim Revival*, a quarterly journal of Muslim Thought and Life, recently started from Lahore. In the first instalment of the series the author showed that Guru Nanak was not only a strict observer of *Namaz* (Islamic prayer) but also a preacher of the same. Now he quotes chapter and verse to prove that Nanak was also an ardent advocate of the Islamic *Zakat*, the Fast, and the *Haj*.

" *Zakat* is an obligatory charity at a fixed rate of one's income which, under proper organization and control, is spent on the poor members of society. Among the followers of the Guru Shahib, *Daswandh*, i.e., one-tenth of one's income is the recognised rate of charity under the Guru's orders. Referring to this the Guru says:

1. Earn an honest living of labour. Out of this, spend something with your hand in the way of God. Then can you find the straight path.
2. Only that stands one in good stead in the coming life which is earned with labour and spent in God's way.

" Then comes the Islamic fast. Here again, Guru Nanak is full of praises for this institution. Says he :

1. The pious have cut a sunder the chains of the world and eat and drink very sparingly.
2. Woe unto the sort of life which is nothing but eating and swelling the belly.
3. Make the thirty fasts your protectors and the five prayers your comrade. Otherwise the devil will tempt you and cause your name to be struck off.
4. The mosque teaches love and affection. Prayer teaches righteousness. The Quran explains what is permissible and what is forbidden. Following the *sunnat* makes one inculcate modesty. Fasting teaches forbearance. So it behoves you to be a Muslim.

" As regards Haj, the evidence is of the clearest possible nature so that it is agreed on all hands that Guru Nanak duly performed the Pilgrimage to Mecca. When on the way, the Guru had some *Mullahs* also in his company. They were ignorant of the true significance underlying the Haj and considered it a sort of atonement for past sins. The Guru's spiritual talks were not quite to their taste and so parting company they went ahead. Guru Nanak perceiving what was in their mind deliberately stayed behind, so addressing Mardana :

Mardana! Let these Hajis go. If it is our *kismet* to perform the Haj of the Holy Kaaba, we will also reach it. Mardana! This is a path such that if we show love and affection and do religious service as we go along, we get blessings. If however we indulge in nonsense, gossip, mockery and mutual ill-will we are certainly no Hajis.

(*Sakhi of Bhai Bala*, page 130.)

" Bhai Gurdas thus describes Guru Nanak's Pilgrimage to the Kaaba :

After that Guru Nanak went to Mecca. Wearing blue clothes, carrying a walking club in hand, slinging the Quran around his neck, having a jug for ablutions and a carpet for prayer, calling out the Azan and saying Namaz, he reached Kaaba and put up at the Kaaba. At night the Guru slept with his feet towards the *mihrab*. At this Mulla Jiwan kicked him and said : ' O sinner Kafir! why are you lying with your feet towards God's House?' Taking hold of his legs, he was going to turn them round but the Kaaba turned along with them. Thus did he show them his miracle.

" These words prove beyond a shadow of doubt that Guru Nanak went to Mecca and with what equipment is also obvious enough. He had nothing with him except what is necessary for a pious, devoted Muslim, viz., the Quran, jug, prayer-carpet, etc. The account also shows that he was not content with putting up in Mecca. He put up right at the Kaaba. As regards the incident of the feet, it is quite likely that it took place while he was asleep. Mulla Jiwan whose name shows he was the typical narrow-minded Punjabi Mulla could not, however, excuse this unconscious sleep and flew into a fit of rage. To disillusion him, however, that God was not in the Kaaba alone, the spiritual phenomenon (*kashf*) of the turning of the Kaaba was necessary. Not that the Kaaba actually did turn round; it seemed to be turning round—a phenomenon not unknown to the *sufis* and known as *kashf*. The idea was to impress upon the thick-skinned Mulla that the limbs of godly people are not their own limbs but are in a way

the limbs of God and as such even the Kaaba turns around them. Mohy-ud-Din Ibn Arbi says, that when he went to pay a visit to the Kaaba, the latter stood up to greet and honour him and went up towards the sky.

"Those who think that Guru Nanak went to Mecca to propagate the Hindu religion are obviously mistaken. If he were against Islam, why did he put on the appearance of a Muslim Haji? To say that he put on this dress to disguise himself is to our mind an insult to the great memory of the Guru. The truth is that he went there in all sincerity as a true Muslim, at heart as in appearance. If the Muslims call him Haji Guru Nanak (may God bless his soul), they do so as a mark of high respect for him. Rather than resent it, the Sikhs should say that since you revere our religious founder as a great and holy saint, one of the chosen of God, we reciprocate the same sentiments towards your Prophet and revere him as a chosen of God. That will surely foster fraternal feelings between the two communities."

THE REBIRTH OF CHINA

"Things to-day are more stable in China. It is her misfortune that her most important news rarely gets on to the front pages of the newspapers. For nearly two years Manchuria has receded into the second rank among the things that really matter. "Meanwhile changes have been taking place in China," writes Mr. O. M. Green in the *Nineteenth Century* (London), "changes not only political, but psychological. With all the caution that many disappointments have taught us, there is good reason to believe that China stands on the threshold of a new era." This new era dawned after the open strife between Canton and Nanking, the former having always been the stronghold of the *Kuomintang*, and the latter the centre of the Chiang-Kai-Shek government that had been trying to break the *Kuomintang* monopoly.

"Then came the announcement of a new policy which has already meant much, and may, if the fates are kind, mean yet more. The Nanking Government proclaimed that it would fight no more civil wars, except against the Communists; other regions must do as they pleased; it would concentrate upon its own sphere, the Yangtze Valley (which contains some 170,000,000 of the most industrious people and some of the most fruitful lands in the world), and leave the rest to the future. To this resolve it has held in spite of a good deal of provocation, and undoubtedly much practical reform has been achieved. Administrative expenses have been pruned, the conversion of internal loans has saved \$100,000,000 a year, and even the army has been rationed. Altogether expenditure has been cut down by \$200,000,000 annually; a number of taxes—wine and tobacco, stamps, etc.—have been consolidated into a single administration with great increase in economy and efficiency; and by the end of last year Nanking had balanced its books for the first time without borrowing.

"Not the least important and hopeful part of the new policy is the bid made for the support of that shrewd, sagacious class, the great body of businessmen, while the power of the *Kuomintang* has certainly been reduced. Thus the majority of the Board which, under the presidency of Mr. T. V. Soong, now controls Nanking's finances is composed of leading bankers and merchants. In the provinces the district councils have been replaced by civil governors with plenary powers, and provincial legislative committees are to be elected by the business classes themselves, both to assist the civil governors against the military and at the same time to

prevent the former from abusing their powers. It is true that these committees as yet seem only to have come into existence in Shanghai and Nanking, but the movement towards them appears to be significant. Nothing is more worth watching in China to-day than the growing demand of her businessmen for a voice in affairs of State.

"Everyone returning from the Far East is familiar with the fatuous question, 'Well, and when is China going to settle down?' The only possible answer is, 'Which China do you mean?' Now, counting Manchuria, there are at least five Chinas—Canton in the South; Nanking in the Centre; the North (in a generally fluid state very difficult to define); the huge western province of Szechuan; and the Communists.

"It is an appalling problem to find an order out of this chaos of political conglomeration. Still, a practical beginning has been made. Something has been achieved, and that on the only lines that offer hope of ultimate order, by trying to create an orderly State within a limited area, and expanding its boundaries as opportunity serves. This, too, is the historic method pursued in China by every new dynasty; and such is the force of public opinion that if within the next few years Nanking can show a good record in the Yangtze Valley other districts must inevitably be drawn into its orbit by sheer weight of public demand. The very accentuation of present divisions may be the best augury of ultimate reunion, not on a basis of force, but of reason and mutual advantage. Moreover, an effort by the Powers to lend that help to the Nanking Government which the Lytton Report urged so strongly, and without which it is hard to believe that Nanking can succeed, becomes feasible if it can be applied within a limited area. The problem of China as a whole can only be solved by the Chinese themselves in their own time and in their own way. But the problem of the Yangtze Valley accessible at every point by its endless network of rivers and creeks, is an altogether more manageable matter.

"In framing an active, constructive policy in China some obvious ideas easily suggest themselves. China is weak in administrative experience. Nanking needs help in building up, as she is trying to do, an effective civil service. A well-organised gendarmerie to police roadways and waterways is most necessary; incidentally, it would form a valuable outlet for China's superfluous troops. There is an enormous field for help in industrial and economic development, road-making, bridge-building, and factory legislation suited to the country's peculiar conditions, all of which are essential to any hope of progress.

"As one surveys the general picture of China, the prevailing feature is incoherence—endless political associations vociferating their own nostrums; departments and bureaux tumbling over each other and stultifying action; feverish imitation of impracticable Western models; regulations which no one obeys; agitators agitating for every reform except the virtues of dull, honest work. Yet, amid so much that is disheartening, false and pretentious, one discerns the growth of something like a steady purpose. No doubt throughout vast tracts of China the present disorder is regarded merely as one of the normal periods of chaos between one dynasty and another; but impulses have been imparted which cannot be checked. New China is becoming more Chinese—as witness the revolt against the Kuomintang, Old China is beginning to peep out of its shell. The increasing popularity of motor cars, aeroplanes, radio, electric light and other Western conveniences of life may as yet mean no more than superficial changes, but they cannot fail in time to affect thought and opinion. More and more, one ventures to believe, old and new must tend to draw together for the production of some workable system, moulded by Western example to modern needs, but tested and approved by Chinese custom and instinct.

At Home and Abroad

[A Monthly Record of News relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities, and other Cultural and Academic Institutions.]

Bombay wants an Elected Vice-Chancellor

The Senate of the Bombay University at a recent meeting adopted a resolution which demanded an elected Vice-Chancellor and recommended to the Government of Bombay to amend the University Act so that the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University would be elected by the Senate itself instead of being nominated by the Chancellor. The suggestion caused a lively debate, most of the speakers emphasising the desirability of having an elected Vice-Chancellor as against a nominated one. Mr. H. Hamil strongly supported the principle of nomination, holding that the cordial relations between Government and the University could not be maintained in a better way. The supporters of the resolution wanted a change as they did not want 'the anachronism of a nominated Vice-Chancellor over an elected body (the Senate) to continue.' Dr. B. G. Vad, moving the resolution, said that in many public bodies nomination had been displaced by election. That had happened in the Legislative Assembly, the Legislative Councils, and local bodies. It was their desire that the University also should have an elected Vice-Chancellor. An elected Vice-Chancellor would further add to the dignity and prestige of the Senate. Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, supporting the resolution, said that the Senate had sufficiently advanced to have an elected Vice-Chancellor. The resolution was passed by 38 votes against 24.

All-India Oriental Conference

The All-India Oriental Conference—an organisation of scholars interested in history, languages, ethnology, philosophy and other subjects on Indology—have elected Mr. K P Jayaswal, M.A, Barrister-at-Law, Patna, as their President for the sixth All-India session. The electoral body consists of scholars from different parts of India. On the invitation of the Government of Baroda, the session will be held at Baroda during the ensuing X'mas week, when His Highness the Gaskwar will be present in his capital.

Rangoon University Convocation

It has been decided to hold the annual convocation of the University of Rangoon in December ; but as the High Court refused to recognise the provisional certificates granted to successful law students, a special convocation was recently held. The members of the Council and the Senate were present and the Vice-Chancellor U Set was specially deputed by the Chancellor to preside at the convocation which was very informal. The recipients of the degree of B.L. included two Burmese lady students while a degree of B.A. in *absentia* was conferred on Ma Saw Yin, another lady student who is away in England at present.

United States Universities

Four of America's prominent colleges and Universities have just named new Presidents, and in all cases have named notably young men. Dr. Harold Willis Dodds, at 44, will be the youngest man in 175 years to occupy the presidency of Princeton University, and Dr. James B. Conant will be the third youngest man ever to be President of Harvard. He is a little over 30. Hunter College, in New York City, has just named Dr. Eugene A. Collings, President at 45, and Dr. Bancroft Beatty, the new head of Simmons College, in Boston, is 38.

Rangoon University Finance

Financial stringency and the need for rigid economy loomed large in the University administration throughout the year. Many economies were made in the cost of administration. Despite reductions of Government subventions to University and the colleges from 12½ lakhs in 1929-30 to 9½ lakhs during 1932-33 and rising numbers seeking admission, the University surrendered to Government Rs. 47,500 of the annual subvention of Rs. 1,20,000 and reduced its total expenditure during 1932-33 by about Rs. 96,000. Further it made reductions in the proposed expenditure for the year 1933-34 amounting to Rs. 1,10,000. These figures do not include economies effected or to be effected in the internal administration of the constituent colleges which amount to considerable sums.

The number of the students in the University during the year 1932-33 was 1,783 including 284 women distributed in the constituent colleges—University, Judson, Teachers' Medical and Intermediate at Mandalay.

Patna University Convocation

Sir R. P. Paranjpaye, Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, will deliver the Convocation address in the ensuing Convocation of the Patna University to be held in the Wheeler Senate House on November 25, next.

Gifts for Education

With the consent of his widow, Srimati Katyayani Debi, the endowment created by the late Babu Hiralal Mukherjee of Sridharpore, Burdwan, for Rs. 20,000 will be utilised for the establishment and maintenance of a Sanskrit *tal*.

Babu Jatindranath Ghose has made a donation of Rs. 18,362 for the establishment of a High English School at Burikhali, Howrah.

Education of Muslims

The Mohamedan Educational Association of Southern India has done much for the educational progress of the Muslim community, and warm appreciation of its activities was expressed at the 31st annual general meeting held recently at the Lawley Hall, Mount Road, Madras. The Hon. Sir Mahomed Usman, President, was in the chair, and there was a large gathering of members. Mr. Hameed Hassan who moved for the adoption of the Annual Report expressed his satisfaction with the work of the Association during the year and congratulated the office-bearers. He pointed out that during the last ten years the Association had greatly helped in the progress of education among Muslim women and had awarded a large number of scholarships. There was a great need for Muslim school mistresses and women doctors, and applications from women would receive due consideration. The Hon. Sir Mahomed Usman was re-elected President. He observed that as a result of the good work of the Association, the Government had placed their seal of appreciation on its endeavours and had recognised the body for certain purposes. The Association was now represented in the Madras and Annamalai Universities. Sir Mahomed appealed to the members of the Association to work together in the real

Islamic spirit. To fight their own battle in the political sphere and to take their proper place in the country the Muslim community should equip itself efficiently from the educational point of view. The Association should, therefore, be helped to carry on its activities in an increasing measure, and Sir Mahomed appealed to the community, especially the wealthy members thereof, to help the Association financially.

Assam Sanskrit Association

The Assam Sanskrit Association has been re-constituted with the Director of Public Instruction as President and His Excellency the Governor of Assam and the Hon'ble the Minister of Education as patrons. The large deliberative body consists of 32 Pandits of Sanskrit *toles* of Surma Valley and Assam Valley, 10 Honorary Members, 16 non-official Hindu gentlemen, 9 representatives of different branches of *Sastras* and 12 Government officers most of whom are Professors and Principals of Colleges of both the Valleys of Assam.

The Presidency College, Calcutta

In reply to a question in a recent meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council by Maulvi Azizur Rahaman, the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education stated that two posts in the Bengal Educational Service, the posts of the Steward, of the Roll-clerk and of seven bearers in the Presidency College have been retrenched by which a saving of Rs. 15,435 has been effected.

World Federation of Educational Associations

The World Federation of Educational Associations met in Dublin during the first week of August. The idea of the Federation is American. The first meeting was held in San Francisco. It grew out of the decision of the National Educational Association of the United States to examine the possibility of furthering the ideal of world peace through education, and to devise a programme which would emphasise the necessity of co-operation and goodwill among the nations. About six hundred delegates attended the San Francisco meeting, and many of them, specially those from Asiatic countries, came at the expense of their Governments.

"World peace through education" is therefore the fundamental principle of the Federation, which works towards a group of objectives, the underlying purpose of which is that education might render its share of service to a world struggling to lay the spectre of war.

Madras University encourage Vernaculars

The Academic Council of the Madras University in a recent meeting, Sir K. Ramuni Menon, Vice-Chancellor, presiding, considered a proposal to award prizes for approved works on modern subjects in Dravidian languages. The history of this subject dates from the year 1925. At its meeting held in March, 1932, the Senate considered a report of the Syndicate that an annual allotment of Rs. 3,000 be made for the encouragement of the publication of modern works, the amount to be awarded as prizes for approved publications in the Dravidian Languages—Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese—each year's allotment being divided among the four Dravidian Languages. The Senate approved of the proposal to institute prizes for the encouragement of publications of modern works in Dravidian Languages, subject to the understanding that, in framing draft

Statutes required under the Act, the Syndicate would keep in view, as the chief object, the creation of such literature in Dravidian Languages on current thought as might be suitable for non-detailed study in the Intermediate, B.A. and B.Sc. courses and requested the Syndicate to place draft Statutes before the next meeting of the Senate after consulting the Boards of Studies concerned and the Academic Council. The Syndicate drafted a Statute and Rules and referred them to the Boards of Studies in the Dravidian Languages. The Boards having submitted their report the Syndicate considered them and referred the matter to the Faculty of Oriental Learning for consideration and report. The Faculty again considered the same and made its recommendations to the Syndicate, which accepted them.

Madras University

In a recent meeting of the newly constituted Academic Council of the Madras University Mr. S. Satyamurthy moved that "in and from the public examination of 1937, the examination in non-language subjects shall be conducted in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kanarese or Urdu, whichever of these is the mother-tongue of the candidate, or in English for those candidates whose mother-tongue is not one of these five languages." He pointed out that there was no country in the world, ancient, mediaeval or modern, Occidental or Oriental, in which a foreign language was the medium of instruction. It was an intellectual monstrosity obtaining only in India. Most of the members favoured the proposal, but on a motion of Mm. S. Kuppaswami Sastri, the question was referred to the Syndicate for report after consultation with the Boards of Studies.

In the same meeting the Council adopted a resolution moved by Rao Bahadur Dr. A. Lakshmana Swami Mudaliyar proposing that a Degree in Veterinary Science called "B.Sc. Veterinary" be instituted in the University.

Lucknow University Convocation

The next convocation of the University of Lucknow will be held on December 9, in the Canning College, Lucknow. His Excellency the Chancellor will preside and the convocation address will be delivered by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.

Primary Education in Travancore

The Government of Travancore are considering the report of the Educational Reforms Inquiry Committee appointed by them, with Mr. R. M. Statham as Chairman, to inquire into the state of education in the State and to suggest measures to improve it. The Committee has recommended, it is believed, that elementary education be made free and small stipends paid to children who are very poor in order to encourage their parents to send them to school. Another recommendation is to reduce the fees in the Higher Elementary Classes. The Committee does not consider it necessary to maintain separate elementary schools for girls, except for Muslim girls. It is suggested that special attention should be devoted to the admission of depressed classes children to the common schools and to the appointment of teachers belonging to those communities. Schools will have discretion to make the vernacular the medium of instruction. The Committee urges the abolition of the Vernacular Middle Schools and the opening, in their place, of English Middle Schools with provision for industrial training. Another proposal is the establishment of a technological institute, one of the subjects to be taught being engineering.

Regarding the administration of the Education Department the Committee thinks, it is understood, that a Deputy Director and a Financial Assistant should be appointed to help the Director of Public Instruction. In addition to the administration report published annually, the Committee wants an educational survey to be made every five years. It is also suggested that the rules for the recognition of schools should be modified so as to encourage aided schools to institute provident funds and to enforce a prescribed form of agreement between managers and teachers.

Primary Education in Bengal

Six District Boards in Bengal are to initiate an interesting educational experiment from the beginning of the next financial year with the setting up of District School Boards to control primary education within their Districts under provisions of the Bengal Primary Education Bill, 1930. There will be placed at their disposal (a) a grant not less than the grants previously paid by the Government to that district and (b) an amount contributed by the District Board not less than the average amount spent by the Board upon primary education during the last four years. The District School Boards will be constituted according to the Act and will be specially qualified for dealing with educational problems in the district. It is hoped that by their preliminary work in surveying the educational needs of the district and in the making of definite plans for the spread of education, they will make rapid and satisfactory progress when the economic situation of the province improves. The six districts where this experiment will be conducted are Mymensingh, Chittagong, Noakhali, Dinajpur, Pabna and Birbhum. The experience of these Boards, it is expected, will be of great value not only for better control of education within these particular districts but also in giving information as to the directions in which, if any, changes are necessary when a more widespread application of the Act is possible.

Indian Education in Fiji.

The following extracts are taken from the Report on Education in Fiji for the Year 1932.

Government Schools

The first Government school for Indians was established at Natabua in 1919. Samabula School was taken over from a local committee in 1929, and Andrews and Votualevu in 1930. Vatuwaqa Indian Girls' School was built in 1930, and Karavi and Waidikora Schools in 1931.

In September, 1930, a secondary department was added to the Natabua Primary School.

The fees in the primary school are 1s. a month and in secondary department £2 10s. per term.

Agricultural Education

From 1909 to 1911, under the Headmastership of Mr. W. L. Waterhouse, H.D.A. (now Dr. Waterhouse, Professor of Agriculture, Sydney University), both technical and agricultural education were carried on at the boys' school, but only to a limited extent, as far as the latter branch was concerned, on account of the limited means and the unsuitable nature of the land.

Two students who had finished their course in technical instruction at Davuilevu were sent to the Hawkesbury Agricultural College in New South Wales. Six Indian Students from Dilkusha were also sent to an agricultural school at Allahabad in India. On the return of these eight students the Mission, with the assistance of the Government, established an agricultural school on the Navuso Estate, recently acquired by the Mission and situated about three miles further up the river than Davuilevu.

Primary Education

In 1932 the number of Government schools increased from six to seven, and of assisted schools from 37 to 41. In addition there were 16 unassisted schools. The total number of Indians enrolled in all schools was 4,684, of whom 3,608 were boys and 1,076 girls, with an average attendance of 81 per cent.

In 1931, 38 per cent. of pupils were in Class 1 and 19.5 per cent in Class 2.

In 1932 these percentages had fallen to 36 and 17, respectively. The difference between the numbers in Classes 1 and 2 indicates retardation explained partly by understating and the consequent neglect of the lowest class. The position will improve each year as the supply of certificated teachers increases. The existence of one-teacher schools will, however, prevent situation improving rapidly. The parochialism of Indians in country districts together with the mutual antipathy of the various races and creeds prevents the grouping of Indian schools which, without any increase in the number of teachers, would allow of proper instructions being given to the youngest children

Secondary Education

Approved Indian pupils may enrol in the secondary department of the Natabua Indian School. The fees are £7 10s. a year. The average roll in 1932 was 21. The curriculum includes the usual secondary subjects with the addition of agriculture, wood-work, book-keeping and business principles.

Training of Teachers

As part of the economy measures taken by Government the number of teachers in training was reduced from 36 to 26. At the end of the year there were 12 Indians (including one not supported by Government) and 15 Fijians on the roll.

Female Education

There were 21 schools for non-European girls in 1931 and only 16 in 1932 although the number of girls in all such schools increased from 6,508 to 6,599. The difference in the number of schools is not due to the closing of girls' schools but to the admission of boys usually in the lower classes. In 1931, 216 and in 1932, 230 schools admitted pupils of both sexes. Co-education of the sexes does not prevent Fijian girls from attending school. It does, however, partly account for the fact shown in Appendix 6 that Indian girls in boys' schools leave school at about the age of ten. The supply of certificated women teachers is slowly improving, but many schools that are anxious to employ women teachers cannot get any applications. The difficulty of procuring suitable board and lodging in country districts will always deter many women from leaving their homes.

Ourselfes

[*The Late Srimati Sailasuta Debi—Tagore Law Professor—University Appointments—Bagiswari Professor of Fine Arts—Changes in the Regulations—Students proceeding Abroad—. A New D. Sc.—Orissa and Our University—Subjects for Tagore Law Professorship—Jagattarini Medalist—Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer—Government Conference—University Students' Information Bureau—Girishchandra Ghose Lecturer—Law Examinations—Government Servants and University Examinations—Controller of Examinations—Progress of Researches—Our Frontispiece.*]

THE LATE SRIMATI SAILASUTA DEBI

We regret to announce the death of Srimati Sailasuta Debi, who placed at the disposal of the University in April, 1928, Government promissory notes of the face value of one lac and fifty thousand rupees for the promotion of Scientific and Technical Education and the development of Applied Science and Scientific Industry. The scholarship was created in commemoration of her husband, the late Babu Radhikamohan Ray, who was a Zamindar and a son of the late Babu Mohinimohan Ray who during his days was one of the acknowledged leaders of the Vakil Bar of the Calcutta High Court. On the occasion of the death of the founder of this scholarship we cannot but pay our tribute to her memory for the practical interest displayed by her in the cause of industrial regeneration of this province.

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TAGORE LAW PROFESSOR

On the recommendation of the Faculty of Law the Senate has appointed Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Advocate of the High Court and Professor of the University Law College, Tagore Professor of Law for the year 1934. The subject of his lectures will be *The History of Development of Hindu Law in British India*. While moving the acceptance of the proposal before the Senate, Mr. Justice Mitter, Dean of the Faculty of Law, referred to the fact that the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee delivered the Tagore lectures thirty-six years ago and added that this was the first time in the history of this ancient foundation that both father and son had been called upon to fill the chair. We offer our cordial congratulations to Mr. Mookerjee on his appointment.

UNIVERSITY APPOINTMENTS

Mr. Jaygopal Banerjee, University Professor of English, has been re-appointed Professor till the end of the current academic session. His term expires on 31st October, 1933.

Mr. Kokileswar Sastri, M.A., a whole-time Lecturer in the department of Sanskrit, has been granted extension of service for one year expiring on the 31st of May, 1934.

Mr. J. C. Mitra, M.A., has been renominated by His Excellency the Chancellor as a Fellow of this University.

BAGISWARI PROFESSOR OF FINE ARTS

It would be recalled that Mr. Sahid Suhrawardy was appointed Bagiswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts last year. He was placed on deputation for one year and was permitted to spend this period in Europe for further study and research. The period of deputation expired on 15th September, 1933. As the University classes closed for the Puja Vacation from 18th September, Professor Suhrawardy asked for permission to stay in Europe till the end of the vacation. This would not interfere with his studies in Calcutta and at the same time would enable him to complete his work in Europe. This permission has been granted by the Senate

CHANGES IN THE REGULATIONS

On the recommendation of the Faculty of Engineering the Senate has adopted certain changes in the Regulations for the I.E. and B.E. Examinations. These Regulations are being submitted to Government for sanction.

The Senate has also passed certain changes in the Regulations reducing the quorum for meetings of the Councils of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts and Science. Under the present Regulations, the quorum was fixed at one-third of the members in each case; it has now been reduced to 15. It may be noted that this is the same number fixed for Senate meetings also.

Another change recently approved by the Senate is with regard to the procedure for temporary appointments in the Post-graduate department. Under the present Regulations, it is not necessary to

appoint a Selection Committee for any temporary appointment. This has now been altered and under the new Regulations, a Selection Committee will have to be appointed with regard to every temporary appointment where the period exceeds one year.

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STUDENTS PROCEEDING ABROAD

The University has found it necessary in recent years to hold a Special Convocation in August for conferring degrees on those graduates who desire to proceed abroad for further studies. The necessity arose out of the fact that our degrees were previously conferred only at the annual Convocation held in March every year and students who desired to proceed to Europe immediately after graduation could not be supplied with their diplomas but were given provisional certificates. These certificates were not always acceptable to the authorities of some of the Universities in Europe who in the absence of the diplomas expressed doubts as to whether the students concerned were fully eligible for their respective degrees. Our Vice-Chancellor who is now in England discussed this matter with the Secretary of the Bureau of the Universities of the British Empire and also with Vice-Chancellors of several British Universities. We are now in a position to announce that it will not be necessary for us to hold any Special Convocation in future; a special certificate has been drawn up which will contain the necessary details and will be acceptable to the Universities in Great Britain; this will entitle the students to the usual privileges and exemptions. For this solution of a matter which gave rise to considerable practical inconvenience in the past, our thanks are mainly due to Sir Hassan Suhrawardy and the Secretary to the Bureau of the Universities of the British Empire.

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A NEW D. Sc.

Mr. Sukumarchandra Sarkar, M.Sc., who passed his M.Sc. in 1925 has recently been awarded the degree of Doctor of Science. The principal subject of his thesis was *Investigations on the properties in the Raman Spectra*. The Board of Examiners consisted of four eminent scholars: Professor J. C. Mc. Lenan, D.Sc., F.R.S., Professor P. Pringshein, Professor Charles Fabry and Sir C. V. Raman, F.R.S., N.L. Dr. Sarkar has been serving as Research Assistant to the Palit Professor of Physics since January, 1927. We extend to him our cordial congratulations.

ORISSA AND OUR UNIVERSITY.

The University has recently received a communication from the Secretary, Orissa Committee which has been constituted to enquire into and recommend on the administrative problems incidental to the creation of the Orissa Province. The Committee desired to know the views of the University on the question of affiliation of the Colleges in Orissa with Calcutta University, and also on the possibility of securing adequate representation of Orissa on the various University bodies, in the event of the proposal being ultimately accepted. The Syndicate appointed a Committee consisting of the Director of Public Instruction, Dr. W. S. Urquhart, Mr. C. C. Biswas and Mr. Syama-prasad Mookerjee, to consider the matter and submit a report. The Committee has reported that if Orissa desires to come within the jurisdiction of Calcutta University, the University should welcome her back. It has also been pointed out in the report that the same representation which has been given to our sister province, Assam, should also be extended to Orissa. It may be recalled in this connection that Oriya is a recognised vernacular for the different Examinations of our University; there are also special arrangements for its teaching in the Post-Graduate classes, mainly due to the munificence of the Maharaja of Sonapur. The report of the Committee has been adopted by the Syndicate and the Secretary, Orissa Committee has been informed accordingly.

SUBJECTS FOR TAGORE LAW PROFESSORSHIP, 1935

The following subjects have been selected by the Faculty of Law for the Tagore Law Professorship for 1935 :

- (1) *The History of Development of Moslem Law in British India*
- (2) *The Law of Arbitration with special reference to British India*
- (3) *The Law of Partnership with special reference to British India*

Advertisements are being published inviting applications from candidates for the Professorship. Applications are to reach the Registrar on or before 1st May, 1934. Each candidate is to forward with his application 100 copies of a brief synopsis of his proposed

lectures and if he so desires, the same number of copies of his Introductory Lecture.

JAGATTARINI MEDALIST, 1933

On the recommendation of the Special Committee, the Syndicate has awarded the Jagattarini Medal for 1933 to Mr. Kedarnath Bandyopadhyay for his contributions to Bengali Literature. Mr. Banerjee occupies a recognised position amongst writers of Bengali fiction and is particularly noted for his inimitable humorous style which he has made his own. We offer our congratulations to Mr. Banerjee on this well-deserved recognition of his life-long labours.

ADHARCHANDRA MOOKERJEE LECTURER, 1933

Professor Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S., has been appointed Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer for 1933, the subject of his lectures being *The Ultimate Constituents of Matter*. Dr. Saha is expected to deliver the lectures early in 1934. It is needless to add that this appointment will give satisfaction to one and all.

GOVERNMENT CONFERENCE

Government have decided to hold a Conference in Calcutta in November, 1933, to consider the future lines of educational development in all its branches in Bengal. It is understood the proceedings will be opened by His Excellency the Chancellor. The following members have been nominated by the Syndicate to represent this University at the Conference :—

The Vice-Chancellor
Dr. U. N. Brahmachari
Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy
Mr. C. C. Biswas
Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, and
Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' INFORMATION BUREAU

Professor P. N. Ghosh, Ghosh Professor of Applied Physics, has been re-appointed Secretary to the University Students' Information Bureau for the year 1933-34.

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GIRISCHANDRA GHOSH LECTURER

Mr. Kumudbandhu Sen whose articles dealing with the dramatic works of the late Girischandra Ghosh have won just appreciation, has been appointed Girischandra Ghosh Lecturer for 1933. The subject of his lectures will be *Girischandra, his Mind and Art*.

LAW EXAMINATIONS

The results of the Law Examinations held in August, 1933, have just been announced. The percentage of passes at the Preliminary Law Examination is 57.5 as against 59.2 at the last Examination. At the Intermediate Law Examination the percentage of passes is 61 as against 58.2 at the last Examination and at the Final Examination the percentage is 40.9 as against 63.6 at the last examination.

GOVERNMENT SERVANTS AND UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS

In September, 1932, certain changes were introduced in the Fundamental and Subsidiary rules of Government, recognising absence of Government servants due to conduct of University Examinations in practical subjects only as absence on duty. Government were not prepared to grant the same facility to those of their officers who were appointed University Examiners in non-practical subjects. The matter was brought to the notice of the University a few months ago and the Syndicate addressed a letter to Government pointing out the undesirability of making any distinction as proposed in the rules. We are glad to record that Government have now agreed to modify the rules and to treat all Government servants as absentees on duty while attending meetings in connection with the examinations,—no matter what the nature of the subject is. Government will not however permit such officers to draw any travelling allowance from the provincial revenues for attending such meetings.

CONTROLLER OF EXAMINATIONS

Rai Narendranath Sen, Bahadur, M.A., has taken leave for two months and three days with effect from 21st October, 1938, and Dr. Binodbehari Dutt, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., Assistant Controller, has been appointed to officiate as Controller of Examinations during the period in addition to his own duties.

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PROGRESS OF RESEARCHES

Department of History

A history of the Maratha Navy has long been a desideratum. Stray articles on the subject have appeared from time to time but as materials for an exhaustive account are not available in any one archive or any one language, no systematic treatise has hitherto been attempted. A fairly satisfactory survey, however, was made by Prof. Surendranath Sen in his *Military system of the Marathas*. He is now engaged on a *History of the Maratha Maritime Activities*. The work will be based on published and unpublished Marathi, English, Portuguese, French and Dutch sources.

Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri is continuing his investigations in the political history of Ancient India. He is a recognised authority on the subject. During the past few months he has published three papers on (1) *The successors of Kumaragupta I*, (2) *Some Problems of Pre-Buddhistic History and Chronology* and (3) *The Kardamaka Kings*.

Mr. Indubhushan Banerji is engaged on an equally interesting subject. His *Evolution of the Khalsa* is expected to remove a long-felt need and to throw new light on the history of the Sikhs which forms one of the special subjects in our History curriculum.

Mr. Narendrakrishna Sinha has just completed his monograph on *Ranjit Singh*, which will be published before long. It is expected to supersede all previous publications on the subject. Dr. Amarprasad Dasgupta is now engaged on a critical examination of the *Macartney Papers at the Satara Museum*. He has already published a few papers on the subject. Dr. Narayanchandra Banerji proposes to complete his second volume of *Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India* and the concluding volume of *Hindu Polity and Political Theories*. The previous volumes of these two works have been hailed as notable advances on our previous knowledge of the subject. Dr. Banerji also expects to publish a short treatise on *Hindu Economic Thought*.

Department of Applied Mathematics

The staff and the Research students of the Department of Applied Mathematics are engaged in research work in several different subjects. The Ghose Professor with his student Mr. N. K. Chatterjee is at present working the Theory of the Expanding Universe and the problem of the Equilibrium of compressible and incompressible gaseous spheres, which is closely related to the modern theory of Stellar structure. Some of their results have been published in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, the *Indian Physico-Mathematical Journal*, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London*, and one is shortly coming out in the *Zeitschrift für Astrophysik*. Mr. Sisirendu Gupta, Premchand Roychand Student, till lately Ghose Research Scholar of this Department, is working in Wave Mechanics connected with the modern atomic theory; the results of his investigation have been embodied in several papers published in the *Zeitschrift für Physik*.

Dr. Siteschandra Kar is at present working on the application of Group theory to Quantum Mechanics and his latest paper on the subject was published quite recently in the *Zeitschrift für Physik*. Dr. Panchanan Das works on the theory of Vibration and on Wave Mechanics, *Indian Physico-Mathematical Journal*. Dr. Bratisankar Roy is also interested in Quantum mechanical problems and has published a paper on toplike motion in *Zeitschrift für Physik*. Dr. Jyotirmay Ghosh works on the theory of Relativity and has published papers on the equilibrium of spheres in several Journals. Dr. Ghosh edits the *Indian Physico-Mathematical Journal*.

Besides modern theoretical Physics, Mechanics is also studied and worked on by some members of the staff. Dr. Suddhodhan Ghosh studies hydrodynamical problems and also problems connected with the theory of Elasticity. His latest contribution to the elastic theory has been published in a paper in *Zeitschrift für angewandte Mathematik und Mechanik*. Mr. Bibhutibhushan Sen works on the elastic theory. One paper on the subject has been published in the *Philosophical Magazine* and the other will come out shortly in the *Zeitschrift für angewandte Mathematik und Mechanik*. Dr. Nripendranath Sen has published papers on the theory of vortex motion in fluids in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*. Manobar Ray, the junior Ghose Scholar of the department is studying some hydrodynamical problems regarding resistance to the motion of cylindrical bodies in viscous liquid.

Department of Anthropology

At present three lines of investigation are being conducted in this Department, (i) a study of the primitive tribes to be found in hundreds in Chota Nagpur and Assam who are fast disappearing, (ii) ethnic enquiries into the composition of the castes in Bengal, (iii) and Medico-Anthropological investigations into growth problems. Year before last we turned our attention to Assam and began with the tribes of Manipur. Mr. T. C. Das studied the *Chirus* which he followed up by a study of *Purums*.

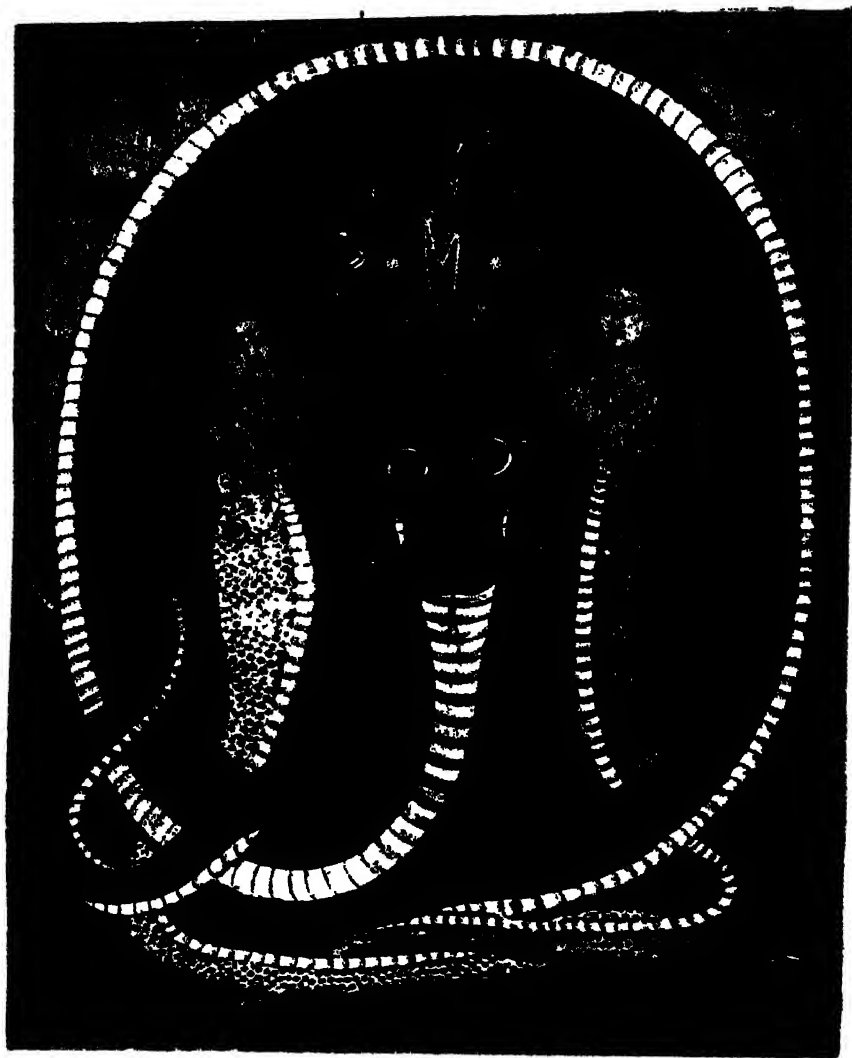
Prof. Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History kindly came forward with financial help of Rs. 1,760 for a research student to work amongst Assam and Burma tribes and to send him some measurements and ethnographic specimens. This enabled Mr. J. K. Bose, who was awarded the research stipend to proceed with the study of the *Aimol Kukis* for which his memoir is ready and also to investigate the matrilineal *Garos* tribes besides some other minor groups in the locality. In other areas tribal investigation is being carried on by some of our ex-students at great personal expense and inconvenience notably by Mr. Prafullachandra Biswas, amongst the *Santhals* and neighbouring tribes. Mr. Nareschandra Sen has taken up the study of *Koches*. Mr. Sorabjit Singh who helped us considerably in our Manipur studies has prepared a paper on *Meitei habitations*. Mr. J. K. Gan has published a very interesting paper on *Cultural Affinities between India and Africa in Man in India*, following the studies of cultural affinities of India and Polynesia by Dr. P. Mitra. The anthropometric studies of Mr. T. C. Raichoudhury amongst the Brahmins of Bengal are well-nigh complete; he also contributed a paper on *Khasi measurements* in the Science Congress. The studies of Dr. A. N. Chatterjee, specially his analysis of about ten thousand cases of giving us the rate of growth of the Bengali students and corroborating the stature distribution of physical types in this province have been widely appreciated by all.

OUR FRONTISPIECE

The subject-matter of the *frontispiece* of this issue relates to a lore familiar in Bengal. It depicts the wreck-scene of one of Chand-sadagar's boats on the high seas. In Chand-sadagar Bengal found her merchant-hero who crossed the seas with loads of merchandise

and brought back riches in silver and gold that flowed in bounty over the country. Bengal had in those days a considerable shipping and maritime activity which is so faithfully reflected in the tragically romantic story of Chand the merchant-prince and his son and daughter-in-law, Lakhindar and Behula.

The artist of the picture is Mr. Dhirendrakrishna Dev Barman, one of those four young talented Bengalee artists who were commissioned to decorate the India House, London. The picture is his latest production, and shows his artistic ability and skill at a very high level. It has suffered considerably in reproduction, yet it shows admirably well the artist's originality of composition, his sense of colour combination, gift for conception, but more than these his capacity to harmonise a decorative treatment of accessories with an almost realistic presentation of a lively subject-matter.



'Kaliya Damana'

(Srikrishna subduing the serpent Kaliya - being a scene from Krishna-lila)

THE
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ANNIE BESANT :
AN INTERPRETATION

By JAMES H. COUSINS, D.LIT.
Madanapalle, Madras.

WHEN I was saying goodbye to Dr. Annie Besant, on my departure in 1919 for a year's work or more in a Japanese University (by permission of the National University of India of which she was the presiding genius) I put the question to her, with the quizzicality that was our usual approach as Irish to Irish: "What about that thing called Theosophy?" She thought for a moment, then said: "That thing called Theosophy is all right—in its own place—which is all over the place."

This did not seem to get us (or at any rate, me) anywhere in particular. But taking advantage of the traditional privilege of the Irish to answer a question by asking another, she asked: "What are you going to Japan as?" (Strong emphasis on *as*.)

"Special Professor of Modern English Poetry in the Keiogijuku....."

("Spell it," she broke in. I spelt it.)

".....Keiogijuku University, Tokyo," I finished.

“ Then ” (no quizzicality now, but deep seriousness) “ be the best Professor of Modern English Poetry they have ever had—and that will be as much Theosophy as you need bother about.” (Pause,a tricky smile.) “ Of course if anybody asks you if you know anything about that thing called Theosophy” (pause) “ you needn't say you don't.”

Some months later, when I had found my place in “ Keio,” and an unanticipated series of public lectures was drawing a weekly crowd from other Universities, Colleges and Schools (and a few foreigners including a schoolmate of Ralph Waldo Emerson), I was asked by the University authorities to let them have some printed matter concerning the educational principles that I had begun to be suspected of holding. I handed them a small packet of booklets. A few days later they were returned with appreciation, and the remark: “ The pamphlet entitled *Principles of Education* by Mrs. Annie Besant is one of the most important documents we have ever seen on the subject.”

The connection between these two incidents may not be obvious ; but they emerge out of my memory as examples of life-experiences out of which I learned to look on “ A.B.” as an individual as far removed in magnitude and quality from the significance of the symbols that she took pleasure in wearing, as life is beyond biology, and a handful of earth beyond a shelf of geological text-books. I have heard her speak of herself as having taken some action “as a Theosophist.” But her action was not, as I came to realize, a cold objective adaptation of her abnormal share of the Universal Life to a fixed conception of that Life or a clamped code of personal conduct: it was the spontaneous expression of her own purified, simplified, intense nature. She was not the victim of any system of thought or organization of action, obvious or occult, though she used systems for the intelligible utterance of thought and organization for the effective fulfilment of action. She was the creator of her own Truth. And as her creation of her Truth was progressive—and birth (or rebirth) had planted in her nature a hunger for understanding, for the fulfilment of understanding in action, and for both the contagious and infectious spreading of intelligent action—she moved out of the pinched circle of traditional religious sentimentality of her girlhood into what to her was the larger circle of the rationalist conception of life and the socialist technique of life. But the larger circle soon grew as cramped as the first. She discovered the imperfect rationality of a rationalism that relied only on logic based on

incomplete premises, and the ultimate unsociability of a class-conscious socialism. Thence, *via* W.T. Stead and a book review, she moved to Theosophy, which she discovered to be not a circle, but a sphere in which, like the Spirits of Human Thought of her beloved Shelley, she could

.....dive, or soar, or run,
Beyond, and around,
Or within the bound
Which clips the world with darkness round ;

and from whose surface she could make the levitation of imagination when not engaged in registering (in a code of thought and speech whose natural limitations she heartily recognized) the Cosmic communications whose physical aspects are now being weighed and measured by Millikan of California and other scientists.

It was this search for reality that was behind her advice to me to fulfil my professional *dharma* (duty) *quâ* professional *dharma*—not as an *ist* ; and behind her exposition of education that was found to excel *quâ* educational exposition—not as an *ism*. It was this intense, sometimes ruthless, sometimes mysterious quest, which is the source of the vast humanity of the great, that moved her to attribute this and that act of hers, at one time to her Theosophy, at another to her Socialism ; and thus to invest her utterances and actions in the eyes of the uncritical among her followers with an artificial rather than a real significance ; and to obscure her own vast originality in the eyes of the world, and draw on herself from the unobservant among those who were not her followers the false imputation of emotional fickleness and intellectual shallowness. It was in reality her privilege as a spiritual creator (which it would not have been as an intellectual formulator) to share the apparent inconsistency of developing life : to fight sturdily for responsibility based on free-will—and to declare that there is only one Will in the Universe, the Will of *Iswara* the Omnipotent.

II

I think, therefore, of the name of Annie Beasant as connoting to the celebrants of her first natal centenary (in 1947, which I hope to attend) the Great Realist of our time. But the title, in order to fit her, will have to extend its significance. She has put her quest for Reality into her self-written epitaph : " She tried to follow Truth ; " and in that phrase has put upon those whose lives

touched hers the duty of interpretation for the better understanding of her life by the future.

To Annie Besant, the Reality, or Truth, that she tried to follow was not to be envisaged in a mental conception or expressed in a phrase or even in a philosophy. Truth, to her, was not an achievement but a direction ; not something to be held but to be aspired towards, that puts " a yonder to all ends." ¹ Her strong mentality, reinforced by her remarkable memory and virile alertness, made her a power in dialectic. Yet, while she could be dogmatic, she was not a natural dogmatist. To be merely dogmatic, which is the privilege of enthusiasm, is to express conviction with an earnestness that lifts its language to the height of poetry and symbolism, and speaks with a temporary absoluteness and finality of purely relative and transient matters ; but to be a true dogmatist is to assert the exclusive sufficiency of one's personal or traditional authority ; to make the validity of alleged Truth depend on its utterer, instead of the utterance to depend on its realizable or demonstrable Truth. Annie Besant " tried to follow Truth " : she did not try to make Truth follow her. And this is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that she had struggled out of an unsatisfactory faith through the exercise of a highly critical mentality, and might reasonably have been expected to rest in the logical certainties of agnostic uncertainty. There is a tendency for doubt to become even more intolerantly certain than faith ; to begin merely inquisitively and to end inquisitorially. But Annie Besant never succeeded in being a pontiff : she remained a tireless pilgrim ; and if her path had taken her to the frontier of Theosophy, she would have passed beyond it. I have heard her warn an English audience, to whom her previous " teachings " on Karma were oracular, to be ready to alter their ideas of the workings of that law of life, on the simple, sane ground that nobody knew everything, and that some disclosure of reality in the future might change the whole idea of cause and effect. At a meeting of new graduates which I was addressing in Madras, and over which she was presiding, I felt it necessary to impress on the audience the need for spiritual self-dependence. " If you think I am on this platform," I said, " because I agree with Mrs. Besant, you are mistaken. I am here because she agrees with me." She nodded her head in emphatic approval, and in her concluding remarks dwelt on the fact that the only true agreement between people was that of affinity of ideals, in

¹ *Hymn to Colour* by George Meredith.

the pursuit of which differences of temperamental method would not lead to drastic divisions.

In incidents like these one realized the quality of speed that was ready to assert itself at a suitable juncture in the mental process of "A. B.". In her published expositions—that make her perhaps the world's prolific author—she moves in long and somewhat slow wavelenghts, with verbal simplicity and little of ornament or literary style. But in conversation or platform improvization she could forge a phrase that cut through non-essentials to the core of the matter. In the headquarters hall of the Theosophical Society at Adyar, she had permitted me in 1921 to have a bust of Rabindranath Tagore installed to balance a bust of Giordano Bruno. A member of the Theosophical Society drew her attention to the fact that Tagore was not a member of the Society—with the implication that he had no *locus standi* as a work of art. "Neither is Bruno," said "A. B." Only that—but it was sufficient. Her sense of reality annihilated the sentiment that had justified the presence of Bruno as an assumed previous embodiment of her own ego. Her smile made the rebuke to narrow inconsistency seem a jest. At a Convention of the European Sections of the Theosophical Society in Geneva in 1930, an emissary from another Society using the same name was sent with an offer of unification. Many of the 500 delegates, I among them, suspected the intention of the move of rapprochement. At the opening meeting of the Convention, Dr. Besant, as President, invited the plenipotentiary to the platform, although the meeting was for members only, set him on her right hand, and allowed him to state his mission. She followed with a short speech in which she accepted the broad principle of federation. She made no argument or conditions. She threw her whole reaction into the phrase—"You cannot call yourself a Theosophist if you say: 'I believe in brotherhood' (then with a stage 'aside')—except with other Theosophists." Again her finger pointed humorously at inconsistency. And sometimes her humour (which has never been sufficiently recognized) was wholly humorous. During my nine months on the editorial staff of *New India* (1915-1916) she called me frequently to her desk to talk over some problem or idea. On one occasion she asked me where it was that Luther had thrown his ink-pot at the Devil. "At the Diet of Worms," I answered, with unintentional inaccuracy. She pondered my information for a moment, solemnly ejaculated: "Funny diet!" and went on with her writing. In her leading article that afternoon Luther turned up all right; but there was no mention of the "funny diet," and I got an

uneasy feeling that I had fallen down a crevasse in her estimation of my knowledge of history.

III

To pass on to the future the idea that Annie Besant was all head and heart would be to deny her title of the Great Realist. It would also obscure the fact that to certain of her contemporaries she appeared as a person swayed by emotion, and not always in what they, in their wisdom, regarded as the right direction. Those of us who had the privilege of camping on the anbit of her life were, at times in the early days of her political campaign, fascinated by the spectacles of her amazing quietness in the midst of swirling emotions that she had herself created. In her immediate company one was in the calm at the centre of a cyclone; but to move away from her one had to cross one or other segment of a circle of storm. This did not mean that she herself was emotionless; or, on the other hand, that she was, as those emotionally influenced by her sometimes concluded, a sharer in the emotions that she stirred up. Just as her thought ranged from cold logic to radiant illumination, so did her feeling range from sympathy with the suffering and the oppressed in all the kingdoms of nature, to the intensity of receptive responsiveness in which the eternal broadcast of Reality is felt rather than cognized. In both phases of her nature she was the master of her powers. Her long and rigorous self-discipline (*yoga*) had, as it seemed to me, removed itself from a fixed time and place in her life to every moment everywhere: beneath each ripple on the surface of her life one felt the presence of oceanic calm.

In other terms, "A.B." had achieved synthesis in her nature. Thought, feeling and action had become simultaneous with her, to the enrichment and strengthening of each. This I believe, is the secret of her remarkable creative power and sagacity, which some have taken to be a gift of necromancy and prognostication. I can recall sentences of hers that became institutions. At the end of a lecture in Adyar, leaning with one hand on my shoulder as I bent down to place her little sandals in position for her to put them on, she said: "We ought to have an art section in the Nineteen-twentyone Club." She had founded the Club in Madras as a meeting-place for free political discussion on the inauguration of the "Reforms," but was not satisfied with its being merely politically minded. The art section was duly instituted. At another meeting she expressed a wish whose

fulfilment was the Brahma Vidya Ashrama at Adyar that worked for six years and developed a view of knowledge and experience and a technique of study and life which have only begun their beneficent mission. She not only initiated synthetical movements embodying her own completeness, but responded with intuitive alacrity to similar movements initiated by others. The invitation to deliver the first Kamala Lectures of the University of Calcutta in 1924 on "Indian Ideals of Education, Philosophy, Religion and Arts" was intensely to her liking because of its synthetical scope. Her preparation for it was carried out with a thoroughness and concentration that, in other circumstances, would have made her one of the world's greatest advocates. It was my privilege and happiness to collect for her the materials for the art-section of the lecture in order that she might have direct knowledge of authorities on an aspect of India's cultural life whose importance she had intuitively recognized, and to whose qualities she had already responded in the exhibitions of Indian painting which she delighted to have as a part of the Conventions of the Theosophical Society—in Adyar, in Benares, in Bombay, in Geneva, in Chicago. As organizer of these exhibitions I have been deeply moved when she, in the midst of multitudinous demands on her, would herself make demands on other, and, at some five minutes of respite, bring persons of importance to see the æsthetical and spiritual demonstration of India's real quality that needs no argument.

IV

Yes, Annie Besant "tried to follow Truth," and in doing so learned the full meaning of Keats' assertion that "Beauty is Truth"—which is singing in the breath that Truth is Beauty; that Beauty and Truth are merely objectively different expressions of one subjective realization of the vast universal pull towards unification that in our time is so radically threatening the false separations in life which the preliminary egotism of humanity has endeavoured to justify in religious and other sanctities. But "A.B." went a stage further than the poet on the way towards full individual embodiment of Reality, in her insistence on the life-test of thought and feeling. "You cannot say that you possess a truth until you have tested it in action," she once wrote. And the test of thought or feeling in action was, to her, the test of its unifying influence. All separations were, in her view, false. But there was also the possibility of a false unity, a merely mechanical surface unity

which is in contrariety to the obvious delight of life in variety of expression. She repudiated the exclusive claims of Christianity; but she became an apostle of the universality of the love and self-surrender expressed in the life and utterances of Jesus the Christ. She realized that no sacerdotal unit can ever become a spiritual unity. She resented spiritual compulsion save from within. Her technique of life was free association. This implied as free dissociation; and this principle worked itself into both her religious and political activities—in her claim for religious freedom in observance and unity in spiritual aspiration, and her assertion of the right of India to complete self-determination as the basis of a voluntary union with the British Commonwealth which external compulsion prevented.

In a world in which action is confused through ignorance or selfishness, the line of a life drawn directly towards Reality was bound to cross the zig-zags of others in impacts of affinity or antagonism. To both affinity and antagonism she attached the same value, the value of their contribution to her quest—a quest whose line, while onwards in direction was adaptable to immediate circumstances. She realized with the unknown fourteenth century English mystic that “not what thou art, nor what thou hast been, beholdeth God with His merciful eyes; but what thou wouldest be,”† and this implies a progressive elevation of life. The graph of her life was therefore not only onwards but upwards; and ascension, which requires the discarding of impedimenta, in her case took even the commonplace, though not too common, form of selling her possessions in order to fulfil what she considered her moral, if not legal, obligations to students and others.

“Give, and it shall be given unto you”—or perhaps shall *not* be given unto you; but at least you will have what you have given; not in material kind, but in spiritual equivalent. This was, I believe, the rule of her incalculable beneficences. And she died—leaving little in the way of worldly wealth, but leaving to posterity a treasury of spiritual opulence; died, not as rich by making or keeping many poor, but “as poor, yet making many rich.”

† *The Cloud of Unknowing.*

DR. ANNIE BESANT:

THE GREAT HUMANITARIAN

By C. F. ANDREWS

IN this article, I would wish to dwell upon the one aspect of Dr. Annie Besant's life with which I was most intimately concerned.

As a champion of the oppressed and poor I have not known anyone so fearlessly outspoken and bravely successful in her efforts as Mrs. Besant. Whenever the oppression of the poor was brought before her in a way which touched her heart she was like a mother defending her own children from some violent wrong.

The time when I first gained the sight of her character in action was in the year 1913 when Willie Pearson and I visited Madras on our way to South Africa in order to help the indentured Indian labourers in their struggle against the £3 poll-tax which was being forcibly levied from them in Natal. The whole system of indentured labour was an abomination and a curse. Therefore when we had explained the whole matter to her and shown how hateful the wrong was that was being done to thousands of poor people, her heart was won in a moment. From that time forward, she never ceased in her strenuous endeavours to bring the intolerable indenture system of Indian labour to an end, not merely in Natal itself, but also in every colony within the British Empire where it was still being carried on. She summoned all her friends in Madras to a meeting and explained to them the evils of the system as I had previously recounted them to her. I can remember even up to the present time how her eyes burnt with fire as she spoke on the hateful wrong which was being done to Indian women whereby some of them had even been forced to sell their bodies in prostitution.

When later on, I had returned from South Africa the same great cause of the indentured Indian labourers absorbed her whole attention. She was the magnificent organiser of the '*Anti-indenture League*' which had its branches and offices in every centre of South India. The whole country was aflame, being inspired by her wonderful speeches as she went on tour not only in the great cities in South India but also in the villages.

This campaign against indenture had an important place in Indian history. For perhaps more than anything else it awakened the conscience of the Indian Government to an impossible state of affairs whereby women, recruited for the most part by fraud, were sent out in emigrant ships to distant colonies such as Fiji and British Guiana and Natal to endure a life of misery and shame under unspeakably immoral conditions.

The anti-indenture campaign which Mrs. Besant originated led also to extremely interesting political results. For it was out of the experience gained in that campaign that she was able to organise in 1916-17 her great *Home-Rule League* during the War. This *Home-Rule League* movement was probably the original cause of still greater movements which came in later years and indeed of the Non-co-operation movement in 1920. Though she did not share in that movement itself, her heart was strongly stirred towards Indian freedom and her books popularised the cause of Indian Swaraj in the West more than any others that were written at that time.

One other cause was infinitely dear to the heart of Dr. Annie Besant. The uplift of the *Harijans* was a lifelong effort on her part and she spent all the funds and energy which were at her disposal in this work of uplift. Before the *Harijan* movement became a national endeavour under Mahatma Gandhi, the Theosophical Society through Dr. Annie Besant had devoted itself to this work. The society under her leadership confined its actions mainly to education and a marvellous encouragement was given to the depressed classes by means of a series of schools staffed by excellent teachers, wherein the *Harijans* could obtain the very best education possible such as would enable them to become worthy members of society. In the great awakening which is visible on every hand today, owing to the inspiring personality of Mahatma Gandhi, we must not forget this foundation work which Mrs. Besant began quite early after her coming to India nearly 50 years ago.

In conclusion, let me sketch in a very brief outline some of the characteristics which I personally noticed in Dr. Annie Besant on the frequent occasions when I worked with her in the cause of social uplift and on behalf of the oppressed poor. First of all, her voice and even her manners were masculine in their force and strength, and the manly side of human nature was very evident in her. Yet this in no way weakened the true Woman in her, in its tenderness and emotion for, as I have already said, she was like a mother defending her own children when any wrong was done to the poor and oppressed people.

Secondly her amazing industry and power of work attracted my own attention. I have seen her in a railway carriage get through the heaviest work which would have taken an ordinary person more than a day to carry through in an office. The sternest sense of duty kept this force in her at its utmost tension even in times of physical weakness and in this way she was able to show, in an amazing manner, how the spirit within could conquer the impurities of the human frame. She dominated her own nature by her inner spiritual force.

Thirdly, she was always very human, intensely alive to the cry of the poor and oppressed upon the earth. Suffering came to her more than to almost any woman in her own generation—suffering often entirely undeserved and cruelly brutal. Yet she kept her sweetness and love, true and deep, to the very end and she received unbounded love in return from those who were devoted to her. She leaves behind her a name for courage and wisdom and high faith which will not be forgotten.

Santi-niketan,

THE LATE MRS. KAMINI RAY

By DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

[Mrs. Kamini Ray (*née* Sen), the distinguished Bengali poetess, passed away at her residence at 42 A, Hazra Road, Calcutta, on the 27th September at the age of 69. She had a short attack of pneumonia.

Kamini Sen was born at Basanda in Backergunj on October 12, 1864. Her father Chandicharan Sen was a man of unusual strength of character. He was a daring thinker, spirited and liberal, and his example had a great formative influence in the life of the poet. Poetry came to Miss Sen very early, and she wrote some verses at the age of eight. She continued writing poetry, and became famous by publishing her first collection of poems under the title of *Alo-o-Chhaya* (Light and Shade) in 1880. With its publication she at once took her place among the best literary artists of Bengal. Earlier, in 1886, Miss Sen had graduated at Calcutta University with Second Class Honours in Sanskrit. The same year she accepted the post of a teacher in the School department of Bethune College. Later she was promoted to be a Lecturer in the College. In August, 1894, she married Mr. K. N. Ray of the Statutory Civil Service but became a widow fifteen years later in 1909. She had a series of sorrows in life, but those she turned into art; a sweet sadness pervaded through her work. The Calcutta University honoured her by awarding her the Jagatarami Gold Medal in 1929.

It was not, however, by her poetry alone that Mrs Ray achieved distinction. Her work for the political and civil enfranchisement of the Bengali woman and the amelioration of the conditions under which women labourers worked in the fields and factories, will be gratefully remembered by her sisters in Bengal.]

ONE day when we were young the fame of Kamini Ray (*née* Sen) as a poet flashed across the horizon of Bengali literature with a suddenness and intensity. At that time the poets in Bengal who could claim recognition were few in number and critics were scarce. The standard of excellence in metre and diction did not reach that general level which could make the poetic technique comparatively easy of attainment. Our poetess travelled almost alone on her path of literary production in an undisturbed serenity of creative mood. The ideals of life which inspired her belonged to the dawn of a new era in Bengal when the atmosphere was pure and the light unstained, when the aspiration of our youth was for high moral altitude and dedication to great causes. Kamini Ray in her own simple manner and womanly faith gave voice to that age which in the freshness of its mind had the vision of a freedom that would rescue her country from the darkness of unreason and social obstructions to the path of progress. She found ready response in the minds of her contemporary readers who had not yet grown critically supercilious and cynical in their cultivated scepticism. Her power of expression matured as she grew older but up to the end she expressed in her works her young faith and unsophisticated spirit of devotion to moral ideals.



Born Oct , 12, 1864]

KAMINI RAY

[Died, Sept , 27, 1933

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE : AN INDIAN VIEW

By SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER, KT.

THE World Economic Conference to which the nations of the world had been looking forward for the discovery of satisfactory remedies for the present economic crisis has met and has broken up. Though some of the statesmen who took part in the conference are unwilling to admit that it has been completely barren of results, there can be no doubt that the general feeling is that the conference has been a failure. The high expectations that had been formed before the meeting of the conference were necessarily doomed to disappointment. Every nation that took part in the conference primarily and naturally approached the problem from the point of view of its own special interests and there was necessarily bound to be a wide divergence of views in regard to the measures to be adopted for the restoration of prosperity. The remedies for any permanent solution of our economic ills must be based upon a correct diagnosis of the causes which have led to our troubles and a recognition of the legitimate aspirations of the different countries of the world. Even as to the causes of the economic depression there have been great differences of opinion among statesmen and economists. While some are disposed to attribute them to the background of the currency and credit systems of the world and to the financial embarrassments bequeathed by the Great War, there are others who ascribe them to the commercial policies adopted by different nations in regard to tariffs with the object of securing a favourable balance of trade or the promotion of industries. Some advocate the stabilisation of the level of internal wholesale prices and others have emphasised the importance of stability of exchange. There are others again who take the view that the deeper underlying causes of the depression must be sought in the maladjustment between production and distribution and between production and purchasing power. The principle of national self-sufficiency has been vehemently denounced as destructive of the trade and prosperity of the world. Yet another view which has been strongly advocated is that the chaotic financial and economic condition of the world can be rectified only by systematic planning, international

co-operation and international organisation. Each of these views contains a large amount of truth, but none of them can claim to offer a complete explanation or remedy. As pointed out by several economists, the crisis is a crisis of plenty. The evils of maladjustment of industries and production have been aggravated by financial disorganisation. One of the most illuminating discussions of the problem is to be found in the symposium of Sir Arthur Salter and others in the Halley Stewart Lectures for 1931. Economists and statesmen have drawn a distinction between the immediate objective and the ultimate objective to be aimed at by those who wish to cure our ills. Sir William Beveridge takes the view that the crisis is essentially monetary. While the immediate problem may be admitted to be of a monetary and financial character, there is far more truth in the view that the underlying problem is, as pointed out by Prof. Clay, the misdirection of the world's industry. A concerted policy of controlled reflation, the cancellation of reparations and war debts and the other remedies advocated by Sir Arthur Salter will do much for the revival of trade and prosperity. But they cannot provide a permanent solution. Cycles of boom and depression were characteristic of trade even before the war and they are bound to recur in the future in a much severer form owing to the greater productiveness of machinery and what has been called technocracy and the international competition for markets. The tendency of industrial organisations towards amalgamation and large-scale production will not necessarily remove the maladjustment between production and purchasing power. The same waste of productive energy and the same misdirection of industry that form unavoidable features of an uncontrolled system of capitalism and *laissez-faire* in individual states are bound to appear in the international competition for world markets. The only possible escape from these maladjustments is by some form of international organisation which would adopt the world as a unit. Here we come face to face with issues of a most momentous character. The ideal of the international organisation of the world may be desirable in the distant future. But it is not merely impracticable, but is full of dangerous possibilities for the development and welfare of the continents or countries which are now industrially backward.

Let me refer to a few of the risks which attend any scheme of international organisation. The planning of production, whether in the field of raw materials or of manufacturing industries, necessarily involves a limitation of the supplies to be produced. Within the limits of any one country such planning is useful and desirable and

though it may involve an interference with individual liberty, would be, on the whole, an advantage to the people of the country. But if the planning is to be applied internationally, upon what principle is the limitation of production to be fixed ? Is the allotment of quotas for each country to be based upon the existing level of production or with reference to the potentialities of the different countries in human and natural resources ? So far as the European nations are concerned, they would probably prefer a scheme under which the other continents would confine themselves to the production of raw materials, leaving the whole field of manufacturing industries to Europe. They would probably make an exception in favour of America which has made such great advances in the industrial sphere, especially during the twentieth century. Will the other countries of the world be content to play the rôle of producers of raw materials only ? Even the Dominions of Australia, Canada and South Africa with their limited populations and vast territories are anxious to develop their own industrial life. Will India and China with their teeming populations and enormous natural resources be content to play for all time the part of producers of raw materials for the benefit of the Western nations ? In the interests of a diversified and balanced economic and social life Asiatic countries are bound to develop their own resources and promote the growth of industries within their own borders. The people of these countries are not lacking in natural intelligence or aptitude for industrial life and it is only the earlier application of scientific invention and processes that has given a long start to Western countries. It is no longer possible to confine a knowledge of manufacturing processes to any one country. The desire for industrial advancement has taken root in the minds of Asiatic nations as the result of the pressure of economic conditions and the re-awakening of national life. India and China are now the largest markets in the world for the manufactures of Europe and they cannot be expected to remain so for all time. On what principle is it to be laid down that India or China shall confine itself to agriculture or to particular industries, or that the output of its industries shall be limited to a certain figure ? Would it be fair or feasible to lay down that Asiatic countries shall not produce more than is required for their home consumption or even all that is required for meeting their internal demands ? Even if Asiatic countries were to limit their production to the satisfaction of their own wants, there must necessarily be a re-direction of industry in the West. The principle of self-sufficiency, if adopted by each nation, would necessarily lead to the disappearance of all trade except in articles

which cannot be produced at home at all, or except under excessively costly conditions. According to the arguments of the orthodox economists, international trade is based upon the recognition of the differential advantages of countries for the production of particular commodities and there is no doubt that from the point of view of material gain, an economic system based upon this principle will add to the material welfare of the world. Apart from the fact that the addition of material wealth is not the sole element to be considered, how are we to ascertain the differential advantages of countries without giving them opportunities for finding themselves? The present state of industrial development in any country affords no certain indication as to its possibilities of expansion. Any attempt to fix rigid artificial limits to industrial growth, especially in countries which have not yet been developed, must necessarily be resisted. By way of illustration of my remarks, let me refer to the scheme for the re-organisation of sugar production which has been submitted to the World Economic Conference. It recommends, among other things, that countries which have large sugar imports should stabilise their home production at the present level in order to prevent reduction of imports and that countries producing almost enough for their own consumption should undertake not to expand their production beyond their home markets for export. That nations should, if possible, avoid doing anything which would cause a sudden dislocation of the industries of their neighbours may be conceded. But is it right or fair that India, for instance, should continue for all time to import the quantity of sugar which she is now importing from Java and should not endeavour to supply her own home markets? We do not deny that the competition of industrial nations in the markets of the world may assume a ruinous character and that it may be desirable to adopt some system of quotas for the division of the available markets. But such arrangements should only be of a temporary character and should be revised from time to time with reference to the capacities and needs of the countries. The argument that any country has to depend upon her foreign trade more largely than others owing to its high standard of living cannot be expected to impress other countries which also wish to raise their standard of living. The question which country or countries should devote themselves to particular industries is one which it is not possible to answer, unless they have had the fullest opportunity in the future of discovering their resources and aptitudes.

There is only one other matter to which I should like to refer in connection with the proposals which have been discussed in the

World Economic Conference. Every country which participated in the conference expressed its desire for the removal of the barriers of trade created by high tariffs. But there is no sign that, except Britain and a few other countries, others are willing to reduce the level of their own tariffs. So far as India is concerned, she must continue her policy of discriminating protection which she has been pursuing during the last few years. Even Britain is unwilling to abandon the protection afforded by tariffs against the invasion of her markets by Japan. As pointed out by Sir Arthur Salter, "A tariff to compensate for differences in wage level or in cost of production is mere nonsense. Countries differ in natural advantages, in the scale of industry of their peoples and in the efficiency of their organisation. Of these varying advantages differences in wages and in the standard of living and general level of prosperity are the natural reflection and consequence. Without such differences trade could not take place ; counteract them and it will stop. A so-called scientific tariff usually means one which is based on the principle of compensating for differences in cost of production. This either represents a mere fallacy or it is a policy destructive of international trade." The doctrine of unrestricted free trade has now been abandoned by almost all nations of the world and every country regulates its tariffs so as to promote its own industrial advancement and facilities for trade. No country has been so foolish as to carry its worship of the doctrine of free trade to the extent of sacrificing any of its own industries or advantages.

It must not be understood from my remarks that I am opposed to the expediency of gradually reducing tariffs and removing the restrictions on the commercial intercourse of the world or to a system of planning production and distribution. But all such attempts at planning must first begin within individual countries before we can venture to apply the policy to the world as a unit with any hope of success. Economists are now settling down to the conviction that the problem of the future is to reconcile the spirit of initiative and enterprise under the capitalist system with the control and collective leadership required to avoid the waste of human energy and capital and the periodic cycles of inflation and depression of trade. Such cycles cannot be completely prevented without a world organisation and industry. But the goal is at present utopian.

THE STRENGTH AND LIMITATIONS OF ECONOMIC JAPAN *vis-à-vis* YOUNG BENGAL

By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR
Calcutta University.

Japanese Dumping and Retaliation.

DURING the first period of the Swadeshi movement (1905) Young Bengal used to derive great inspiration from the achievements of the Japanese people. In the course of the last quarter of a century, especially in very recent years, the glass, hosiery, porcelain and other industries of Bengal as well as the big textile industry of India have begun to experience a life-and-death struggle *vis-à-vis* the imports from Japan.

It is to be hoped that a rational planning of export and import relations between Japan and India will succeed in safeguarding the interests of the *Swadeshi* industries, on the one hand, as well as the claims of the Indian producers and consumers to derive benefit from business with the people of Japan, on the other. In the light of pure economic reasoning it is likely to be found, as has been maintained by the present writer on several occasions, that while we have every duty and right to protect our struggling industries against Japanese competition whenever it is possible and practicable, it is perhaps not always safe to consider every piece of Japanese article in India as owing its arrival to an alleged dumping or to conclude that the Japanese threat of retaliation is factually anything more than 100 per cent. bluff.

What is Genuine Dumping ?

In order to prove a case of dumping it will be necessary to demonstrate that Japanese cotton goods are selling in Japan at higher prices than in India. As far as the present writer has been able to obtain information on this item, it points, curiously enough, rather in the opposite direction. It has been found that Japanese cotton goods are being sold in India at somewhat *higher prices than in Japan*. It appears that Indian consumers are prepared to buy Japanese stuffs at higher prices than the Japanese people themselves. This means

that even these relatively higher prices are lower than the prices of Indian *Swadeshi* cotton goods in India. In other words, should this be demonstrated on an extensive investigation, dumping can hardly be proven.

Relative Cheapness not a Case of Dumping.

What is it that renders the relatively higher Japanese prices lower than the prices of Indian goods in India? It may be due, among other circumstances, to price-cutting, currency depreciation, lower rates of wages and lower standard of living prevailing in Japan, and last but not least, lower costs of production per unit sold. None of these causes of the lowering of prices can be legitimately complained against in economics. Price-cutting belongs to normal economic competition based as it is on the capitalistic system. Currency depreciation began with the United Kingdom's as well as India's getting away from the gold standard and was taken up later by Japan as recently also by America. The prevalence of the low standard of living is Japan's as well as Bengal's and India's chief capital in the struggle for economic self-assertion and can by no means be condemned, at any rate, so far as the present issues are concerned. As for the low costs of production per unit Japan as every other country has to thank technocracy, rationalization and what not. Whenever there is international trade there is bound to be a difference between the trading countries on the score of the costs of production. To condemn the existence of rationalization or better methods of production and marketing in one of the trading countries would be tantamount to penalizing the entire structure of commerce between nations and compelling the consumers of the world to submit to a system of higher prices.

Protection of National Industries.

The present crisis, such as has arisen between Japan and India, cannot be solved if we approach it from the standpoint of genuine dumping. It is a case of certain foreign industries which have become powerful, no matter for what reason, competing with and likely to weed out of existence certain industries of our own such as for one reason or other have failed to develop the staying power in an open market of free competition. We encounter here a case of "protecting" national industries, pure and undefiled.

Imperial Preference as a New Factor.

From the Japanese side it should be patent to everybody that with the enactment of Imperial Preference on a reciprocal basis the "most favoured nation treatment" between India and Japan ceases automatically to exist. A new convention or treaty more or less on the contingent or quota basis is therefore called for like the ones, for instance, recently entered into between the United Kingdom on the one hand and Argentina, Denmark and Germany on the other. So far as the cotton interests are concerned, on the question of Japan *vs.* Lancashire, the judgment has already been passed and in fact has been effective since 1930. And as regards Bombay, Imperial Preference has served but to cement her alliance with Lancashire *vis-à-vis* Japan.

Autarchy vs. Boycott in Japan.

On the Indian side it should be unreasonable to look upon every instance of reduction in Japanese takings of Indian raw produce as inspired by boycott or reprisal. Apart from the question of the universal economic depression which has brought down the trade figures to nearly the third of the "normal" level, we should take due cognisance of the fact that for some long time Japan like other countries including India has been attempting to become "autarchic" or self-sufficient in certain directions. The Japanese demand for Indian pig iron and cotton may naturally be expected to be more and more limited in future by the capacity of regions under Japanese influence in Manchuria and China to deliver the materials that she has up till now been importing from extra-Japanese sources. The ambitions of Japan in regard to this kind of autarchy are no less legitimate than our own aspirations in regard to industrialization and Swadeshi.

Japanese Market for Indian Pig Iron.

And yet it is important to observe incidentally that although Japanese takings of pig iron from Kwantung Province in China rose from a value of 3,155,000 yens in 1923 to 6,515,000 yens in 1929 (the last pre-depression "normal" year) the imports from India increased in a much larger proportion, namely, from 6,740,000 yens to 16,950,000 yens (one yen may be taken for general purposes as roughly equivalent to Re. 1-4-0). In 1930-31, further, Japan took 161,000 tons but in 1931-32 she raised her takings from India to 188,911 tons.

Japan is poor in iron mines at home or in Korea. The new mines of Manchuria such as are coming under Japanese capitalism are reported to contain several hundred millions of ores. But the adequate exploitation of these resources is not yet a question of practical politics.

In other words, it will take Japan, humanly speaking, quite a long time to make herself independent of the Indian source in an effective manner. A fact like this is well calculated to inspire coolness in our judgments while hearing of anti-Indian sentiments in Japan or indulging in anti-Japanese emotions ourselves.

Indian Cotton vs. Egyptian and American in Japanese Industry.

The trend of Indian exports of raw cotton to Japan indicates likewise the great hold of the Indian cultivator on the Japanese cotton textile industry. From the pre-war average of 1,012,000 bales of 400 lbs. each the Japanese demand for Indian cotton rose up to the post-war average of 1,540,000 bales, reaching the climax in 1930-31 with 1,686,000 bales. In 1931-32 Japan reduced her takings of Indian cotton to 1,080,000 bales. This reduction can hardly be accounted for by boycott or retaliation of any sort but is an item in the all-round reductions in this epoch of depression.

But on the other hand, it is quite likely and understandable that as a result of previous progress the Japanese textile industry should attempt to manufacture the "quality goods" in the cotton line and thus compete with the British and other continental exporters on the world-market. And since Indian cotton is not of a superior quality adapted to the requirements of better-quality yarns and piece-goods it is not unreasonable to suspect that the Japanese industry should in future look more often to Egypt and the U. S. A. for the supply of raw cotton than to India. Indeed, Japanese contacts with these countries have been at least as old as with us. And if from now on there is a partial transfer of orders from India to Africa and America it must not be considered to be necessarily motivated by boycott or reprisal. The development of Manchuria as an eventual source of cotton for the Japanese textile industry belongs of course to the region of autarchistic futurism which has hardly anything to do with anti-Indianism.

Wanted a Bengali Delegation to investigate in Japan.

While the Japanese delegation is at work in India to study Indian conditions on the spot one feels naturally that a batch of

Indian, especially Bengali, business men and economists should visit Japan and explore the avenues to the development of India's opportunities for expansion over there. Economic legislation and the currency and tariff manipulations alone are not likely to place us on our feet and keep us up for any length of time. It is very desirable that we study also the other methods such as have rendered Japan so formidable in Asian as well as in Eur-American markets. We must not render unto politics more than the things that are of politics but should learn to give the other Devils also their dues in the scheme of international trade values.

Industrial Efficiency not due to Individual Merit.

In the first place, we must guard ourselves against committing the fallacy of believing too naively that the Japanese are more "efficient," man for man, than the Bengalis. We must not make a fetish of universal "literacy," which *en passant* is not to be confounded with education, however desirable literacy be on other grounds. Indeed, none of the European races are to be postulated as more efficient than any of the peoples of Asia. Modern industrial efficiency is more a "social" complex than a function of individual merit, skill or character. And in this complex the lion's share belongs to technocracy, rationalization, "scientific management," and business organization. In our examination of the output per head in Japan, high as it is compared to that in India, we should learn to associate it in an adequate manner with the effects of first-class implements of the latest type as well as the cartels, trusts and other associations for the control and marketing of the output.

Agricultural Indebtedness in Japan.

We are apt very often to ignore or overlook the many limitations and handicaps of a serious nature under which the Japanese economy functions. Agriculture is the mainstay of nearly 77 per cent. of the Japanese people (65 millions) and the peasants of Japan carry a huge debt on their shoulders. We in Bengal are living under the perpetual nightmare of agricultural indebtedness amounting to some Rs. 35 per head of the population (51 millions). Last July the Japanese Parliament received a petition from the cultivators to the effect that 5,00,00,000-farmers had to bear a debt of 55,00,00,000 yens.

The debt per head of population appears thus to be Rs. 107, say, three times as much as in Bengal. Now on the strength of the

calculations of the Bankers' Trust Company of New York the Japanese national income per head is somewhat like Rs. 105 whereas the national income of the Indian people is taken to be Rs. 42. In other words, the Japanese agricultural debt is relatively to income higher than the Bengali. It was also a matter of serious consideration that on account of the various reasons including the world-depression, the peasant's total expenses due to cultivation, housekeeping, taxes, etc., averaged 1,030 yens whereas the total income did not amount to more than 917 yens leaving a deficit of some 112 yens.

It is not necessary to be dogmatic about these figures comparatively or absolutely considered. But Bengali economists and economic statesmen should not feel unnerved while posing Japan against Bengal on the score of social conditions. It should be very possible for the Bengali people to attain to some of the industrial glories that are being enjoyed by the Japanese to-day in spite of their preponderantly agricultural character and in spite of the weaknesses associated with the agricultural economy.

Modest Labour Conditions in Japan.

A weakness of the Japanese people in so far as industrial efficiency is concerned must not be lost sight of. The Social Bureau of the Japanese Home Ministry has published a report from which we understand that there are 46,70,000 workers in Japan but that the number of the organized working men and women is nearly 3,69,000. This is not more than 8 per cent. of the total labour force, comprising as it does, factory, mining, transportation and other workers as well as day labour.

The primitiveness of Japanese labour conditions can be appreciated only if we realize that in Germany which possesses the same number of inhabitants as Japan the number of unionized working men is 82,00,000. This is 2,172 per 10,000 of the total population as against 43 only in Japan. Japanese 43 is however to be placed against the Indian 16. While India has still to rise up to the height of the Japanese co-efficient in the trade union movement, Bengali economists and publicists ought to take heart from the Japanese example and be encouraged into the belief that even with modest Asian conditions in the standard of living, labour organization, etc., it is possible to compete with the Eur-American firms in their own markets.

Insurance and Banking Expansion in Japan.

The serious attention of Bengali businessmen and industrialists should be directed to the enormous growth of capital which is the most signal feature of economic Japan in recent years. No consideration would be more telling in this regard than the fact that a single insurance company in Japan, the Nippon Life Assurance Company of Tokyo, commands more policies (6,87,000) than all the Indian and foreign insurance companies in India put together (6,56,000).

The progress of Japanese banking is likewise astounding. Even down to 1907 Japan was rather modest not possessing more than Rs. 11-4-0 per head as bank capital. But to-day it is Rs. 41 as against the Bengali bank capital per head of Re. 1-9-0. In bank deposits per head of population Japan has likewise been rising very swiftly. While the British deposit per head can be estimated at Rs. 684, the Japanese is Rs. 238 whereas the Bengali is not much above Rs. 10-0-0. An idea of bank facilities available in Japan will be evident from the fact that there are altogether 2,100 banks with 6,000 branches. For every 7,400 persons there is a bank office in Japan. This is a high co-efficient comparable almost to the British 4,700 and American 4,300. The amount of capital at the disposal of the cottage, small, medium and large industries of Japan is something in regard to which the Bengali people can legitimately envy the Japanese.

Japan as Example for Bengal.

Japan has taught Bengal great lessons during the last quarter of a century. Bengal's admiration for Japan has grown from more to more all this time. Even to-day while Bengal has to encounter Japan more as a dangerous rival than as an inspiring guide, the exponents of Bengali industrialism should not fail to detect the thousand and one points of affinity between the fundamental ambitions of Young Bengal and economic Japan on the common platform of the modernization of Asia.

What Bengal needs to-day for her industrialization is more liquid capital to be rendered available per head of population than is at present the case. From now on the Bengali people should embark upon cultivating more intimate and intensive intercourse with the Japanese people even if for no other purpose but that of ascertaining how it is possible for men and women, who by the higher Eur-American standards are used to rather low rates of wages and salaries and

modest ideas of necessities and comforts, to yet amass huge bank accounts to be mobilized in the interest of agriculture, industry and commerce. Should the present Japanese-Indian crisis in commercial relations turn out to be an agency in the awakening of Young Bengal to the economic realities, a great step will have been taken in the direction of Bengal's autarchy in the realm of Indian industrialism as well as her expansion in the diverse fields of world-economy.

THE TREND OF ASIATIC MIGRATIONS

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THE leader of a great nation and a representative government recently declared that the twentieth century will devote itself to the solution of the problem of race on which will depend whether the world will have peace or war in the future. Yet this very nation has contributed to make the race and colour problems more and more perplexing.

European Mass Migration and its Causes.

The race problem becomes acute during periods of mass migration and conflict of peoples. During the latter part of the nineteenth century Europe entered on a period of mass migration on a scale unique in human history. The population of Europe virtually doubled during the era of expansion of European Powers in Asia, Africa and the Americas, and the surplus millions were absorbed in the colonies and dependencies. Yet it cannot be said that the European migration of the last century was due chiefly to over-population. On the other hand, the European expansion was more or less synchronous with the industrial revolution which created a feverish demand for tropical raw materials and food on the one hand, and overseas markets for Western manufactured goods on the other. The neglect of home agriculture, the concentration on manufacturing enterprise, the change in social organisation and rise of a directive class, the spirit of adventure and conquest, and, above all, the facilities of communication and transport—all contributed to maintain a continuous outward thrust of the European peoples until about eight-ninths of the world's surface was brought under the direct political subjection of the white races.

A Europeanised World.

The result has been that since the middle of the last century there has been a grave maladjustment in the distribution of the world's population and resources. 150 million people of Europe, *i.e.*, less than one-third of the world's population, control roughly approximately 35,000,000 sq. miles or two-thirds of the world's habitable

land area, leaving the remainder of humanity in occupation of only one-third of the area. The whole of the Americas, Africa with the exception of Abyssinia and the Negro republic of Liberia, and Australasia have come under the European suzerainty.

Quite a considerable proportion of Asia, with the exception of China, Japan and Siam, has come under direct European rule or within the sphere of European economic imperialism, which has often neglected the food requirements of the native races in this era of world-industry and trade. In fact, about 900 million Asiatics are confined to only 6,600,000 sq. miles of Asiatic territory. Thus six times as many Asiatics occupy less than twice the land area held by European peoples.

Expansion of Population in Asia.

Meanwhile, peace, order, and sanitation, which have been Europe's gift to Asia, have led to an enormous multiplication of Oriental populations. The population of India increased from 206,162,400 in 1871 to 352,936,500 in 1931—a gain of about 150,000,000 within six decades. It has been estimated that China gained about 76,000,000 people between 1810 and 1910, and now has a population of 452,000,000. Japan increased her population from 33,100,000 in 1854 to 64,448,000 in 1931, almost doubling since her acceptance of Western civilisation in the former year. At the present moment the pressure of population on the soil in India, China and Japan is enormous, though it is greatest in Japan, which is, besides, relatively deficient in minerals, having little coal, less iron and no petroleum. The flowing myriads of these densely-peopled countries thus cry for the vast empty spaces in Australia, Africa and the Americas.

Asiatic Mass Migration.

Nor is mass migration a phenomenon to which the Asiatics are unaccustomed. Apart from race migrations and conquest of the Mongols from the steppes and grass-lands of Central Asia, which had so enormous political and economic reactions on the plains-peoples of Asia and Southern and Eastern Europe in successive epochs, we have the colonisation of Java, the Malaya Archipelago, and Further India which began in the eighth century and seemed due not to conquests but to settlement of Indian traders along the sea-route between India and the Spice Islands. Similarly, the Chinese were for centuries extending the frontiers of cultivation towards the Mongolian and

Tibetan plateaux conquering and taming the shepherds and scattering patches of agricultural colonies in the grass-lands of the nomads.

Not less significant had been the Chinese penetration of Siam, Annam and Cambodia where for centuries the social and political organisation was modelled after the Chinese pattern. Even beyond the confines of Asia, the East Indian traders were well known on the eastern coast of Africa, long before the advent of the European navigator in these seas. Indeed, it was an Indian pilot who directed Vasco da Gama across the sea to Calicut,—an event which ultimately paved the way for European trade and mastery of the Indian Ocean. No doubt there were colonies of Arabs and Indians in East Africa which followed the merchants from the Indian shores spreading inland as well as northward through the coast towns for well-nigh four centuries.

Indian Contract Labour.

But in the nineteenth century, Asiatic migration was renewed under bad auspices and in evil guise. With the migration of Western capital into the tropical and sub-tropical worlds, there was an imperative demand for labour in outlying settlements and plantations, timber-yards and mining camps. Slavery and subsequently indentured or contract labour were introduced within the British Empire to meet this need, and the two great human reservoirs of China and Japan were chiefly drawn upon. The first officially recorded instance of genuine recruitment for emigration from India occurred in 1830 when the French merchant, Joseph Argaud, carried some 150 artisans to Bourbon.¹ The French possessions in India, Karikal and Pondichery, offered an easy recruiting ground and there was a continuous flow of Indian labourers to Reunion and other French colonies which could hardly meet the needs of labour after the abolition of slavery by France in 1849. Slavery was abolished in the British Colonies in 1830, and this gave a great impetus to the emigration of Indian indentured labour. Between 1834 and 1837 about 7,000 labourers were recruited from the port of Calcutta for Mauritius, which was threatened with ruin on account of the scarcity of labour in the sugar estates. Indian contract labour, regulated by the first Emigration Act of 1837, which provided that contracts should be terminable after five years, thus began to work the plantations of Mauritius, British Guiana, and Australia, where 89 Indians, the first and last batch of direct

emigrants to that country, were received. Later, Indian labourers were recruited for Jamaica and Trinidad, since 1844, for Ceylon since 1847, for the French Colonies of Reunion and Bourbon since 1849, for St. Lucia since 1858, and for St. Vincent, Natal, St. Kitts, and the French territories of Guiana, Reunion, Guadeloupe and Martinique, since 1860. The emigration of Indian contract labour to Grenada and to Surinam began from 1869 and 1872 respectively. With the abolition of slavery, contract labour, indeed, became the mainstay of the European organisers of industry throughout the tropics.¹ Indian contract labour thus built up the prosperity of the West Indies, Guiana, Natal, Mauritius, Malay, Ceylon and Fiji where the plantations have been worked by Indians in some cases for nearly a century. The system of indenture was definitely abolished in 1920 throughout those parts of the British Empire directly under the control of the United Kingdom. In Mauritius the system continued until 1922. The following table gives the years of the beginning of indentured emigration from India and the abolition of indenture in some of the important colonies:

	Beginning of emigration of indentured labour.	Abolition of indenture.
Mauritius	1834	1922
British Guiana	1845	1920
Trinidad	1844	1920
Jamaica	1845	1911
Grenada	1846	1917
St. Lucia	1857	1917
St. Kitts	1860	1917
St. Vincent	1861	1917
Nevis	1871	1917
Reunion	1860	1882
French Guiana	1860	1877
Guadeloupe	1873	...
Martinique	1874	...
St. Croix	1862	1865
Dutch Guiana	1873	1912
Natal	1860	1910
Fiji	1879	1917
Australia	1837	1901
Ceylon	1842	1908
Malaya	1800	1910

(introduction of a
dictation test)

¹ For the effects of the abolition of slavery and the introduction of the indentured labour system, see Alleyne Ireland, *Tropical Colonisation*, IV and V.

Contract labour still continues in some form in Burma, Malaya, Dutch East Indies and the French Colonies though Great Britain has formally prohibited the practice of indenture in the Empire since 1915. Monthly 'agreements' are now usually in vogue; and both conditions of recruitment and labour are supervised by official agencies. But when the labourer starts on his voyage overseas with a debt to the *Kangani* (labour headman), the protection of the law giving him freedom is nullified. Chinese contract labour still exists in Malaya, Dutch East Indies, French Colonies, Samoa, New Guinea and Nauru. The French Government has recently decided to permit Javanese contract labour in certain of the French South Sea Islands, and it is being asked for by the British planters in the New Hebrides.¹ Australia, New Zealand and Hawaiian islands had similarly used Chinese contract labour during their early stages of development, but abandoned it long ago. For nearly eight decades indentured emigration from India remained in force, and the system was associated with various abuses such as kidnapping, fraud, brutal treatment, and robbery of wages and in fact all the evils of slavery, which led to the appointment of various committees of enquiry since 1838. The semi-servile existence of the indentured labourers led also to certain grave moral evils. In many of the plantations the scarcity of women resulted in sexual crimes, murders and suicides. In Fiji, for instance, the moral conditions under which indentured labourers from India lived in the plantations were shocking. That the percentages of immorality, suicide and murder were much higher than in India left no doubt as to cause and effect. The death-rate among indentured Indians was twice as high as amongst the unindentured. "In India," says Mr. C. F. Andrews, "the abolition of the indenture system is often regarded as parallel to the abolition of slavery, which had happened nearly a century before in the West Indies and in other parts of the British Empire."² Whether enslaved or decoyed, encouraged or uninvited, Indian and Chinese labourers have gone throughout the plantation and pioneer belts of the world. Indians, no less than the Chinese, are found, in almost every region of cultivation and civilisation; they are found in British Columbia, Utah and California as well as in the beaming equatorial forests of Uganda and Borneo. They are as hard-working, frugal and temperate in their habits as the Chinese; they show great adaptability to climatic

¹ *Problems of the Pacific*, pp. 148, 153.

² *India's Emigration Problem*, Foreign Affairs, April, 1920; also Roberts, *Population Problems of the Pacific*, p. 206.

variation, though in less measure perhaps than the Chinese, whose home environment is much more varied. All these are qualities which have excellently fitted the Indians for reclamatory, extractive or agricultural labour in the pioneer zones of both cold and torrid worlds. In British Columbia and Malay the Indians are employed in the lumber-yards, in Utah and Natal they are miners, they are tappers in the rubber plantations in Ceylon, Malay and Sumatra, while they are fruit-growers and vegetable-gardeners in South Africa and California.

Alien Labour needed.

Whatever the origin of these Indian, Chinese or Japanese settlements—whether state-aided colonisation or released indentured labour as with the Indians in the West Indies, British Guiana, Trinidad, Fiji, and Natal; or free migration, as with the Chinese, Japanese, and Indian agriculturists and fruit-gardeners on the Pacific Coasts of America; or contract labour with the obligation to return after a fixed period as in the case of the Chinese in the Transvaal—there cannot be any doubt that the alien labour was recruited or actively searched for, at great trouble and expense because its services were absolutely necessary.

Economic Conflict develops.

People follow old ruts whether they are stay-at-home or migratory. Accordingly once the migration of the Indians, Chinese or Japanese was artificially encouraged for developmental purposes, the flow from the mother-country continued until there was a large domiciled alien community under the new skies. Meanwhile the settlement itself develops from pioneer conditions to maturity. Population increases and with this the economic competition between the different elements of the population, natives and colonists, white and yellow and brown and black. Thus the attitude of welcome formerly accorded to the immigrants is superseded by one of hostility. Such is briefly, the genesis of the present movement of Oriental exclusion.

Western World's Debt to Asiatics.

It was not until the importation on a large scale of Indian labourers into the West Indies that the labour problem in the sugar plantations, which had become acute on the abolition of slavery, was in a great measure solved. In fact, the liberal conditions of contract and inducements offered to the Indians to settle in the

country saved the West Indies. The Indians similarly built the Uganda Railway, and the wealth of East Africa was largely due to the Indian traders. The coal-mines and sugar and tea estates of Natal were nursed to prosperity by the Indians, who also brought under intensive farming large tracts of land which but for them would have remained barren. The Chinese saved the gold industry of the Rand, the greatest industry in South Africa, and did much of the spade-work on the Pacific coast of North America. In the lumber yards of British Columbia and the orchards of California, the enterprise and skill of the Chinese, Japanese and Indians built up the prosperity of young, sparsely populated regions.

Economic Jealousy.

When it became evident, however, that the Asiatic immigrants were superseding or competing successfully with the Americans or the European colonists and at the same time rapidly multiplying by natural increase and immigration, the cry arose for restriction, and ultimately exclusion. To South Africa the Indian peasant colonist, accustomed at home to intensive farming and tiny holdings, imported his habits and agricultural practices and the European population in Natal, for instance, which had cultivated and had been in intimate connection with the soil, was gradually supplanted. Though the Indian's cheap fruits and vegetables became the envy of the Transvaal, he provoked racial jealousy. Further the Indian everywhere aspired to a higher social position, and became a waiter, a clerk, a skilled artisan (carpenter, blacksmith, mechanic, etc.), a store-keeper, a small trader or even a merchant on a considerable scale, thus competing with and gradually limiting the field of the white man. Formerly, the European trader had the monopoly, but the Indian trader and store-keeper gradually began to oust him in the towns, and at the same time continued to extend both the area and the amount of his business among the native population. From the point of view of a young colony, the Indian hawker or retail dealer who could reach successfully the natives and thus create a demand for products of civilisation among them, performed a real public service, but the charge was levelled against him that he competed with the European trader and that he underlived him.

Alien Labour in Australia.

Fifty years ago there were large numbers of Chinese miners, especially in Victoria and New South Wales. In New South

Wales they there were as many as 60,000, representing in 1887 about 15 per cent. of the population, while the Kanakas were building up the prosperity of Queensland in the sugar plantations. But the Australian labourer, accustomed to high wages, feared economic defeat from his Chinese competitor. The Australian ports are within easy sail of the ports of China, while the climate as well as certain branches of trade and industry in Australia, such as the cultivation of the soil for domestic purposes and tin and gold mining, were peculiarly attractive to the Chinese.¹ Therefore the Chinese immigration was restricted by hasty, almost panicky regulation. Similarly, the first Kanakas were introduced in 1863 from the South Sea Islands as indentured labourers to work the sugar estates. They proved satisfactory in the plantations, and, when their numbers increased, they did not confine themselves to agricultural labour but competed with white labour in various arts and occupations. Accordingly Queensland demanded their deportation, and the Australian Federal Government passed an Act in 1901 ordering the Kanakas in Australia back to their island homes. Australia has since remained the white man's reserve in close proximity to Asia's human reservoirs full to overflowing.

Asiatics in U. S. and Canada.

Fifty years ago, at least three out of every four farm labourers in California were Chinese. Both the Chinese and the Japanese have long been the most numerous and most efficient fruit-growers and vegetable gardeners in this area, nor should we forget the Indians, who number about 1,800 in California now compared with over twice the number six years ago, chiefly agriculturists. The lure of gold attracted to California adventurers and speculators of every class and nationality, men who were by disposition unfit for the irksome, laborious work necessary in the early stages of a pioneer settlement. The Pacific Coast thus needed Chinese labour for its economic development, the Chinese undertaking in large numbers the heavy drudging work which the white men would not do. Mears observes: "No doubt the Chinese workers rendered a valuable service to the Coast also by reclaiming swamp lands, by providing labour for constructing trans-continental rail-roads, by building roads, and by promoting agriculture and industry." The first Japanese who came to California, it is admitted, were undoubtedly the best class of labour

¹ Lord Cannington's *Reasons for restricting Chinese Immigration*, April, 1888.

that ever reached America. Like the Chinese they specialised in intensive farming, growing green vegetables, fruits and nuts, potatoes, rice and berries which require labour so irksome that the American farmer cannot compete with them economically. For there are branches of intensive industry to which the Orientals have been accustomed for generations in their home lands. But, unlike the Chinese who gradually disappeared from agriculture, the Japanese attempted to ascend the social ladder and compete successfully with the white tenant farmer, acquiring rather rapid control of the small land-holdings. It should be pointed out, however, that "the so-called white labourer in California is, to a large extent, made up of alien peoples, notably Italians, Portuguese, Swiss, Scandinavians and Armenians. The real economic competition in agriculture is not so much between the descendants of the white farmers and the Orientals as it is between the later European immigrants and the Orientals."¹ In 1921 the Japanese numbered about 111,000 in the United States,² and produced in California farm products worth 58 millions or 12 per cent. of the total. The actual number of Indian farmers in the United States has not been estimated, since two or more persons co-operate to purchase a farm; the total average of land owned by Indians in California amounted to 2,099 acres, while the number of acres under lease or contract was 86,340. The majority of the Indian residents on the Pacific Coast now work on the farm, especially in rich valleys of California. But, like the Chinese they had also arrived as labourers in the construction of the Western Pacific Railroads, as well as a small number on the Southern Pacific and Northern Pacific Railroads. Gradually they shifted from the railroad to the farm, and the Imperial Valley and the Sacramento Valley offered to the pioneer Indian settlers in California rich rewards in the cultivation of cotton, rice and vegetables. Similarly in British Columbia they first worked in the lumber mills, logging camps and on the railroads, but now they have started independent lumber mills and other businesses, while a considerable number engage themselves in agriculture owning the lands they operate. Both the Indians and, in a much larger measure, the Japanese, rose in the economic scale and from farm-operators transformed themselves into owners of land. This raised racial prejudice first among the tenant-farmers, gave birth to the anti-alien land laws, and prepared the whole of the United States for

¹ *Tentative Findings of the Survey of Race Relations*, p. 14.

² In 1938 they numbered 141,550 in the United States.

an active policy of Oriental exclusion. Similarly the success of the Chinese retail trader in the Philippine Islands and almost everywhere and of the Japanese fisherman in the Canadian and Hawaiian fishing industry, has aroused active hostility of those who have suffered economic defeat and explain the present demand for restriction or complete exclusion.

Racial Passion Contagious.

Racial passion does not arise unless the different races meet in competition for their daily bread. The Negroes do not engender any fear or dislike in Africa or West Indies, but only in the south-eastern belt of the United States, where coloured labour competes with white. Racial passion, again, when once aroused is contagious. It easily spreads from the frontiers of civilisation to old settlements, from the young colony to the mother country and *vice versa*. The resentment felt against the growing Indian, Chinese or Japanese communities spread from Natal to all the States of South Africa, from California to all the States comprising the United States, from North to South America and from Australia to New Zealand. In each case the economic competition and conflict were the chief motives, but these are everywhere rationalised into the demand for the protection of the standard of living of white labour, for the maintenance of purity of white blood, for the preservation of white civilisation as a small minority among coloured humanity. All these demands, often labelled as "reasons" for oriental exclusion whether in America, South Africa, or Australasia, have fed the doctrine of superiority of the white races, of which America stands to-day as the most ardent champion. The intrinsic superiority or inferiority of races is a myth which has been exploded by anthropology and social psychology.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN EARLY INDIA AND THE PACIFIC

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WHEN a person is known only in his maturer years with a familiar moustache or a whisker, is it possible to recognise his features from a photograph of his earlier days when he was but a babe in arms? But once we are told of the identification, the familiar lineaments begin to be detected and we recognise a thousand and odd traits of expression which through all the changes unmistakably betray the features of infant days. Such was the first impression that sent a rude shock through me when I came in contact with the real Polynesian through the externals of his modern Americanised or Anglicised habiliments.

When my fairer Sindhi friend and countryman in Honolulu said that with an ukulele (Hawaiian guitar) I would be undistinguishable from the old masters of these Pacific islands, when the liftman would generally take me to be an islander and lastly when I was infinitely amused in the streets of Auckland in New Zealand by an old lady who thanked me for some gifts of some of my countrymen (taking me to be a Maori), I could feel that these impressions of the passer-by were but expressions of the scientific truth of some ethnic similarity between the races of Bengal and Polynesia. No wonder that the hoary scholar of New Zealand, Mr. Elsdon Best subscribed under his autograph portrait a welcome to one who had come from Atia-Te Varingi-Nui, the traditional fatherland of the Polynesians which according to him and the other great scholar Percy Smith lay somewhere on the Ganges.

Leaving the question of the racial correlations between the Caucasian Brachycephals of Bengal and Polynesia to the dull pages of a bulky memoir I would now pass on to another set of feelings that throttled me on my first acquaintance with the Bishop Museum and its unique collection illustrating the life of the Old Polynesians who culturally speaking are no more—all with their lands and belongings having gone to wiser ministrations of the Christian zealots, whose meek and admiring helots they have become.

I had read of the staple food of Polynesians as the *taro* and the breadfruit—imagine my surprise when I could recognise in both but ~~our~~ familiar *Colocassia* (*Kaohu*) and a sort of earlier seedless rounded

jack-fruit not to speak of the familiar plantain and the cocoanut which were still their main sources of agricultural wealth. I was transported naturally in fancy to those times when the rice had not yet been cultivated in India and the plough had not yet come nor the wealth of cattle nor weaving in cotton nor perhaps any pottery, and the foodstuff consisted of these humble produces cultivated by the hoe with nothing but the domesticated hen and the pig. I naturally remembered the finding of ethno-botanists that the taro and the banana as also the domesticated fowl had probably originated in India or more correctly on the eastern borders of Bengal and Burma. Linguistically my Polynesian friends had closer affinities with what are known as the Austric or Pre-Dravidian peoples of India.

So what I am going to speak about should shock nobody for I want to transport the readers in imagination to those times when the Pre-Dravidian and the Dravidian elements had not yet been driven underground though the migration of the Caucasian brachycephals had already begun—times perhaps treasured in the folk-lore of Bengal of its 'Sinh-Vijaya' or its 'Dhanapati sadagar' when its colonists and traders would be of mingled types.

It was Rivers who had pointed out how we could disentangle the knotty social history of India and China from Indonesia and of the latter place from Melanesia and Polynesia. Radcliffe-Brown had also made the interesting suggestion that the kinship terminology of India, Melanesia and Polynesia comparatively studied would give one the impression that out of a common system these varieties had forked out in the remote past and herein also might lie some clues to the origin of the Indian caste-system.

Thus it is that the comparative studies of the social structures of Polynesia yielded some important clues as to the possible lines of social stratification in the dim past of my motherland. Morgan, the father of social anthropology, had made the great discovery that the terms of relationship of a people often retained traces of its past customs specially of those who possessed what he called the classificatory system of terminology. By that he meant that the term of relationship would not be as amongst us descriptive of the family connection but would stand for a class of relations. An example would bring it home to us. We all know that in the south people marry the maternal uncle's daughter. Now we in Bengal call our maternal uncle *mama*—the Tamils also call him *mamu*—but we call our father-in-law *svasur* but to the Tamil generally and potentially the father-in-law and the maternal uncle are the same individual so they have the same word *mamu*

for the father-in-law as also for the maternal uncle. Thus the Tamils have classificatory terminology and we have the descriptive or family system and this in the case of the maternal uncle's daughter marriage or cross-cousin marriage is borne out amply in its relationship terms—the maternal aunt and the mother-in-law bearing the same term, the brother-in-law and maternal uncle's sons being called by the same terms and so on. Rivers showed clearly how this cross-cousin marriage system is distinctly Dravidian. This is however widely spread and is found not only in Central India and amongst Chhota Nagpur and Assam tribes but also in many regions of the Pacific and in primitive Australia.

This is being tried to be linked up to an earlier system of cruder organisation called the dual organisation in which theoretically the society would be divided into two exogamous groups—in our familiar terminology only two *gotras* say in one endogamous group or caste. Ghurye's attempt to prove this as vestige of earlier dual organisation in India (*vide* Journal of the Royal Anthropol. Inst., 1923) is unconvincing as K. P. Chattopadhyay has shown (Presidential address, Science Congress, Anthropol. Section, 1931) in his illuminating paper, trying to show the part played by contact of peoples with different social organisations bringing this about. In the course of a recent communication by our research student Mr. J. K. Bose, M.A., this has been corroborated amongst the Aimol Kukis of Assam. Further he has found amongst many tribes a tri-clan system with remarkably similar method of marriage classes as amongst the Ambrym people of Melanesia.

Thus our present studies go to show the possibility of the existence of very primitive systems of exogamy in India comparable to the dual organisation of Melanesia or the class-systems of the Pacific and Australia. The Melanesian evidence shows that the cross-cousin marriage people were later in the Pacific than the earlier dual organisation or six-class systems folk. In India also such people are found to belong to a much more primitive stratum and may be of earlier culture stratum.

One of the curious features of some types of society in primitive Australia and Melanesia (Dieri and Pentecost for example) would be the grandfather-granddaughter marriage in a classificatory sense. This is found in 'Type II' marriage in Australia with the mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter or rather a cousin who is the granddaughter of a brother or the maternal grandfather. The characteristic kinship terminology of this system would be to class the elder brother with the grandfather and the elder sister with the

grandmother as is the case with Bengali terms where also survives the jocose relationship between grandparents and grandchildren. This is also found amongst many Chhota Nagpur tribes, e.g., Birhors which as S. C. Roy has suggested is due to a previous grandfather-granddaughter marriage now long since extinct. If such people are matrilineal (*i.e.*, counting descent from the mother and not from the father as amongst us) there would be further the marriage with the widow of the mother's brother as in the Garo tract and in Melanesian regions of the Pacific.

Thus we might venture to say with clues from the Pacific that the earlier stratum in Indian society (say Pre-Dravidian) was one with dual organisation and marriage-classes and with granddaughter-grandfather marriage in places. On it was superposed a structure (say Dravidian) with cross-cousin marriage. In the Pacific the still later element was the fairer Polynesian as in India it was the Proto-Aryan.

Now we come to an interesting comparison between the early Vedic Aryans and Polynesians. Shades of Morgan forgive us for to him the Aryan society was just diametrically opposite to what he called Hawaiian or Northern Polynesian.

To Morgan the Hawaiian society was the starting point of social organisation without any family which has now been proved to be absurd. Further the proofs on which he mainly relied, namely the simple classificatory terminology of the Hawaiians, has been shown by Rivers to be a later development.

In any case the close similarity between the two and four caste-groups in India and Polynesia is remarkable. As in India we have the *aryas* and the *dasas* so in early Polynesia we have the *alii* or *ariki* and the common people. Similarly in the later Polynesian society in Tahiti we have the four distinct classes *arii-maroura*, *arii-ri'i*, *hui-ra'atira* and the *manahune*. In both India and Polynesia the personal sanctity of the chief and the important position of the heir-apparent and the succession to the chiefship by the eldest son of the principal wife was common. There was in Polynesia the custom of brother-sister marriage amongst the chiefs but tabooed to the commoner for the same reasons as are advanced in the Pali literature (as pointed out to me by Mr. S. N. Mitra)—'for fear they should otherwise pollute the purity of their line.' According to Karandiker there was absence in early Vedic society of sept-exogamy as was also the case in Polynesia, with avoidance of near kins in marriage. The relatives known as *punalua* in Hawaii, *i.e.*, the husbands of two sisters, and a brother's wife are in jocose relationship in Bengal without

any trace of *cicisbeism* either in India or possibly in Hawaii and may have entailed some marital preferential claims in early India with *levirate* (or *niyoga* by which an elder brother's widow could be married by the younger brother) and *sororate* (by which the wives' sisters were marriageable). Further if, as Mr. Chakladar pointed out to me, there was no term for mother's brother in early Vedic, the word *matula* being later, the terms of kinship in both tracts would be very similar—for the main feature of Hawaiian terminology is lack of a separate term for the maternal uncle which is characteristic of the next succeeding Dravidian (or as Lowie calls it Dakotan) system.

Thus our Indo-Pacific comparisons yield us three distinct strata: one basic Proto-Australoid and Pre-Dravidian, the second intermediate Dravidian with cross-cousin marriage and the third Proto-Aryan or Indo-Polynesian (as Dr. Handy would call it) stretching from India to the Pacific.

HITLERISM:

A GERMAN INTERPRETATION *

By DR. O. URSCHS.

MOST of the articles which have been published in England and America overlooked the basic factor of the present world depression, *viz.*, the Treaty of Versailles. This treaty makes two tremendous mistakes, *viz.*, *firstly* that without the least knowledge and consideration of the age-old geo-political facts, inter-dependent trading areas and traffics were broken up and severed by custom barriers: *secondly* that the tributary payments demanded a unilateral flow of gold and goods and in a colossal quantity without any reciprocation on which alone the whole balance of world trade depends.

The generally misunderstood autocratic movements, which became manifest practically simultaneously in all these countries, which gradually came to be the victims of the world depression, extended also into the financial sphere. The exchange of currency notes against gold was curtailed. The hoarding of unused gold in certain countries endangered the currency of other countries; more active in foreign trade; and this brought up for the first time what are known as "frozen credits." The ever increasing custom barriers for instance in the U. S. A. and British Empire after the Ottawa conference reacted in two directions.

1. The firms and industrial enterprises in Germany which were supported by foreign loans and which under normal conditions would have become productive now became unproductive and the invested money went practically into loss, although it is still hoped that if these would some day revive, part of the investments may thereby be recovered.

2. Loans given to banks became definitely "frozen," a term which can be illustrated by a recent example. The German B.N.D.

* [The author read a paper, at the invitation of the International Fellowship, Calcutta, with a view to remove misunderstandings created by current periodicals not in touch with Germany. While putting up in a vigorous defence for the present régime in Germany, the writer was naturally criticised by several learned members of the Fellowship, both from the political and the economic standpoint. The paper being too long for a single insertion we publish below the political section, hoping to reproduce his preliminary economic thesis, in a future issue of our journal.—Ed.]

Bank had to repay in September, 1932 a loan of 25 million dollars. The money was ready in German Market, but as the U.S.A. banks were neither willing to accept this currency nor to buy in exchange for this German goods which could be sold profitably on the American market and further as the Reich Bank was not in a position to give the B. N. D. Bank the necessary dollar currency, the money remained idle in Germany and the American bankers had to consider it as a probable loss.

The financial difficulties, unemployment, trade debacle—all these go back to a common cause namely, the treaty of Versailles which, if humanity is to recover, should be revised the earliest possible time according to *sound commercial* and human principles.

Now what was the development of the German people in this difficult period? The political situation as well as the ethical and moral level on which this development took place is the same which led to the signing of the Versailles treaty. Versailles with its cold and cruel calculations would have been impossible in the middle ages; yet Versailles was not a mere coincidence. Versailles is the inevitable nemesis—the logical working out of the individualistic philosophy—that sponsored the rise and growth of the “Rights of Man” in 1789.

What then is individualism? Tersely put, it is nothing but a philosophic assertion and enthronement of the individual over and against the community. The middle ages were typical for the community doctrine, with a strong metaphysical background and enlivened by a general religious consciousness. It was also the last with universal ideas in ethics and politics. The development of rational philosophy is to be regarded as a natural reaction to the scholastic philosophy of the 15th and 16th century, which became divorced from life and degenerated into formal logic. While Pascal still fought an ethical fight against the psychological tyranny of the degenerated scholastic school, further development again went too far (Voltaire, Rousseau and Locke), until the French Revolution gave the “Rights of Man” a worldwide acknowledgment.

According to this philosophy, the only object of the community is to protect and assure the free development of the individual. Everyone has equal right on this protection, irrespective of the varying intrinsic value of personality. Everyone is supposed to have an equal right to fortune, that is to say, on a good life; naturally because with the increasing alienation from religious experiences the future life does not offer any tangible compensation for the present one. But since human life is short, nobody has time to wait;

everyone must have the means to a good life and quickly. This *psychological hankering for quick realisation develops in politics that characteristic shortsightedness, which puts at discount the chance of a consolidated policy pointing to the remote future.* The present age has ceased giving us great men as nobody now has got the leisure to become great.

However, the phrase "individual rights" is a contradiction in terms. An individual has no innate rights. Robinson Crusoe on the island had no "rights." For "rights" always pre-supposes at least a second individual. "Rights" therefore is but a set of relations between different individuals. In other words it has its origin and existence in community. Now the materialist of the present age lacks this perspective; our present day ethics is in no better position. This is shown very definitely particularly in the economic life; the producer falls back behind the pedlar; not the peasant who depends on God and fate for his crops; not the inventor who works for the next generations; not the enterprising man who designs and develops large-scale works and determines the future and gives to thousands the bread and water; and who consequently serves the community truly. But who rules our to-day's life, but the trader who is in no way connected with the mother soil, who wants only personal gains. He is the principal man of our days. A recent philosopher in Germany, Jung, states: One does not work any more to live, but one lives to make money. The pedlar instinct has been enthroned in all departments of human life.

This outlook on life explains the unhealthy pacifism of our days. As the individual fortune is the only object of live, one is too cautious to put this life on the stakes. To the individualist, the individual alone is the supreme reality; and it must be preserved at all costs. The sacrificial death has lost its vision. Whoever does not possess his own soil, does not die for it. And whoever does not know a fatherland does not fight for its life and preservation.

This unhealthy outlook again is most distinct in the various political parties. More or less all political parties not only in Germany but everywhere else, are in the grip of it. The German National Party tries in a reactionary way to bring back the golden age of Junkerdom and caste domination, but they forget that world history has already moved beyond that stage. The People's Party is said to fight for the interests of the small and big investors. The Central Party with its allegiance to Catholicism endeavours to earn for itself also the secular power through

exclusively directing the schools and other educational departments, Christian Trades Union, etc. The Democrats, the unworthy epigones of the classical democracy of 1848, are nothing but a camouflaged party of high finance. The Socialist Party aiming at the improvement solely of the material life of the workers, fights for higher wages and lesser hours without consideration to the economic situation of the nation, but takes away from its supporters the best of every man's life namely, the noble pride in their own country and nationality, which to build up, these workers have played a most prominent part. The picture of the world is reversed to the slow thinking brains with the help of a pseudo-science. Typical of these so-called scientists is a German author well-known in England and America, named Emil Ludwig. The communist finally is a full-blown materialist. He denies any metaphysical connection with past and future; he denies family and nation, country and law. Paragraph 1 of the civil law in Soviet Russia reads:

"Right is the system or the regulation of all social relations, which corresponds to the interest of the ruling classes and is protected by its organised force."

Paragraph 3 states:

"The criminal law of the Soviets has the object to safeguard that system of social relations, which is in the interest of the proletariat, by suppressing whatever may stand against it."

It is superfluous to waste words about this kind of right and law.

Such was the situation in Germany after the war. Peasants against labourers; employers against employees; Catholics against Protestants; Prussians against Bavarians; city against the open country; landlords against tenants; they all fought against each other under the flag of democracy. They all endeavoured to help only their own political parties, tried to get the greatest benefit out of the parley; they all promised their supporters success and rewards, and they forgot their country: Nobody remembered Germany.

To discuss the immediate political results of this situation would lead me too far afield but a few examples may explain what I mean. The pacifism of the Social-Democrats led Germany to accept the Versailles Treaty, although they realised its untruths and the impossibility of fulfilling the obligations solemnly confirmed by their signa-

tures. That a nation which is not afraid to die, is treated differently is shown in the example of Turkey. The greed for material possessions, the endeavour to protect industry of the Rhine valley, brought about the voluntary withdrawal of the passive resistance in the Ruhr valley. And yet the occupation of Ruhr alone had the promise of creating a united Germany for the first time since 1914. The endeavour to give the labourers who were the supporters of the Socialist Party, work and wages, led the men who were in charge during the boom years of 1927-29 to spending of money leading very often to nothing but the erection of a most superfluous and profitless construction. Communities and districts of the various German states were thrown into tremendous indebtedness to alien countries which jeopardised the commercial dignity of Germany in a very dangerous way; and yet the programme could not after all put a stop to the regular increasing unemployment.

On the other hand the productive factories of the old proud Germany were over-taxed by the Socialist governments well-known for their inimical attitude towards the employers. As a consequence thousands of brain and hand-workers were deprived of their daily bread. The wild hatred of the Social-Democrats against the old army and their representatives induced them to hand over Sch. to the French, who shot the hero of the Ruhr valley; their pacifism and inexperience in political affairs led them to surrender the voluntary fighters in the Baltic provinces and Upper Silesia, so that the Reich lost valuable provinces, contrary to the intentions of some of the allies, the British and the Italians. It would take many such evenings if I took to marring this side of suffering the German people went through. It is enough to say that whatever the allies inflicted upon their German foe, it was not much in excess to what the German nation inflicted upon itself.

If one considers that in democracy, the ballot decides; if one considers further how very rare genial and great men are, one will come to understand that the elects of a real 100% democracy as we Germans "enjoyed" after the war, belonged to the majority the other name for inferiority; democratic principle involves "the rule of the inferior class" says Jung. The rulers of the past 13 years may have been most honourable men in their private lives, but even then, as Shakespeare says, also "Brutus was an honourable man." The short-sightedness of the materialistic politician could not cope with the tremendous problems of the present age—an age that dies to make place for a new one, they did not have the time to do so.

In the midst of this chaos came the Chancellorship of Hitler. *Very rarely was a man so misunderstood in the German and foreign press, so untruthfully pictured as he has been.* "The Statesman," on Sunday, the 12th of March, pictured Hitler as man below the average intellect. Who particularly is Hitler and what does his movement mean ?

To understand this we must fall back on what we call the "war experience." The allies who had tremendous reservoir of human lives did not realise to such an extent as the German did. Only in Germany existed what we call a war generation which filled the trenches again and again, were wounded 5, 6, 8 times and always went out again, to forget finally all the pleasant memories of a peaceful hinterland. This generation belonged to the youth between 18 and 20, who had not yet the experience of the individualistic life of peace days, as their first awakening into life was in the trenches and unto death. No matter, whether a count, a peasant or a proletarian, all of them had only one single possession, viz., their lives. They did not worry about feeding, clothing and so on. These were given to them automatically if the roads and the shell-fire lying on them, permitted. And in the trenches the uniform and the ration were all alike. The mud in Flanders, the dust in Russia painted the nobleman and the proletarian impartially with the same brush. Death became a matter of fact ; life, the most wonderful gift of the moment, could be withdrawn every minute again. Worries of the daily life which were the subject of bitter political struggles in the home country were absorbed by the drone of the guns. The materialism of the daily life became evident, and the word of Schiller "If you never put your life on stake, you never will win life" was understood with a renewed glory. The community of the field-grey comrades only mattered, one offered his life to save every one of them. They represented the nation and Germany. The young German warriors realised that they stood alone against the whole world and that it was their privilege to die, to let Germany live.

Hitler belonged to this generation. When they came home, the phrases of the politicians lost their value. The answer was "It is all well and good, but where do you speak of Germany ? And again "Who amongst you is going to die for the truth you are confessing?" "No body?". "Then there is no principle amongst you. Behold. We died and have come back to build up our new country."

In the beginning there were only a few who realised this. Most of them were in the graves of France, Russia and other places.

'And there were many more who had yet to die in the Baltic provinces, in Upper Silesia and the Ruhr valley. But more and more joined the flag of the new nationalism, which adopted the age-old symbol of sun and life, viz., the Swastika. As they went in 1914 to their regiments, so now they flocked from all quarters, from universities, from factories and offices, from hills and from the open country. Hitler who is called a damagogue gave them one common feeling, viz., the vision of the German Nation. No more divided by parties serving conflicting interests, they endeavoured to build up a new country out of what was left. Their first slogan was "Germany must live even if we must die."

It has to be understood that Hitlerism does not mean a political party but a spiritual awakening. One can compare it perhaps with the wave of nationalism which went through England in the year 1649. The movement started in 1920 and in it joined all the organisations of those days that were unwilling to accept the humiliations inflicted on the central government. This movement deepened and broadened during the years 1920—25, its philosophic principles, analysed and enunciated by men like E. Jung, M. V. D. B., H. Stapel, A. Winning, J. Feder! but it yet lacked political experience. The unsuccessful rising in Munich in 1923 which broke down under the fire of the Bavarian police was a sad example of it. But as soon as the philosophical basis was firmly established, Hitler who gave his word to the court of law to achieve his goal only by legal means, founded in 1925 the National Socialist Party of German labourers. This name was selected because no nationalism can exist without an effective care for the social life of the people and that again no socialism can exist without first being founded on its own nation, before being extended to humanity. As in a democratic state a political goal can be achieved only via the political representation, it was necessary to organise a party. But Hitler was never in a position to go into coalition with any of the old parties without compromising some of his essential principles. This was the reason why in 1932 Hitler has consistently declined to join any government over which he had no control. The events plainly justified his point of view.

His programme in big lines is :

1. The creation of the German citizen, as opposed the hitherto prevailing Bavarian, Prussian, Saxon, etc. The protection of an opposition on an honest national basis, but the annihilation of

Marxism, especially communism, the goal of which are in every respect opposed to what is considered as valuable in political, ethical and religious matters.

2. Protection of German economics in its three main representatives, *viz.* peasants, labourers and intellectuals. A revision of the current trade treaties which will put a stop to unnecessary imports but will stimulate the vital imports is the first step towards this goal.

3. Recovery of the German currency: (a) through strict economy in the administration. A part of this is the reform of the German constitution, which will do away with costly Diets, State governments and their ministers, separate offices, etc., and their replacement by an economical central government. The first step towards this goal have been taken already by appointing central commissioners to the various states like Saxony, Bavaria, etc. It is self-understood that the valuable national properties of the various German clans will be safeguarded.

b. Decrease of the intolerable interests on domestic and foreign loans and the adoption of the rates which are generally current in the worlds money market. (It should be noted that the world market changes now-a-days a discount of 1 to 3%, whereas Germany pays 8 to 10%, on foreign loans). Cancellation of all such foreign debts which are ethically unfounded, *i. e.*, reparations.

c. The state control of such banks which are already subsidised by the government. By an effective control, that part of the German industry which deserves it, can be given greater facilities, thereby leading to the recovery.

4. The creation of a German state which enjoys equal rights with all other countries in a peaceful way.

These short outlines are generally speaking the oft~condemned programme of the Nazis. The question whether republic or monarchy which plays such an important part in the Anglo-Indian press is of no importance whatever to the movement itself. As soon as the country gets back its sovereignty, it will decide later on whether or not it wants to be ruled by a President or a Kaiser. For the present difficult times, this question is purely secondary. The programme also does not contain any aggressive war policy. The war veterans who are the leading brains in the movement know from their own bitter experience what a modern war really means and they would never agree to throw their own nation again into such a turmoil unless pressed to it and that also for defending the national existence only.

In our times when there is a continuous babble about service to humanity, about a pan-European realisations, about the overthrow of narrow-minded nationalism, it has to be remembered that with very few exceptions, a single individual cannot do any service to humanity, which, after all, is nothing but a combination of the multitude of all nations on the earth; but that only a nation which develops its particular properties, gifts, etc., can do service to the general humanity.

Humanity is to be compared to a family. If all the sons of a family are efficient men, one a businessman, the other a scientist, the third a priest and the fourth an artist, the family will gain in honour and in wealth. If one of the sons is a gambler and a bankrupt, the fame of the family will diminish. The same applies to humanity in its international relations. Only free nations who can develop their own gifts can carry humanity on to a higher level; but not the slaves, be they individuals or nations. A strong and a proud people will always respect another free nation. And a League of Nations based on equal rights is the only one which will have any prospect for the future.

The misleading articles in the Anglo-Indian press which discuss nothing but the possibility of the restoration of the Kaiser, of an aggressive policy against France, of riots and maltreating of Jews are mostly fed by a general world propaganda against Hitler and his movement, which has its root in the fact that the international high finance and the international press are alike controlled by the Jews. The fact that Hitler's programme contains certain antisemitic points, in as much as he wants to put the Jews in Germany in their proper place which they have left after the revolution by gaining an undue control over government, universities, in the press and in the cultural life of the people has given rise to the said propaganda. The anti-semiticism of the Hitler movement is built on the results of a calm racial research and simply accepts the fact that the Jews under the Zionist movement have declared themselves as a separate nation. If this is accepted, and there is no reason not to do so, then the Jews have to live in Germany like the members of other nations, as aliens: they can safely go after their own vocation, but have no right to control the national life of the country they live in.

Never was peace more endangered than in these days. In the Far East blazes open warfare and the Russian army stands by on the frontiers of Manchuria to safeguard what they believe to be their inherited possession. This gives Poland a free hand against its own old enemy, Germany, and already Polish troops have taken temporary

possession of an essential part of Danzig, which, after all, is still a German town. The French take the opportunity of the rising national movement in Germany to cry out again for their own safety and to declare that the same is endangered as it was in 1914, and their skillful propaganda tries to bring the same nations which joined hands in 1914 again in arms against Germany. It takes a lot of coolness to overcome these days without letting the guns go loose. The world's press should realise the responsibility which is theirs, and reject articles which are prejudiced against a country which, after all, is doing nothing else but putting its own house in order.

I find myself in full agreement with men of the highest repute and ripest judgment in academic circles, when I maintain that the University must be free from external control over range of subjects of study and methods of teaching and research. We have to keep it equally free from trammels in other directions—political fetters from the State, ecclesiastical fetters from religious corporations, civic fetters from the community and pedantic fetters from what may be called the corporate repressive action of the University itself. University must have the fullest independence and the amplest powers in working out its intellectual salvation. There need be no anxiety as to the future of the university if a constitution is wisely planned on these principles, and the exercise of power is entrusted to academic bodies composed of qualified persons—not so large in size as to lose in efficiency, yet large enough to prevent degeneration into intellectual cliques: neither eternally unchangeable so as to resist all progress, not nor so rapidly changing as to destroy continuity, yet varying sufficiently from time to time to prevent the dominance of personal policies; and finally, representative enough to be in touch alike with the experience of the past, the needs of the present and the aspirations of the future.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in his Convocation Speech, 1928.

GERMANY THROUGH THE AGES *

By SUDHINDRA K. DUTT, M.A. (Oxon.)

Calcutta.

The rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis has once more drawn the attention of the world to Germany. The publication of Herr Pinnow's work is, therefore, very opportune. It deals with the history of Germany from 911 to 1930 A. D. But it is not a mere political history of the country; the historian is chiefly concerned with the daily life and work of the people leading up through social upheavals and intellectual expansion to the present position of the state. The book, therefore, deals with the economic, social, literary and cultural history of Germany as well.

It is always an advantage to have the history of a country written by one of its own nationals. It enables the historian to appreciate properly the sentiments and views of a country on controversial matters. We in India learn history through English books, and we necessarily imbibe the English point of view. Books like Herr Pinnow's remind us that there are two aspects to every question and that seekers after truth cannot ignore the one and prize the other.

The story of Germany through the ages has been that of a long struggle of an ancient and civilised people for union, which, however, it failed to achieve until 1871. The casual reader may wonder why the German monarch failed to unite the nation while Western Europe (notably France, England, Spain, and Sweden) were welded into powerful states under their respective sovereigns. The answer is to be found in the failure of the kings to check the powerful princes of the kingdom. While Henry VII in England brought the turbulent barons under control, Richelieu in France crushed the nobility and reduced it to complete subjection under the crown, the German Emperors were compelled to make concession after concession to the vassal princes, until they became uncontrollable. In the end one of such powerful princes, the Elector of Brandenburg (later on King of Prussia) overshadowed the Emperor even and finally founded a German Empire under his own suzerainty.

In 911 A. D. Germany liberated herself from the Carolingian empire and a Frankish Duke was elected king. After his death the Saxon Duke Henry was chosen king, and he succeeded in gaining the homage of all the tribes. "These events revealed the will of the scattered German people to form one corporate whole; they laid the foundation of the German State and may be regarded as the beginning of German history." Henry's successor Otto founded a united kingdom by subduing the dukes and forming an alliance with the Church. He reached the acme of his glory when in 962 he along with his consort received the imperial crown at the hands of the Pope in Rome. Henceforth the German monarch became also the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, i.e., the Western Empire, while the Byzantine Emperor held sway in the East. The Empire of the Caesars had vanished, the Empire of Charlemagne had become a memory of the past, and it was the Holy Roman Empire which

* A Book Review. *History of German People and State through a Thousand Years* by Hermann Pinnow. Translated from the German by Mabel Brailsford. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 12s. 6d.

now claimed to carry on the traditions of Roman imperialism in Western Europe. The monarchs of such a glorious Empire could not be expected to limit their activities in Germany alone; in consonance with their importance they must wield their influence over the whole of Western Europe. Italy and Rome in particular had formed the basis of the earlier Roman Empire, the acquisition of Rome and Italy, therefore, became the prime objects of the Emperors' policy. This absorption in foreign affairs and the consequent expeditions to Italy necessarily led to the neglect of domestic affairs, so that the princes were allowed to grow unchecked. The process was still further encouraged by the necessity of the Emperors for appealing constantly to the princes for men and money.

"... for centuries German blood was poured out like water upon the Italian battle-fields, while the effort to achieve their distant aims made the emperors incapable of fulfilling their immediate tasks—those of uniting the German people and of obtaining room for their expansion in the East."

This aggressive Italian policy of the German kings was specially ill-considered in view of the dangers that lay nearer home. The barbaric Hungarian hordes were frequently knocking at the gates of Germany, while to the East was rising Poland—a power that was destined to play a large part in German history.

In the 11th century the Empire came into violent conflict with the Papacy. "The papacy and the empire had been raised on the foundations of the Roman world-empire." They had hitherto acted in concert to the mutual benefit of one another. But between the 9th and 10th centuries there was a fervent monastic revival throughout Europe. A wave of religious enthusiasm flowed over the Continent—a movement which finally culminated in the Crusades. The Papacy itself could not remain unaffected. Hildebrand, who was controlling the policy of the Popes, aimed not only at freeing the Church from temporal authority but wanted to place the Church above the State. "In his conception the church was set above the secular power by the same law which makes the soul master of the body." When he was raised to Saint Peter's throne as Pope Gregory VII, he soon quarrelled with the Emperor Henry IV over the question of "lay investitures." Henry took up the challenge in right earnest, but when he found his throne in danger he made the humiliating "journey to Canossa" and made an abject submission to the Pope. The conflict was finally ended in the time of his successor by the compromise of the Concordat of Worms (1122). The king's difficulty was the princes' opportunity, and they managed to increase their powers further at this time.

Frederick Barbarossa (1152-90) of the Hohenstaufen family revived kingly power by re-establishing the alliance with the bishops in Germany, and by crushing the rebellious Henry the Lion. But the exigencies of his forward Italian policy made him propitiate the princes. Nevertheless his strong personality held the powerful princes in check and Germany enjoyed a period of unparalleled peace and prosperity. With his tragic death in Cilicia in the Third Crusade this controlling hand disappeared, and though his son was able to meet the danger from a combination of princes and foreign powers, under his successors disappeared "what the Saxon emperors had achieved, the Salians maintained and Frederick Barbarossa worked into new life—the unity of the German people and their importance as a world-power."

The fall of the Hohenstaufen meant the end of the Western empire. Nations in the modern sense of the word began to rise; England, Spain and the Scandinavian countries began to

develop, but in Germany the central government was split up into a number of separate states. The three centuries (1200-1500) have been called the period of disintegration; they were marked by the growth of princely power, the rise of the townsmen, the establishment of the Hapsburgs as emperors and the rise of the Hohenzollerns. The sovereignty of the princes was legally recognised. The seven electoral princes came to be distinguished from the rest and their power was further strengthened by the Golden Bull of 1356. The Emperor gradually lost much of his importance and became *primus inter pares*. "The empire became a federal government; Bismarck himself was to found the empire upon the union of the federal states. The internal government of the German States at the present day has its roots in the thirteenth century, and has been evolved from the sovereignty of princes." The princes however had no feeling of patriotism in them; their self-aggrandisement formed the only basis of their policy, and they thus proved to be the greatest stumbling-block to national union.

The rule of the Hapsburgs in Germany may be said to have begun with the election of Albert II as Emperor in 1437 and the imperial crown became hereditary in the line until the disruption of the Empire at the time of Napoleon. Once only were their claims challenged, *e.g.*, by Charles Albert of Bavaria but the Hapsburgs came out victorious in the end.

From the beginning of the 16th century to the middle of the 17th, Germany was distracted by religious strife. Martin Luther, son of a German peasant, raised the banner of revolt against catholicism and Papacy. His protests had repercussions not only in Germany but all over Europe. In Germany religious wars broke out and were only ended by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which enunciated the doctrine of "*cujus regio ejus religio*" (He who owns the land owns the creed). Thus in Germany religious differences went still further to strengthen the hands of the princes, who were allowed to dictate religion to their subjects. In other European countries there were one all-powerful state and one religion; dissenters were either not tolerated or, if tolerated, were not allowed to undermine the power of the State. In England Henry VIII and Elizabeth established Protestantism on a uniform basis and rigorously punished any deviation from established religion, in France Cardinal Richelieu razed the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle to the ground and crushed the political power of Huguenots while granting them religious toleration, but the German emperor, Charles V, failed singularly to establish a uniform church under his control.

In the latter half of the 17th century Louis XIV of France held the centre of the political stage of Europe. The aggrandisement of the Bourbons and of France was the mainspring of his policy, and he therefore came into collision with the Empire and other European States. In the several wars German princes fought on opposite sides just as their dynastic ambition suited them. "During the stormy period between the Peace of Westphalia and the Congress of Vienna, the fate of Germany was determined by the ambition of the princes working in concert or in opposition." Of all the States Brandenburg-Prussia came out of the struggle stronger than before and the victory of the young Prussian army over Swedish veterans at Fehrbellin made it deservedly famous. In 1701 the Duke of Prussia was made a king by the Emperor.

The 18th century in German history is marked by the steady growth of Prussia. The Great Elector (in the last century) and Frederick the Great were unremitting in their efforts to consolidate her power. They created a powerful army and made the government autocratic and militaristic. Prussia was able to wrest Silesia out of Austria's hands and she came out

of the ordeal of the Seven Years' War with renewed prestige. The infamous partitions of Poland enabled her to join East Prussia to the rest of her dominions. The Napoleonic Wars had a deep effect on German history. A large number of petty states disappeared, only 39 states survived the struggle. This reduction was highly beneficial to Germany as it made the task of uniting the country easier. The Holy Roman Empire was dissolved in 1806 when the Confederation of the Rhine was formed with Napoleon as its protector. Some South and Western German States joined it and they declared their independence of the Emperor. Prussia though severely defeated at Jena and Auerstadt was recreated by the labours of Stein, Hardenberg and Scharnhorst. Her humiliation roused a wave of nationalism in the country and Germany fought the War of Liberation which culminated in the Battle of Leipzig. The invincible Napoleon was defeated and the allied troops entered Paris in triumph. At Waterloo it was the timely appearance of the Prussians under Blücher that turned the scales against the French.

The settlement that followed however took no count of the feeling of nationalism. A Confederation of the Princes was established in Germany; the federal diet composed of plenipotentiaries of the states met at Frankfort under the presidency of Austria. The princes began a mad orgy of reaction in which they were encouraged by the Diet.

Prussia had received large territories by the Peace of Paris and she now became the rival of Austria in Germany. All the efforts of Austria were therefore directed towards checking Prussia and drawing the south German states to herself. Prussia however laid the foundations of her future greatness by forming the Zollverein (customs-union) under her presidency.

1848 was the year of revolutions in Europe and disorders broke out in many German States. The princes were compelled to yield to the popular demand for liberal constitutions. Metternich, the high-priest of reaction in Europe, had to flee from Vienna and Berlin also fell into the hands of revolutionaries. A parliament of the German people met at Frankfort to devise a constitution for Germany but its prolonged labour came to nothing.

The German Empire was the creation of Bismarck. His aim was the unification of non-Austrian Germany under Prussia. He dealt a crushing blow to Austria in the Austro-Prussian War and thus definitely established Prussian supremacy in Germany. The first step towards the unification of Germany was the North German Confederation. A federal authority was established with the King of Prussia at its head. The South German states entered the Zollverein in 1867, the customs parliament thus forming the common meeting-ground of the North and the South. In the Franco-Prussian War the Southern states fought side by side with Prussia and by their entry into the Confederation made possible the foundation of the long-cherished united German Empire (1871).

This Empire lasted till the end of the War in 1918. After the abdication of the Kaiser a republic was proclaimed. The Weimar constitution also recognised the federal principle and rejected the unitary system. There are 2 houses of legislature as of old, the Reichsrat (in place of Bundesrat) representing the States and the Reichstag the people.

Such in outline is the history of Germany. The story of 1000 years has been pressed into 450 pages and facts are necessarily compressed. Thus the Thirty Years' War has been dealt with in 4½ pages in which Richelieu is mentioned only once. But it is the great merit of Pinnow's book that it does not omit a single detail that is important in German

history. The book is an admirable one for general readers as it is not overburdened with dates and the outline is always clear.

The history is of course not free from defects. The effect of the Polish insurrection of 1863 on European politics for example is not properly appreciated. Again, Marshal Bazaine's treachery at Metz is not mentioned; it is now incontrovertible that Bazaine was more loyal to Napoleon III than to France and that Bismarck exploited the situation and used him for his own purposes.

People would find it difficult to agree with Herr Pinnow's views on the policy of ex-Kaiser William II, but I refrain from commenting thereon as the events are too recent and the passions roused by them have not yet died down.

The book on the whole has been admirably well-written and the general reader, unacquainted with the history of mediaeval and modern Europe, will be able to gain a comprehensive knowledge of German history from a perusal of this work. Miss Mabel Brailsford deserves the thanks of all for placing it at our disposal by her translation. It is no small tribute to her skill that a charming style has been preserved throughout the book and nowhere are we reminded that we are reading a translated version and not the original of the book.

HOW FAR "SESH PRASNA" IS A COUNTERPART OF "GORA"

—By RAMESH CHANDRA GANGULI, B.L.

Calcutta.

The genius of Sarat Chandra, the delightful story-writer and author of those inimitable little sketches of Bengalee life *Ramer Sumati*, *Bindur Chele* and *Candranath* flowered into a robust and yet challenging romanticism in his bigger volumes, *Charitrahin*, *Debdas*, *Grihadaha*, etc. Without leaving behind the real, his penetrative vision and sharply analytic intellect have pulled out of the complex heap of social phenomena that which obstructs the ideal in its process of being the actual. Like Tolstoy and Hamsun his courageous mind received the actual in its sterling nakedness from which others would easily shut their eyes away and looked for the beautiful and peaceful amidst the uglinesses and defects of human life. His spirit is essentially scientific in this respect, fearing nothing in the bold search for the truths of the human mind and his giant heart has gladly shared the sufferings of his creations.

The epoch-making *Charitrahin* saw him spread himself on a larger canvas and rap at the door of the literature with a bold, persistent and, after all, overpowering knock. The agreeable and modest story-writer of early days thumped himself rather forcibly on cultural Bengal and turned the currents of thought by the impulses of his own mind and the magic of his writing. He laid himself inside out on the pages of his novels and crammed them full with his own observations and experiences and brought along a trail of sensuousness in them, out of his own hypersensitive and subtle imaginative nature and presented to society nice little problems for solution, by setting up his doubts and questions against some of its age-old conventions. *Charitrahin* marks the advent of a series of complex novels by Chatterjee and in its wake, after an indicative flutter in *Pather Dabi* comes in a sudden break his new sensation, *Sesh Prasna* with its probing analysis of the accepted fundamentals of society.

It is now sometime back, I secured a copy of the book and went through its entertaining pages. The academic discourses running at times to tiresome length on ethical questions hold you interested and afford you a treat of intellectual fare. The ancient conventions of society, more particularly of the Hindus, are brought out and ranged and made to stand a rigid test of strict ethics as to their real worth or otherwise. The story moves slowly under its domination and the characters are there, more for the purpose of stretching the ethical principles to their utmost, for affording a fuller debate and a more elaborate and assiduous test, than for anything else. They congregate and discuss and make a perfect debating club to establish the primary truths of life's pervading ethics. A nasty expression that—"a debating club"—but yet that sticks to the group most happily, much in the same way as it is applicable to the other intellectual group that constitutes Rabindranath's novel *Gora*.

And for the matter of fact, to my way of thinking, *Sesh Prasna* bears an unmistakable family likeness to the great *Gora*. I do not

mean to minimise in the least the gigantic powers of the author of *Sesh Prasna* when I say that to me the book appeared to be to some extent a counterpart of the other, with, of course, minor differences of details. It has been represented on behalf of its author that he bestowed his very best care and thought in bringing it out. The book certainly does reveal the clever artist at every turn and whatever truth there might be as to whether or not it has any basic resemblance with another gem of Bengalee literature, its excellence is both impressive and striking.

And yet the perusal of *Sesh Prasna* recalls rather forcibly the memory of the other book. It is unavoidable, for it forces itself on you with the logic that underlies all literary production. Both have common characteristics. In both the fabric employed is the primary truths of social ethic. The little love-plays are overshadowed by an over-zealous effort at arriving at the great principles. This forms the *modus operandi* of character representation in both instances, while the two authors simply stride through the pages fearlessly, on accepted conventions of life, with a confident foot and a scarcely hidden sneer, and mock and preach for the benefit of society in vigorous, forceful and analytical language.

The *Sesh Prasna* is by no means the last, final, culminating question that might worry mankind for a true solution of life's primal problems. It is, in fact, a set of questionnaire on proper conduct in society, a disquisition into its accepted practices by the beautiful and mocking, free-thinking and shrewd little heroine Kamal by all her talks and doings. It is this dominating little personality that mocks at society's conventions and exposes their innate and meaningless stupidity and sets out her own canons of ethic for better guidance and culture.

And yet she looks in broad details but a counterpart—a female counterpart—of the hero in Rabindranath's novel. Much of the innate and offensive obduracy which gives a peculiar grace to Rabindranath's hero, is of course palliated in his female replica.

A certain bluntness and a wholesome disregard for cheap formality that give a distinct trait to Gora from the others are mellowed down to fit in his female counterpart. Both alike have an unlimited fund of courage to speak out their conviction, while the uncompromising vigour in Gora is reflected in Kamal in a proportionately steady placidity, which makes her as supremely unbending as the other, so that nothing—neither love nor self-interest—can make her budge an inch from a position she takes. A woman's instinct—always a subtle thing—is her own natural asset and sets her off at a decided advantage over the mere male. Kamal in reading the peculiar humour of a situation strikes you as a shrewder judge but there is not much difference in their methods when they feel inclined to pique the vanity of a fellow being.

Gora's first visit to Paresch Babu's house is poignant in its interest. He had warned his friend Benoy against its poisonous influence. The free association with girls who do not fail to tinge the atmosphere there by their own personal attraction of both appearance and accomplishment with a superintending mother overhead, is very much after the manner of white people and as such is loathed by the aggressively Hindu mind of Gora. He chooses a deliberate make-up for the occasion and looks as though he is an embodiment of rebellion against the very times and by his manners he makes them all feel it. He holds his own by the curtness and the uncompromising character of his argument and shatters the tender aristocracy of the place ruthlessly and mops its "cob-webby" refinement by his cutting sneer against anti-Hinduism.

It did not take long for Kamal to scent an air of superior aristocracy in Monorama when she was playing the hostess to her when Kamal was directed into their household after a heavy drenching outside. The embarrassment was obvious in Monorama and she was at a loss how properly to accost her beautiful guest, the wife of the cultured Shibnath and the widowed, illiterate daughter of a maid-servant. Kamal's vulgar pose as an uncultured, low-class woman with shockingly bad manners, was as deliberate as it was roguish and is reminiscent of Gora's insolent entry into Paresch Babu's house. 'Saucily she demands for a new cake of soap and, with no decency about her, tells to the face of her hostess that she cannot accept her used soap,—that she feels a wholesome loathing against such an article—and clinches the whole thing by saying: "That way you bring on ailment."

Both hold truth very dear to their heart and nothing galls them more than a lie. The sorest grief with Kamal when Shibnath deserted her was that he feared and avoided truth. The scene when Shibnath was feigning illness and was lying at the Asram and Kamal had gone there with a view to nurse him may be recalled here:

".....After a long silence Shibnath asked 'Who did you learn from that I bear no relation to you? Do people report and put it down to me as having disclaimed any?' Kamal made no answer. Presently she broke her silence as she herself put the question—'Even though I could not believe that you did not marry me, you certainly knew that you did not: why then did you not tell me so when you left me? Is it because you apprehended that I might hold you on to me and create nuisance with my cries and entreaties and would dash my head against the floor by way of a final beseeching supplication? You knew right well that, that was not my nature.' "

Gora felt immensely hurt and mortified when he found his friend avoiding simple truth and seeking to hide his clandestine visits to Paresch Babu's house. The whole was altogether too much for him and although his heart bled, he would not see or have any thing to do for days together with his dearest pal, who was more than a brother to him.

Kamal's passion for truth made it easy for her to disclose to the listening Ajit her own shameful genesis in simple naivety and naked revulsion. The sympathetic words of caution of the materialistic Abinash drew out from her a blunt response which had about it a scarcely disguised cloak of righteous indignation. She felt palpably provoked and turned suddenly to Ashu Babu and spoke rather petulantly, as though she was making a passionate appeal to him:

"Look here now and see how grievously wrong it is on the part of Abinash Babu." She pointed to Shibnath and continued on— "And he would go the length of disowning me and, on my part, would I have, perforce, with a strangle-hold on his throat, make him own me up? Is it that truth will get drowned? And shall I, who flatly refuse recognition of a mere convention, have it employed as a string to hold him with? And me to do all this?" Her eyes were glowing as she spoke."

There are various other traits of character common to them both, altogether too numerous to enumerate them all here. In the assiduity of their purpose, both do not in the slightest brook any hardship and physical discomfort. About them both there is a certain fearlessness and a spontaneous and live sympathy for the suffering poor. Kamal, tender and beautiful as she is, causes genuine concern in the minds of her friends by the way she applies herself in tending to the sick in the squalid bustees while Gora undergoes a term of imprisonment for fighting against the

injustice done to poor people. In them both there burns a genuine fire of patriotism. Kamal does not in the least fear harbouring a selfless youth—a suspected revolutionary—whose steps are dogged and shadowed by the police in their best approved fashion when the Asram doors are shut on him.

The external environments of the two also bear a remarkable similitude. To start with, in either case the father is a white man and the striking attributes of the two have been sought to be traced to the European blood that coursed in their veins.

The rebel in Kamal against society's accepted conventions has been explained in more places than one, mainly due to the foreign blood in her and her whole character is the direct and natural upshot of her early training at the hands of her father and her own position in society. It is this foreign blood which helps them both to dominate over the others.

Brought up in a Hindu home, under the fostering care and indulgence of a generous and kindly lady, who in the literal sense is more than a mother to him, Gora is made to betray the trait of the European blood that is in him by his robust and unflagging loyalty to the institutions which he believes to be his own, his general forceful bearing and by the fact of his being a mighty man of action, while other indicative factors in him pointing towards the same thing are his peculiar build and features, the unredeeming whiteness of his complexion and his bodily prowess which measured well in excess of the average in a Bengalee.

Kamal imbibed all the iconoclastic influence of his Christian father and, picking up her experience from an early age from life's treacherous shoals, developed a spirit of cynicism and so mocked all arrangements and make-shifts by society however old and trustworthy they might be, as being too deceitful to command respect. She was no nursery-product and did not grow up in the ordinary way with a load of ready-made set of ideas and beliefs. She came to know her world in a realistic process in many a hard encounter against it. A whimsical fate had brought her into the world and made her confront stern life quite early and with it face grim truth in all its overpowering realisation. The unmitigated practical character of the Westerner whose blood runs in her veins, helps her realise her own philosophy of life which she propounds as follows:

"Neither happiness nor sorrow is real, the only reality lies in their quivering moments and in the rhythm in which they depart. True possession consists in accepting these both heart and soul."

This philosophy of the flux—the constant change in which the world is presented to us—is as old as Buddha and Heraclitus, and revived by the French Philosopher Bergson. The real challenge is to find out the actual amidst the hopeless tangle of the everchanging—permanent or transitory whatever it might be—the sum total of which makes the reality of existence. Philosophers vainly tried to catch it and to preserve it before them, but such is the nature of the real that it constantly transforms itself into the past and lives only in memory. Kamal's difficulty lies in diagnosing the ever-shifting elements of truth in the lap of the real. We understand it when we see it as a whole in the unity of the manifold colours and constituents of the Universe and that whole view is Philosophy. Parts may deceive us, yet when we can survey the totality in its unbroken, undisipated wholeness, we may get a glimpse of truth and there lies peace for the restless spirit of mankind. Perfection we can never attain to but the spirit of perfection is our salvation.

The European blood has in either instance been sought as being responsible for all that helps Gora and Kamal to dominate over their

colleagues—mere children of the soil. I do not know if the reader suspects in these efforts a touch of inferiority complex that the White must as a rule prevail over the Coloured and must of necessity be the emporium or treasure-house of all that is bold and dashing, good and sterling and have brains that are more incisive and clear in the expert divination of truth and altogether show a character more lovable and overpowering than could be accommodated in a coloured frame.

I do not know if these instances serve only to remind him of the cheap sentiment of the rather meek Indian, serving out his life's tenure as a bondsman, clustering round the white man in simple adoration, and whether if they make him think of the crowd that collects on a public street when a European is involved in a motor-car break-down and each and every benevolent man becomes mighty anxious to receive a little behest from the white god and feels flattered beyond himself over his stroke of good luck should any come his way.

The notion, the critic might argue, is getting simply opprobrious and he might jolly well wring his hands in despair if he finds that the best writers in the country suffer from the same obsession as the modest commoner and as a consequence mould their heroes and heroines in the damning casts of foreign superiority. The critic will have his own justification if he makes a show of the other product of the Christian home, Mrs Robinson and people of her ilk, who trade and swell upon the natural gullibility of wealthy Indians.

Neither do I know, if the reader feels inclined to be indulgent in the case of Rabindranath, as he is the produce of an earlier age when English education and culture had swept many a brilliant man off his feet. But even then the domineering hectoring Gora at times heeded a little check but what of Kamal? Nothing bides with her. She is too placidly unbending.

How would her readers approve of her author in these days of national consciousness? A daughter of a European planter and an unchaste but beautiful Bengalee widow, herself the widow of an Assamese Christian and later on the consort of Shibnath—a professor dismissed from service for low morals—her heretical dissertations against society's accepted usages might again appear to some as trifle too baffling. The little she had by way of an early training from her father and the biological principle of blood giving shape to character, have been sought to explain for the evident miracle in her. But does that carry conviction? And again a critic might feel inclined to ask—"Is it that the Westerner does not believe in the social institutions like marriage? Evidently, Kamal goes one better and is assuredly an improvement on even Lord Henry Wootan in Oscar Wilde's, "The Picture of Dorian Grey." What is the natural secret in her? Does Biology throw any light on the innate tendencies of a hybrid?

But this is all simple deviation. To continue on with our theme—*The important group that hems round Gora is the girls in the Brahmo home of Paresch Babu and his boyhood chum Binoy. The ring round his female counterpart, must of necessity be menfolk. Broadly speaking, the incident, acknowledging it to be an accident, is somewhat striking.*

With Gora's own advancement in the story, the poor old Binoy recedes away. Shibnath, like Benoy, introduces the story in a quite pleasant fashion. They both introduce the principals on the stage and then, gradually through stages, sink and lose ground.

At their first meeting, Gora by his manners and arguments raises a feeling of mighty revulsion in the cultured and intelligent Sucharita who

despite this, felt attracted towards this stranger youth. In the case of the cultured Ajit, the same remark applies when he was confronted by Kamal in their first two meetings. Suchorita yields to Gora eventually and so does Ajit to Kamal. The sedate, inoffensive, accommodative and indulgent Ashu Babu reminds one of similar character-traits in Paresh Babu. Monorama is as keenly hostile to Kamal as Lalita is affectedly unconcerned over Gora. Monorama seeks to gail her rival by winning her husband over, while Lalita seems to spite the vaunted friendship between Gora and Benoy by capturing the latter. Viewing broadly even the boorishly blunt Akshay has something in common with the blustering Panu Babu. The others congregate and feel helpless before the force of Kamal and Gora and the end comes in a mighty jerk in total dissolution in both instances.

The Brahmo Rabindranath brings them all into the common fold of the universal Brahmoism which rises above everything sectarian and ends all conflict of blood and descent, of convictions and usages of society thereby. The heretic in Sarat Chandra against society's accepted codes of living brought his story to a close by making her heroine prevail over the others who are forever badly shaken in faith.

Abinash takes on another wife, Harendra closes down his favourite Asram, the robust loyalty of Ashu Babu to his dead wife receives a rude shaking up, while even the incorrigible puritan in Akshoy undergoes an internal melting and betrays a colossal change and startles Kamal herself by making a piteous appeal to her to pay him a visit if ever she came back and to kindly remember him. The poor fellow is mightily humbled and presents his catalogue of utter helplessness with a wife with no pretensions to either beauty or culture, who at the age of nine was introduced into the family on the choice of her husband's father and has applied herself wholly to the daily cooking and the odd religious little functions that go on eternally by the dates on a calendar month, her own worship and prayer, and for ever looked upon her husband as the god of her life and beyond and refused taking any medicine when sick and argued that the water with which she bathed her husband's feet was good as a cure in all cases and if it failed, explained it by saying that the wife was destined to die. He cannot help disclosing to her the distressing feeling of wretched loneliness that possesses his mind at times.

In broad outlines and in the general framing up the two books show plans that lap and cover each other rather remarkably and if there be prominent deviations they serve to heighten the likeness all the more.

Anandamayee has no replica in the latter book while Nilima is a clear deviation and as a problem is an old favourite with Sarat Babu, who more than anybody else, has exposed the many outrages that woman have for long been suffering at the hands of society. The widow certainly presents a throbbingly delicate problem and betwixt her niche of respect in the family and the helpless status of a parasite living in squalid misery, neglect, ignominy and humiliation, with hope and all prospect of anything sweet shattered completely out of her the distance is not great.

Nilima is a hopeless tangle and while everyone will be acutely touched by the tenderness of her problem, her startling love for the decrepit and middle-aged Ashu Babu is more like an aberration than an ordered result of nature and is more strange than Harry Esmond's union with the mother of his jilting sweet-heart Beatrice.

After all has been said, it still remains for the critic to bring himself before those forces and cross-currents of culture that have formed the spiritual background of these two great creative artists of Bengal and also the manifold reaction of their titanic minds together with their own

interpretations of them. The old-world Shastric injunctions were seen by both to have lost their hold on the rising generation in whom the ever-lasting interrogation of irreverently curious youth tried either to discover the rock-foundations of social authority or to pierce the veil of the mystery that shrouds the sexual relation between man and woman. The conservatism in Gora in accepting the mould of the environment in which he found himself placed by circumstances is left behind by Kamal who never shrinks nor stops before anything as the very incarnation of feminine intrepidity. One is thus a psychological study and the other an analysis of ideals.

Rabindranath and Sarat Chandra are both high priests of rebellious innovation in some form or other, while the synthetic attitude of the former is contrasted by the love of unshackled freedom of the latter. In surveying the intellectual march of the nation, Sarat Chandra has successfully disturbed the placidity of the national mind over questions of intrinsic importance, his rude shaking meaning the birth of the new mind with new ideas.

PRODUCTION OF SOLAR EVAPORATION SALT OR KURKUTCH IN BENGAL

By KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L.
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In an article under the above heading published in the October issue of this journal Mr. Binaybhushan Das Gupta observes that the statement of Mr. Pitt made in his *Report on the Possibilities of Salt Production in Bengal*, 1932, Chapter II, para. 7, viz. "Scrutiny of the history of salt manufacture in Bengal and Orissa reveals the fact that on the coast of Bengal, salt has never been manufactured by the process of solar evaporation," is probably incorrect.

In the record room of the Collector of Cuttack there are 24 volumes of Salt Department Letters issued between 1806 and 1866 (the number of letters being 5,709) and 29 volumes of Salt Department Letters received between 1806 and 1859 (the number of letters being 4,694), in that of the Commissioner of Cuttack, 13 volumes, and in that of the Collector of Balasore, 23 volumes, relating to the manufacture of salt. I examined them casually and took only stray notes, and from these I am giving the relevant information in this note.

In Vol. IV of Letters, letter No. 574, dated the 28th March, 1816, there is a reference to the claim of the priests of the sanctuary of Jaggermunt for *kurkutch* salt produced from the Chilka Lake. In letter No. 664 there is a reference to "the exportation of Cuttack salt from the Chilka Lake to Sulkea." In a letter (serial No. 883) dated the 12th May, 1820, addressed to the Commissioner, the Salt Agent reported that "the manufacture of *kurkutch* salt at Lake Chilka was obstructed by the fullness of the Lake and consequent flooding of the salt *char* owing to the shallowness of the bar" and recommended the opening of the old bar at Manickpatan.

In a letter (serial No. 1336), dated the 15th December, 1823, the Salt Agent requested his assistant, T. Becher, at Pooree to proceed to the Lake to attend to advances to the *Molunghees* and persuade them to adopt the *abrah* system in preference to the present mode, "for although their salt is whitish, yet as it contains sand, only the lowest class use it in food—salt of the colour of common earth is preferred and purchased at an advance of 25%" "ask them to avoid sand in preparing the *kecarees* or evaporating pits—let them use dry-sifted earth or common ashes in heating and priming these pits instead of the present method of sprinkling dry sand over the clay—our *kurkutch* is only inferior to Madras Permit salt."

The substance of a letter (serial No. 1513) of the 23rd April, 1826, may be given thus below: Government did not like the manufacture of *kurkutch* salt at the Lake on account of its sandy character beyond the demand of the district and Sambalpur market. Mr. C. Becher, Salt Agent, submitted a proposal advantageous to Government without sacrificing the interests of thousands of poor *Molunghees* who had no other mode of obtaining livelihood.

There is a reference to *kurkutch* salt in a letter (serial No. 2465) of 21st April) 1832.

In a letter (serial No. 8182) of 1838 to the Commissioner the question is discussed "whether the discontinuance of the manufacture of *Abra* evaporation salt would promote the consumption of *Punga*."

In letter No. 1157 is mentioned a salt named "Cuttack Juggernaut Pershaud *kurkutch*," haul "*dooyam*" (first and second qualities.)

Letters received, serial No. 595 of 27th July, 1819, has a reference to *kurkutch* salt.

Serial No. 4012 (letter No. 60) of 5th August, 1854, para. 7: "Chilka Lake *aurungs* situated on north-east, east and south sides of the Chilka Lake—Bl'ossandpore and Hurridoss have, I believe, always produced *punga* salt, but in other *aurungs* between the Lake and the sea down to the Ganjam boundary the produce was generally *kurkutch*. *Punga* manufacture was introduced with difficulty by W. Dent in 1826, on the special condition that fuel and pots should be supplied by officers of Government..."

In the copy of a statement of salt sale in November 1834 at the Presidency we find mention, among other salts, of *abra kurkutch* and Gangasagore Solar Evaporation salts.

In the Balasore Record Room Vol. No. 22A (letters received by the Salt Agent, Northern Division, Cuttack, 1823-24) there is a copy of the statement of salt sale signed by R. Saunders, Secretary, Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, in September, 1824, in which we find the following :

	Quantity sold in mds.	Amounts produce in Sicca rupees.
Cuttack <i>punga</i> salt	53,000	1,99,800
Cuttack <i>kurkutch</i>	17,000	82,520

From the foregoing account it appears that in Orissa salt was produced by solar evaporation, and it was called *kurkutch* or *abra* (or *abra* evaporation salt) or *abra kurkutch*. At Gangasagore also salt was produced by solar evaporation. Owing to its inferior quality, the quantity produced was smaller than in the case of other kinds.

Miscellany

[Italian Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (B. K. SARKER)—Land Reform and Cultivator's Interests in Germany (B. K. SARKER)—The Soviet State and the Problem of Disarmament (B. K. SARKER)—State Planning in Nazi Economy (B. K. SARKER).]

ITALIAN INSTITUTE FOR INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION

At the meeting of the Council of Ministers held under the Presidency of the Head of the Government, a scheme, containing provisions for the establishment of an Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (*Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale*) was approved.

The new public corporation consists of two sections, the section for the Financing of Industry (*La Sezione Finanziamento Industriale*) and the Section of industrial demobilization (*Sezione Smobilizzazione Industriale*). The first of these supplements the work of the National Credit Institute (*Istituto Mobiliare Italiano*), by carrying out longer date operations in favour of private undertakings of Italian origin and solely for purposes of their reorganization on the technical, economic and financial sides. The second takes the place of the Institute of Liquidations (*Istituto di Liquidazione*), which is now suppressed. Each section has a legally independent existence, keeping its own accounts and owning separate funds.

The capital of the "*Sezione Finanziamento*" amounts to 100 million liras subscribed by the Deposits and Loans Bank, by the National Fund for Social Insurances and by the National Insurance Institute. This section has also the power to issue either inscribed or bearer bonds for a period of not less than 15 nor more than 20 years, repayable in proportion to the amount of the loans granted.

The Head of the Government and the Finance Minister have the authority to grant a State guarantee—though special decrees to be deposited with the Registration Court—for special series of bonds issued by the Institute whenever the Council of Ministers recognized that the corresponding operations effected thereby are of exceptional public interest.

The "*Sezione smobilizzazione industriale*" is successor in law to the *Istituto di Liquidazione*, now defunct. Hence there are transferred to it the original capital, the credits, the guarantees, the subscribed shares, the fees, the contributions, and all the privileges, rights and other prerogatives attaching to the Institute, as also all its liabilities. In addition, this section receives an annual subvention amounting to 85 million liras a year for a period of 20 years, beginning with the financial year 1933-34—*Rassegna Economica* (Naples).

LAND REFORM AND CULTIVATOR'S INTERESTS IN GERMANY

Socialists as a rule are more interested in industry and industrial workers than in agriculture and the cultivating class. With Hitler the attitude is quite the reverse. In his analysis the foundation of *Kultur* is to be found in the farmer and his activities. One of the most basic pieces of legislation under the Hitler regime has sought to protect the rights of the *Bauer* (cultivator) in the soil inherited by him. The taxation

on agricultural estates has been reduced. The farmers are thereby enabled to keep to their holdings. The sales of lands by cultivators which used to be a regular feature in the social economy of Germany under the previous regimes have automatically diminished in number. An important provision of the new Act, which for the time being is binding on Prussia, runs to the effect that no ancestral property can be sold on account of debts due to taxation. It is further provided in a general manner that no farm can be mortgaged beyond a certain measure. Besides, the hindrances to the sale of inherited holdings are defined in a positive manner. An item that has bearing on the profitableness of agriculture as an occupation is furnished in the Act by which the middlemen are forbidden to enjoy more than a fixed percentage as profits on the sale of agricultural produce. Cultivation has thus been rendered economically more worth while to the cultivator and he has greater interest in clinging to his soil than heretofore.—*Voelkischer Beobachter* (Munich).

THE SOVIET STATE AND THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT

On the 19th September, 1927, M. Stalin, talked with a delegation of American workmen. Answering a question in respect of possible forms of economic collaboration between the U. S. S. R. and other countries, M. Stalin said, "We are following a policy of peace and we are ready to join in an agreement on disarmament going as far as the complete abolition of permanent armies as we stated before the world at the Conference at Genoa." On the 5th August, 1928, M. Tchitcherin, Commissar of the People of Foreign Affairs, said to representatives of the press, "The fundamental object of Soviet international policy is the maintenance of peace. The proposition of our Government in respect to disarmament is a clear manifestation of that policy."

In an address on the 10th of December, 1928, M. Litvinov, now Commissar of Foreign Affairs said, "We are following this policy of peace not because of our weakness nor because of a feeling of sentimental pacificism, but because it is inherent in the very nature of the Soviet policy, because it corresponds to the interest of the masses of workers of the whole world."

On the 4th of December, 1929, M. Litvinov in a speech at the central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R. explained the foreign policy of the country as follows: "The basis of that policy today, as twelve years ago when the Soviet State was born, is the defence of the accomplishments of the revolution of October against foreign aggression, the intention to guarantee peaceful conditions for the development at home of socialism, and to preserve the workers of the world from the horrors and the burden of war. The Five-Year Plan is an additional and entirely objective evidence of our pacific tendencies. We want peace to carry it through."

Since then the U. S. S. R. has carried out its first Five-Year Plan of socialistic reconstruction and is going ahead with the Second. The principles of this plan were explained at the last session of the Central Executive Committee of the Union by the President of the Council of Commissars of the People, M. Molotov. In that portion of his speech of the 22nd of January, 1933, which he devoted to the international relations of the U. S. S. R., M. Molotov recalled to his hearers "the special attention and the peculiar sensitiveness" manifested by the U. S. S. R. on questions of peace and disarmament. After mentioning the efforts of the U. S. S. R. at the Conference of Geneva, and especially

its propositions in February, 1932, the chief of the Soviet Government concluded: "In this proposal of the Soviet delegation was contained the expression of the aspiration toward universal peace not only on the part of the peoples of the Union but also of the peoples of other countries."

A last question is that of the practical value of the steady pressure of peace of the U. S. S. R. during the fifteen years of its "militant pacifism." The best answer to this question was given by M. Litvinov in his address on the 10th December, 1928, "The Government of the Soviets has rendered great services to the cause of peace since, thanks to its initiative, the problem of general and complete disarmament has been placed before the world for the first time. Although the problem has not been solved as yet, the fact that it has been clearly stated will stimulate enormously both the will for peace of the peoples and their efforts to assure it."—*International Conciliation (Carnegie Endowment)*, New York.

STATE-PLANNING IN NAZI ECONOMY

1. *Restriction of Machinery.* The campaign against unemployment has led economic statesmanship naturally also to combat the sinister aspects of rationalization and technocracy. Machinery, labour-saving as it is, has never been an unmixed blessing from the standpoint of workingmen ever since the epoch of the "first industrial revolution" in England. The intensified use of machinery and the inventions of super-machinery and higher class tools and implements such as constitute the chief element in the rationalization effected during the epoch of the "second industrial revolution" through which the capitalistic adults of the world and along with them the entire world-economy are passing, are responsible in a great measure for the world depression and international unemployment. The measures calculated to rationalize the rationalization process itself, i.e., to slow up the pace at which improved machineries are to be introduced have therefore been known for some time to be an effective remedy for the present ills.

One such measure is embodied in the Nazi legislation in July 15, 1933, which forbids the installation of further machineries in the cigar industry. The installation of new machineries has been saddled with restrictions. It is to be observed that this prohibitive and restrictive legislation has reference to those undertakings only which in the course of the last few years have, on account of mechanization, succeeded in weeding hand-work or cottage industries virtually out of existence. The losses to which the mechanized undertakings are likely to submit on account of the restrictions and prohibition are to be made good by the Government.

The Hitler measure, promoting economy as it does in the use of machinery, is not intended to be an item in the campaign of boycott against machinery, inventiveness, engineering skill, technology or industrialisation. As indicated above, the legislation is designed simply to cry halt to the break-neck speed and the reckless manner in which machineries were being introduced in certain industries without reference to the social economy of the regions or classes affected thereby. Neither scientific discovery nor technical invention is in danger, nor is Nazi Germany going back to "pre-industrial" modes of production and distribution. The control of machinery or introduction of economy in the application of inventions by the combined industrial intelligence and will of the people is itself a factor in the latest phase of industrialization and

technocracy. It is as an index to this phase that Hitler's restrictions are to be understood.

2. *Trusts Curtailed.*—It is with the same object of rationalizing the rationalization process that the Hitler regime has commenced curbing the excessive consolidation tendencies embodied in the latter-day cartels and trusts. On July 15 the law has been modified in a manner that enables the Government without reference to the Indiciary to declare whether the concentration or amalgamation desired for in certain undertakings is prejudicial to the interests of workmen or consumers. In every business enterprise the limit is being thereby set to the size which it may be permitted to assume. Big "department stores" have already felt the pressure of the law and have been compelled to curtail their ambitions in regard to the enlargement of or addition to their different sections. In the interest of smaller restaurants, cafes, groceries, etc., which were being weeded out by large encyclopaedic establishments like the Wertheim, Tietz, Kadewe, etc., the latter have been deprived of the privilege of running the halls for food and drink. In all these instances the motive of Hitler statesmanship is not to penalize "large-scale production" as such but to proguratically hit upon just that size in business organization which is likely to yield the maximum of collective social welfare (*Gemeinwohl*) according to the circumstances of the moment or the region or the trade. One understands also that the abuse of over-capitalization or wastage involved in maldistribution of capital in diverse lines of investment is likely to be prevented by such a measure.

3. *The Control of Earnings.*—Indeed, the restrictions in regard to the use of machinery, the curtailment of the right to cartellize and amalgamate at one's sweet will, the limitations imposed on the size of undertaking and amount of capital to be invested,—all these interferences with *laissez-faire* economy are to be taken together as one complex in the comprehensive campaign against unemployment. As parts of the same campaign are to be taken the compulsory dismissals of married women from their posts and their replacement by unemployed husbands. Reduction of overtime work, the establishment of the 40-hour week and so forth belong likewise to the same complex. It is in the same spirit of finding employment for every able-bodied person that nobody is permitted to have more than one occupation. "Multiple earnings" have been abolished by law. Persons are even compelled to retire from their posts when it is found that they belong to families whose different members earn collectively more than is necessary for their total subsistence. The law against multiple earning is comprehensive enough to include earnings from annuities, pensions, subsidiary occupations, etc. Persons possessing such incomes, should they be substantial enough, are not permitted to enter the employment market as wage-earners.—*Technik und Wirtschaft* (Berlin).

B. K. SARKER

Reviews and Notices of Books

Amen: the Key of the Universe, by Leonard Bosman, The Dharma Press, 16, Oakfield Road, Clapton, London, E. 5.

This is a little book of a mystical type in which the author seeks to explain the fundamental principles of the Universe from the teachings of Eastern and Western philosophies, with special reference to the doctrine of Trinity as symbolised by the Egyptian Hebrew word *Amen* and the Sanskrit mystic syllable *Aum*. The one undifferentiated divine substance polarizes itself into the active principle of Life or Spirit and the passive principle of Matter or Nature. These two polarised factors are linked up again or "affinitised" by the original divine substance. Hence we have a factor expressing Power or Energy symbolised by God the *Father* and another factor corresponding to Passivity and Plasticity appropriately expressed by a feminine symbol, the Virgin Mother. These two factors of one indivisible Reality are brought in *relation* by a third factor symbolised by the *sonship* of Christ Jesus. These three factors of the primordial Trinity may be slightly differently conceived. For instance, the third factor, *viz.*, the *Relation* may also be conceived as the Holy Ghost of orthodox Christianity, or as the *Fohat* of the Buddhist.

These three factors of the Trinity are symbolised by the three mystic letters A M N of the Hebrew word *Amen* and A U M of the Sanskrit syllable of *Om*. The author adduces an array of facts mainly philological in support of the above interpretation.

A mystical vein runs throughout the book. Mysticism is somewhat dogmatic: it may explain but never cares to argue; the mystic illumination is the personal inalienable, incommunicable possession of the mystic soul and can only be understood by another soul sympathetically attuned to it. What we appreciate in the author is his freedom from the narrow grooves of certain sects of Orthodox Christianity and consequently his better understanding of the wisdom of the East. Thus he shows a deeper penetration—deeper than perhaps Maxmuller—into the inner meaning of the mystic syllable *Om* as unravelled in the *Chhandogya Upanishad*.

A. N. MUKHERJEE

The Story of Oriental Philosophy, by L. Adams Beck (E. Barrington) Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, New York.

In this charming volume the author presents the elements of enduring value in Asiatic culture in language which is perfectly clear and at the same time faithful to the spirit of the great seers of the East. Written primarily for the readers of the West, the book will prove of absorbing interest and possibly of much instruction to many educated readers of the East. The author writes from first-hand knowledge of his subject, and his personal realization of the value of Oriental Philosophy is noticeable throughout the volume. The discrimination and critical insight

he has shown in his choice of material and the subtle, intellectual sympathy which underlies his mode of presentation will be envied by many expositors of Oriental Philosophy. He has the rare psychological gift of viewing his subject from the standpoint of the consciousness of the East and has consequently immensely succeeded in his task of evaluation of the culture evolved by that consciousness.

The first eight chapters deal with the germs of Indian Culture as latent in the *Vedas* and developed in the *Upanishads*, culminating in the Vedanta System of Sankara which is the highest stratum of thought attainable by human speculation. In this connection the author gives his personal appreciation of the Yoga Philosophy and concludes with some of the finest passages from the *Bhagavad Gita* or the Song Celestial, passages which embody spiritual truths of the deepest moment and attainable only by the higher consciousness.

Chapters IX-XII give an account of the life of the Buddha and his Great Teaching about the way to Salvation. The trend of this philosophy, viz., the emphasis it lays on the ethical aspect of life, is well brought out. The author finds that in fundamentals, the philosophy of the Buddha is not different from that of the *Upanishads*.

Chapter XIII gives a very interesting account of Tibetan teaching on Life after Death. It illustrates how the thought-forms originated by our Karma in this life determine for us the kind of future existence which is in conformity with those thought-forms. It presents, in a way perfectly rational, the occult side of the Buddhism.

Chapter XIV presents the emotional mysticism of Persia, viz., the idealistic system known as Sufi-ism whose deepest conclusion runs parallel to that of the *Vedanta*.

Chapters XV-XVIII are devoted to the Philosophy of Chinese thinkers and the Social Organisation of China. The philosophy of Confucius was of a practical type concerned with social and political ends. Based as it is on the reverence for ancestors and on the necessity of conforming to the right observances in all social intercourse, the philosophy of Confucius has been responsible for the stability and conservation of the social organisation of China through long ages. In this connection the author instances two Chinese thinkers, Lao Tse and Chuang Tsu, who reached, probably quite independently of the Upanishadic thinkers, the mystical heights of the *Vedanta*. Chapter XXIX dwells upon Buddhist thought and art in China and Japan.

The concluding chapter entitled "Prophecy" gives a forecast as to the influence of Asiatic Culture, particularly the Culture of India—on Europe (Europe including America). The prophecy runs thus:

Europe will never profess one of the great Asiatic faiths, e.g., Vedantism or Buddhism. Such labels will probably disappear even in Asia, and the human mind will become more and more eclectic assimilating the best from all. "But since these great faiths are bridges, not barriers, I believe, they will encourage the passage of the thought of mankind across all the frontiers of faith."

"In all such matters India must lead the world for she made spiritual exploration her chief pre-occupation, and knowing where others guessed, charted the ways. Now that the narrow theology of the Jews is passing away, and a new aspect of Christianity developing in the West, I believe it will tend more and more to identify itself with the great Vedantic teachings, and the Utilitarian philosophies of Europe will plume themselves with the wings of the Himalayan eagles."

But no analysis, however detailed, will give an adequate idea of the contents of this book. It must be read very carefully and also sympathetically if the reader would understand and appreciate it. We

therefore heartily commend the book to the notice of all serious students of Oriental, particularly Indian, philosophies.

A. N. MUKHERJEE

Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum, by T. H. Gravely, D.Sc., and T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., of the Government Museum, Madras: being Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series, General Section, Vol. I, Pt. 2: Madras Government Press, 1932, Royal 8vo, pp. 144 + 32 half-tone plates. Price Rupees Five and Annas Eight.

Making images in metal is one of the distinctive artistic crafts of India which has had a vogue practically all over the land, although it was only in the extreme north, Nepal, and in the extreme south, in the Tamil land particularly, that this craft attained the dignity of a major art, rivalling stone and wood sculpture as a medium of artistic expression. Nepalese and South Indian metal images undoubtedly stand in the front line of Indian artistic achievement, and they hold the leading place beside the analogous metal work of Tibet (which is entirely of Nepal and old Bengal inspiration) Cambodia, Siam and Java, and of China and Japan. and can be compared with both the bronzes of ancient Greece and Rome and the bronzes and brasses of medieval Europe. South Indian bronzes however have a unique character of their own. The greatness of Gupta and early medieval art of Hindu India is continued with undiminished vigour in the South Indian bronzes, particularly of the Chola period (900-1300), and the tradition has not been allowed to die out even in our day. The mysticism of Hinduism, the cosmic and abstract as well as individual and intimate conceptions behind the figures of the Hindu deities, may be said to find their culminating expression in some of the South Indian bronzes. The depth and the sublimity, the strength and tenderness, the symbolism and the personal character that are present in the figures Siva and Uma, of Vishnu and Sri as outlined in literature—Sanskrit and Tamil—have been worthily rendered in form in these South Indian bronzes, after the stupendous sculptures of the Gupta period and those at Mahabalipuram, Ellora and Elephanta. Nothing finer and nobler than some of the South Indian Siva and Vishnu figures, and figures of South Indian Saints, can be imagined, and one great gift of South Indian bronze work to the artistic heritage of man is the perfected figure of Siva Nataraja—Siva the Dancer—as for instance in the well-known Madras Museum image—the figure which drew the admiration of Rodin and which has obtained such a high place in the estimation of all cultured men.

These bronzes are quite numerous, and in addition to the representative collections in the Madras and Colombo museums, hundreds are found in South Indian temples and in private collections. The literature on the subject, however, is not so extensive, and, with the exception of O. C. Gangoly's well-known "South Indian Bronzes" (Calcutta, 1915) there is no work giving an exhaustive treatment of it.

The present work forms a valuable addition to the small literature on an important branch of Indian art, and is sure to be received with welcome by all students and lovers of the art of our country. It is a monograph of importance, ably written and well-illustrated, for which the authorities of the Madras Museum can be congratulated, as much as the general public which will be using the work. Dr. Gravely and Mr. Ramachandran have done their task with befitting efficiency and thoroughness. The latter scholar is a young archaeologist who has already made his mark as a writer on Indian antiquities. The monograph of pages 140 is full of

important information, and forms a good handbook to the art and iconography of South Indian Hindu images. After dwelling upon the history of the Madras Museum collection which is described in the book, and touching upon previous writings on the subject, the authors have described the iconography of the images as well as their archaeology. Following the iconographic sequence noted by M. Jouveau-Dubreuil in the stone images of the Tamil land, Messrs. Gravely and Ramachandran discuss in detail the question of a similar sequence or development in the bronze image also, and present their conclusions in tabular form, where the historical development can be seen at a glance. After discussing the Polonnaruwa images from Ceylon which belong to the Chola period, the authors give an account of the images and their find-spots district by district, and this is followed by the descriptive catalogue proper, in which the images are fully described with reference to the plates illustrating them. These plates, although executed in half-tone, naturally enough, form a main attraction (with many people the chief attraction) of the book, and here one will find reproduced some of the masterpieces of Indian bronze sculpture. We may mention particularly the following as being perfect specimens of their kind: Vishnu (Plate I, Plate II, 1), Srinivasa (Plate III, 2), Yoganarasimha (Plate V, 2), Hanuman (Plate VI, 2, 3), Rama, Sita and Lakshmana (Plate VII), Venugopala with consorts (Plate X), Chandrasekhara (Plate XII, 1, 2), Somaskanda Siva (Plate XV, 1), and the famous series of Natarajas (Plates XVI XVIII and Plate XXI, 2), besides a few more, including the charming Parvati illustrated on Plate XXI. An interesting group is the series of images of Venugopala with his two consorts Rukmini and Satyabhama. They have been discovered comparatively recently, and are not so widely known: in the tall *svette* figures of Krishna and his consorts, in some points of dress and ornamentation, as well as their general style they appear rather different from the common South Indian images we know. They have been found in Guntur district, which is within the Telugu country, and were evidently executed by Telugu-speaking artists. The contribution of the Telugu people (whose ancestors created Amaravati) to the art of India in general and of South India in particular has not been enquired into, and we hope some scholar in the Andhra-land will take up the question soon. Some fine old paintings by Telugu painters are among the artistic treasures of the Madras Museum, and in all likelihood in these beautiful Venugopala images we have to note a distinct contribution of the Andhra people to the medieval art of India.

This Bulletin adds to our knowledge of Indian art, and provides us with a very acceptable series of reproductions. We hope it will have its proper recognition among scholars and art-lovers, and we look forward to similar other bulletins coming out of the Madras Museum in the near future, enhancing the reputation of its officers in the scientific world.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

The Garden of the East, by N. V. Thadani. Published by the Bharat Publishing House, Karachi, pp. 127.

In this volume Mr. Thadani has tried to reproduce the spirit of Persian poetry of a glorious epoch in English verse composed by himself. There are great names in the history of Persian poetry and, though their works are not quite similar in all respects, there is nevertheless a well-recognisable under-current of thought and feeling in most of them. Their literary devices, imagery and motif are almost identical in consequence. The arrangement of a book of verse or prose into a series of 'Gardens,' for example, was common amongst Persian writers;—Sa'di's *Gulistan*

(Rose Garden) and *Bustan* (Orchard), Mu'in-uddin Jawani's *Nigaristan* (Picture Gallery) and Jami's *Baharistan* are well-known illustrations, and Mr. Thadani is probably indebted to this tradition for his title of his book of poems. But apart from extrinsic matters like this, the soul of a large body of Persian poetry of this age is to be traced to the form of mystical philosophy called Sufism. Mr. Thadani has attempted to introduce to readers of English poetry the best of the Sufi poets—Rumi, Hafiz, Jami and Zeb-un-nissa, a daughter of Emperor Aurangzebe, but he has not forgotten the philosophical sceptic Omar Khayyam, the great epic poet Firdausi, the romantic story-teller Nizami, the greatest dialectic poet of Persia, Sa'di, and the two famous Indian writers of Persian verse, Amir Khosrou and Urfi.

Mr. Thadani's poems are not, as he himself points out, translations. He has tried in his own way to recreate the spirit and the outlook of each of these poets. He has certainly a grasp of the technique of versification and the ample variety of his verse-structure is highly creditable to him. Clearness of thought and an easy flow of expression are his most remarkable characteristics. He has also the poet's ear for music and a genuine poetic faculty. The difficulties he had to contend with were considerable, and it is no disparagement of his abilities to say that he has not been able to overcome them all. The range of poetry he has tried to revive for the modern reader is considerable and the main note of no two poets is ever the same. There are suitable and nice distinctions between poets of the same school and there is also difference between the styles and thoughts of the same author at different stages of his literary career. To take the case of Jalal-ud-din Rumi, the greatest Sufi poet of Persia, the gulf that separates the *Masnavi* from the *Divan* is wide enough. The former, as has been pointed out by critics is like a majestic river, calm and deep, while the latter is a foaming torrent that leaps and plunges in the ethereal solitudes of the hills. Again, Rumi has to be distinguished from Hafiz, another great Sufi poet who is described by Fitz Gerald as the most Persian of the Persians, the most intensely lyric poet of Persia whose style is flawless with its music, delicate rhythm and the beat of the refrain. It is impossible to reproduce such suitable distinctions through the medium of a foreign tongue and Mr. Thadani is here certainly entitled to indulgence. What he has achieved is not inconsiderable and has laid lovers of poetry under a deep obligation to him.

MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA

The Text-book of Modern Indian History, by S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Dip Ed. (Oxon.), Head of the Department of Indian History, Patna College, and K. K. Dutta, M.A., P.R.S., Lecturer, Patna College. Demy 8vo, xvi + 227 + 176 and f. in two parts. Bihar Publishing House, Patna, 1932.

This volume of nearly 400 pages, divided in two parts, written by Dr. S. C. Sarkar and Mr. K. K. Dutta proposes to give us an account of the great happenings in India during the period which extended from 1526 to the administration of Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of Bengal. The first part divided into four chapters, each one divided into several sections, discusses the beginnings of the Modern Age in India, the political condition of India at the time of Babur's invasion, the rule of Sher Shah, the consolidation, expansion and the zenith of the Mughul Empire, Mughul Imperialism, the relations between the Mughuls and the Marathas, Sikhs and Jats. In the second part we have the account of the advent of European traders in India, the history of the rivalry of the

English and the French, the break-up of the Mughul Empire and the gradual rise of the East India Company as an Indo-British power.

The object of the authors in writing the book has been to draw up a college text-book of Indian History 'comparatively free from inadequate documentation,' 'persistence in formal chronological presentation of matter' and the 'neglect of critical historical judgment.' In respect of the first two objections they have been eminently successful. The average student would get useful information within the narrow compass of this volume and an amount of material which can only be obtained in voluminous treatises which describe in detail the events of a particular reign or centre their attention upon one particular topic or event. The innumerable references to original works at the bottom of every page, helps the more intelligent or inquisitive student to go to the original sources or the most up-to-date contribution of recent researchers. In regard to critical judgment much is to be said in favour of the book, though there is room for differences of opinion on many topics. Thus the attempt to regard 1526 as a landmark in Indian History and to mark the dawn of the modern age in India and to find a connection between the activities of Indian religious teachers and the teachers of the Reformation, is rather unsubstantiated by facts. In regard to the estimate of Sivaji (pp. 194-198) the authors' summing-up is unbiassed and fair, though this cannot be said to be the same in regard to that of Aurungzeb. The authors have carefully pointed out the merits and demerits of that great Emperor but while they describe him as a 'colossal failure' or the 'worst terrible ruler of an empire composed of many creeds and races,' they got out of their way to denounce a man without enquiring into the real causes of the downfall of the Mughul Empire. Similarly in their estimate of Warren Hastings, the authors are to be complimented when they point out the absence of foresight in him and his lack of scruples, but much of the value of their criticism is taken away when they attempt to justify his action on the ground that 'hardly a dominion was built but by some measure of it.'

On the whole, the book is well written and will serve the purpose of those for whom it is intended. The reader gets a fine narrative written in a clear style and in easy language and we recommend it to every student of Indian History

N. C. B.

A Brief History of Sanskrit Literature (Vedic and classical) by Kokileswara Sastri, Vidyaratna, M A., published by U N. Dhar & Co., 58, Wellington Street, Calcutta. Price Rupee one and annas eight only.

We have read this book with great pleasure. Though it professes to be a summary of the standard works of Macdonell, Keith and Winternitz and others on the subject, it gives much new information and is quite up-to-date. Not only does the book give a birds'-eye view of all the departments of Sanskrit literature, but it has separate chapters on Foreign Relations and Dynasties of India and a brief account of Ancient Indian Dynasties which will be read with pleasure and profit by students and laymen alike. In the chapter entitled Chronological Notices of Sanskrit Authors and their Works, all the important authors and their works from the second century B. C. onwards have been mentioned. This book written in a very clear style, avoiding needless controversies and presenting only the salient facts of the History of Sanskrit literature—classical, epic and Vedic—is eminently fitted to be prescribed as a text-book for the B.A. candidates of the Indian Universities. Prof. Sastri deserves the thanks of the student community for this excellent

volume and we are confident this book will be extensively used by those for whom it is intended. In the next edition, which, we have no doubt, will be soon called for, we hope the learned author will make use of diacritical marks which will be of immense help to the reader in pronouncing the names.

K. C. CHATTERJEE

Gleanings

THE ECLIPSE OF DEMOCRATIC CIVILISATION: THE PRIMARY CAUSE

Democracy to-day seems to be on its last gasp. An extraordinary slump has overtaken not only Liberalism, but individual liberty and democracy. They have been replaced over a large part of the world by the very essence of barbarism and dictatorship. What is the reason of this violent reaction of the present? How is one to explain the sense of frustration which has come over the democratic world at the very moment of liberty's greatest victory? The Marquess of Lothian makes an illuminating attempt in the pages of the "Contemporary Review" to find out a probable reason of the eclipse of democratic civilisation.

"The ultimate cause of these things, I venture to think, is just one thing—international anarchy. It is not that the principles of liberty are wrong or out of date, that mankind has outgrown them, that they are not the best foundation for human progress, but that at present it is impossible to develop or even to apply them either in politics or in economics, because of anarchy among the nations. Most people, no doubt, will give a formal assent to the thesis that our troubles are largely caused by the anarchy of the modern world and by the excessive nationalism, political and economic, to which it gives rise. But I am not sure that everybody realises how far-reaching are its effects and that it is impossible to get rid of our troubles until it is overcome. Liberty and anarchy have always been incompatibles. Anarchy has always meant the temporary triumph of violence or dictatorship. We see it in the rise of violence and dictatorship on every side to-day. Liberty has only flourished as anarchy has been replaced by the reign of law.

"But why, it may be asked, has international anarchy suddenly become so much more fatal to a free civilisation than it was in the nineteenth century? It is partly, of course, because of the prodigious shrinking of the globe since the beginning of this century, through the motorcar and the aeroplane and wireless, so that the consequences of anarchy for the world as a whole are as fatal to-day as were the consequences of anarchy for America between 1781-1789, for the British Isles before the Unions, and for Germany before Bismarck. But it is mainly because during the Victorian era there was a peculiar combination of circumstances, which temporarily obscured the effect of the underlying anarchy and gave the post-Reformation world a temporary respite from war. These circumstances were exhaustion after the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the extraordinary predominance of Great Britain as a world power, and world free trade—circumstances which made both for international peace and for unprecedented world economic expansion. But this

condition was an inherently unstable equilibrium. It has been gradually undermined by the rise of rival world powers, by new methods of transportation and communication and by the growth of national protection. It crashed in ruins in 1914, as every system, ultimately based on anarchy, is bound to crash in ruins.

"The Great War was the inevitable consequence of international anarchy, and it is that war which has been the immediate cause of the intensification of nationalism both in politics and economics, the excessive burden of debt, the decline of democracy and liberty, the rise of the dictatorships, the nightmare of fear and resentment which broods over the world. And it must be perfectly obvious to every thinking person to-day that if the present anarchy continues the competition in armaments will revive, military alliances will replace covenants to renounce war, democracies will increasingly give place to dictatorships, domestic freedom will more and more disappear under the pressure to be prepared and powerful in case of war, the international obstructions to trade and intercourse will multiply, and that war, made far more terrible by aeroplane and gas, will eventually break out both in Europe and the Far East, and gradually engulf the whole world.

"This is not said in any spirit of pessimism. Quite the reverse. We are slowly being driven, by suffering, disaster and frustration, as well as by foresight and wisdom, to see that the only way in which nations can avoid constant and recurrent war and preserve a free civilisation is by ending international anarchy, and that means bridging nationalism with some new form of federation. Nothing short of the principle of federation—the creation of a common government for common purposes—will end in anarchy. Nothing short of it will end that malaise which exists to-day in the conflict of loyalties which finds expression, for instance, in the famous pacifist resolution of the Oxford Union—a conflict which will only be resolved when pacifism is seen to mean, not a mere negative opposition to the bloody and senseless destruction of war, but positive loyalty to world law and world government, complementary to, and not conflicting with, loyalty to national law and national government.

"I do not mean by this that world federation is in sight to-day. What I mean is that we shall only begin to escape from the paralysis in which we stand when we face the fact that the League of Nations, good as it may be as an interim step, is not and cannot be enough, and that the essential and vital step out of anarchy, is that progressive and democratic nations should be prepared to federate with other like-minded civilised nations, pool their armaments, and create a common economic system within the union. Then our thinking will become really constructive once more. M. Briand, and many others, have thought that a federation of Europe was the only cure for Europe's ills. It may be that the free nations may be forced to some form of federation as the only method of resisting a continuation of dictatorships. It may be that the British Commonwealth or the English-speaking world may point the way. It may start large or small and grow by accretion. The vital condition is that the union should not be based on religion or race, but should include nations which have been sovereign and diverse races and peoples."

MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST AND INFLUENCE ON HINDUISM

In a monograph on India included in "The Open Court" (devoted to the science of Religion, Religion of science and the extension of the

Religious Parliament Idea) appears the following on the *Influence of Muhammadan Conquest on Hinduism*. In a brief compass, the author brings out very ably the religious action and reactions following the Muhammadan invasion.

"Islam never uprooted or transformed Hinduism, and Hinduism has never been able to absorb Islam. Islam was forced, against its declared policy of giving no quarter to the Infidel, to compromise with Hinduism. Except in the case of Sikhs no real fusion ever took place between Islam and Hinduism. The Sikhs, who number about three millions, began in the Punjab as a puritanical, reforming religious sect whose doctrines contained both Hindu and Muhammadan elements. Theistic in tendency they rejected image worship and caste and the Brahman priesthood, they refused to accept either the *Koran* or the sacred books of the Hindus, and compiled a sacred book of their own, the *Granth*. Muhammadan persecution transformed them into an armed sect, a church militant, and eventually into a nation and a political power. They have always remained independent of Islam and of Hinduism, but with increasingly greater leanings toward Hinduism than towards Islam.

"Large numbers of Hindus, many forcibly, were converted to Islam. Islam is strongest and most vigorous in the north-western part of India, although more than half of the population of Bengal is Muhammadan. The policy of forcible conversion seems to have been stronger there than anywhere else. In the Deccan where persecution was particularly severe, in spite of frequent attempts by the Muhammadan ruler to exterminate the Hindu population, the population continues to be Hindu in the main. It is doubtful whether more than ten per cent. of the present eighty million Muhammadans are descendants of Muhammadan invaders. Hinduism has always maintained an intransigent attitude towards Hindus who have been defiled through conversion, even though that defilement was involuntary. Only recently has there developed a more liberal policy which might allow converted Hindus to be received back into the fold.

"The three centuries of Muhammadan conquest resulted in great destruction of Indian art and architecture, and of Hindu and Buddhist manuscripts, and the virtual annihilation of the old Hindu nobility and ruling class except in Rajputana. The four centuries of Muhammadan rule left little that was really constructive. Moreland remarks of the Muslim empire in India, "Its worst incidents were the repression of individual energy, and the concentration on a barren struggle to divide, rather than to increase the annual produce of the country. This was the '*Dramudra Hereditas*,' the legacy of loss, which Moslem administration left to their successors, and which is so far from final liquidation." Lane-Poole remarks that the most important effects of Muhammadan rule have been the formation of a new vernacular (Urdu which is a fusion of Hindi with Persian and Arabic and Turki elements), a new architecture and art, a few provinces which are still under Muslim rule, and a large Muslim minority which forms such a difficult element in the present political situation."

AIR TRANSPORT AND SPREAD OF DISEASE

Julian Huxley, the celebrated scientist, contributes to the pages of "The Modern Thinker," a timely and provoking article on the above

subject. The applications of science, he seems to say, need not always benefit us. Sometimes the changes they bring about may lead to serious harm. Improved methods of transport has facilitated the growing spread of diseases, and airplanes in particular is a menacing carrier of such calamities. "Too often the harm is not recognised until after the event, but sometimes it can be foreseen, and then it may be possible to guard against it. The only trouble is that the people who foresee the harm are generally not the people whose business it is to guard against it." He continues:

"The spread of yellow fever is a case in point where we can see possible harm ahead. Pure medical science, just over thirty years ago, showed that yellow fever is transmitted by a particular brand of mosquito. Applied medical science, aided largely by Rockefeller funds, proceeded to take advantage of this knowledge and clean up a number of the world's yellow fever centres, banishing the disease outright from some, and reducing it in others. Now comes another branch of applied science, in the form of improved transport facilities in general and airplanes in particular, and threatens to spread the disease to regions which it has never yet reached, but where all the conditions are set for its blazing through crowded populations like a flame through dry stubble. But meanwhile the knowledge supplied by medical science has made it possible for us to foresee the danger and, if we choose, to prevent it.

"So far it has not managed to gain a foothold in the great continent of Asia. But that it might manage to do so is the danger now threatened by the improved methods of transport. All that is needed is the introduction of a few human beings carrying the parasites in their blood. The other link in the chain of the disease is already there; the yellow fever mosquito abounds through the warmer parts of the Asiatic continent. If the parasite once gained a footing, conditions are appallingly favourable for its rapid spread. For one thing, it has now been discovered that other creatures besides man, notably many kind of monkeys, can take the disease. Then the human population in many parts such as India and China, is much denser than in the original home of the diseases; most of the people are illiterate, live unhygienic lives, and are full of superstitions and prejudices which would make quarantine or any proper measures of mosquito-control extremely difficult. Asia in fact, is rather like a powder magazine waiting for a spark. If the disease did arrive, and began to spread, it is hard to see what would prevent its causing one of the most devastating epidemics in human history, before which the Black Death and the Spanish influenza might well come to look insignificant. Luckily the sea voyage from any infected area is too long for patients to remain infective to mosquitoes, and on modern ships water is no longer carried in open butts where mosquitoes can breed. The chief danger seems to lie in the possible spread of the disease across the African continent from west to east and thence by easy stages in native vessels along the coast to India.

"The greater degree of human movement due to the encouragement of trade, is already having its effects. In the years since the War, yellow fever has already spread about eight hundred miles further inland from the west coast. There still remains a huge tract of jungle for it to pass before it reaches the more populous open country of East Africa; but motor roads and air lines are coming into use everywhere, and these are a real danger. Not only do they make it much more likely for human yellow fever carriers to get across, but they give new opportunities to the mosquitoes. Mosquitoes like shady places and the interior of a closed car or an airplane offers an attractive refuge.

"It is worth trying to imagine what might happen if yellow fever really got a hold in India or China. The disease seems to be at its most virulent when it attacks a population which has not previously been exposed to it. It is not uncommon for four out of every five patient to die, and in Rio de Janeiro in 1898, out of every twenty who took the disease, only one escaped. Proper treatment can reduce the danger, but proper treatment is not likely to be available in remote Asiatic villages. Strict quarantine can prevent it from spreading, but, in many parts of Asia it is not likely that rigid quarantine would be either enforced or obeyed. It has been suggested by some authorities that the tropical fever called dengue, which is rather like a mild yellow fever in some way protects against infection with yellow fever; but recent research gives no support to this idea. This disease would in all probability spread over tropical and sub-tropical Asia, especially round the coasts and up the rivers, flaring up into violent epidemics in favourable years, smouldering dangerously at other times. Millions of people would die until, after some centuries, selection would have left a race of survivors somewhat more resistant to the parasite. Meanwhile trade would be disorganized, and white men would venture there at their peril as they did to Sierra Leone and other parts of the west coast of Africa in the bad old days when this was called the White Man's Grave, before science and sanitation had got to work. It would be a disaster of the first magnitude, and would divide the world into two sectors—a plague-stricken East and a West striving to protect itself by isolation and quarantine."

JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY.

Lt.-Col. H. St. Clair Smallwood, F.R.G.S., contributes to the "Asiatic Review" (October, 1933) a brief article on Japan's foreign policy which will provide a useful summary on the subject.

"The countries with which Japan's foreign policy is chiefly concerned are China, Russia, America, and Great Britain.

"With Russia in the recent past there has been the nervousness engendered by Japan's fear of Bolshevism and a few incidents chiefly connected with the Chinese Eastern Railway. Negotiations now proceeding will probably result in the Chinese Eastern Railway becoming the property of the Manchukuo Government or the South Manchurian Railway. This will probably remove the most fruitful source of friction. One of the results of these negotiations will be that Vladivostok as the terminus only of the Ussuri-Amur Railway will lose its importance and South Manchurian and Korean ports gain correspondingly. It is reasonable to expect that the wide gauge of the Chinese Eastern will be altered to conform to the standard gauge of the South Manchurian lines. It is also likely that Harbin will become less Russian and more Japanese. Land purchases by Japanese in Harbin have been made for some time past. Perhaps the foregoing may be rather outside Japanese foreign policy, but they may be amongst the results of Japan's influence on the Government of Manchukuo. If Japan's interest increases in Manchukuo one feels she will regard with complacency the downward thrust of Soviet Russia into Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan.

"Japan's policy in China is surely one of peace; she cannot regard with indifference the loss of her markets there. True these have been largely replaced by her successful penetration into other Eastern spheres, particularly India and the Dutch Indies, but China's four hundred millions of people, with their immense potential purchasing power, must be ever

present in the mind of commercial Japan. Peoples cannot be forced to purchase goods presented to them on the end of a bayonet, and trade must follow the flag of friendship rather than the flag of war. There is in China a movement to bring about a cessation of the strained relations between the two countries, and when these efforts bear fruit Japanese trade will no doubt revive in China proper. A suggestion has been made that Japan is prepared to give up her extra-territorial rights in exchange for a guaranteed ending of the boycott. If this happens it might create an awkward situation for those Powers who still have extra-territorial rights.

"In North China, where many of the inhabitants have relations and friends in Manchukuo, the enmity for Japan is giving way to understanding and an appreciation of the more settled conditions obtaining in that country. This feeling may be gradually extending to the centre and south of China, but it must be remembered that for the Kuomintang to stretch out the hand of friendship to Japan would involve a violent change of policy and consequent loss of face. I have no doubt that there is a section of the Nanking Government who would welcome a *rapprochement* with Japan, and which Japan urgently desires, but as against this there is a political group which maintains itself in power by appealing to the patriotism and anti-Japanese feelings of the people; also there are professional propagandists and employees of the anti-Japanese boycott movement. Japan's policy is to arrive at a peaceful solution of their disagreements with China by direct negotiation. It has long been my view that "assistance" rendered in negotiations between these two peoples is a hindrance rather than a help. These two great Oriental peoples can surely more easily understand each other better than can we Westerners.

"There is no doubt that Japan means to uphold the independence of Manchukuo. Though it has so far failed to absorb Japan's surplus population, it certainly continues to supply Japan with the essential raw materials of coal, iron, and soya.

"Japan's policy in Manchukuo was summed up for me the other day by a Japanese official in the words, "Peace and the open door." Peace is most certainly the spear-head of her policy—if such an expression is not a contradiction in terms—but there is an uneasy feeling abroad that the door to trade will be held a little further open to Japan than to other nations. Though Japan has never made any official pronouncement to the effect, it seems probable that business will largely be conducted in Manchukuo through the Japanese as intermediaries, rather on the compradore system as in China proper. It is, however, difficult to be didactic on this point while the presence of banditry holds up the development of the country and the increase of trade.

"In 1935, when the revision of naval pacts must come up for consideration, there is no doubt that Japan will voice her dissatisfaction with the ratio of 5:5:3. How America will view the naval parity proposals that Japan is likely to make, it is difficult to say, but it is reasonable to suppose that naval parity is likely to meet with less opposition in England than in America. America may look forward with uneasiness to the time when she abandons the Philippine Islands to Philippine self-government, but it appears clear that Japan will be content with nothing less than parity.

"Japan's policy with relation to the mandated islands is quite firm in that she contends the mandates were given to her by the Treaty of Versailles and were only confirmed by the League of Nations. It is by no means certain that the League contemplates a change or removal of mandate, but it is certain that any such *démarche* on the part of the

League will be strenuously resisted by Japan, who will contend that her mandate can only be terminated by a revision of the Treaty of Versailles. It is not easy to foretell what the attitude of the League will be to a mandatory country which ceases to be a member, as will be the case with Japan in 1935.

"It may be said in conclusion that the more one studies the foreign policy of Japan the more reasons there are for believing that her future policy must be a peaceful one. The only way she can keep her teeming industrial millions employed is by devoting her attention to her growing markets. A warlike policy cannot help her in this direction, and her present undoubtedly increasing success in the world's markets is likely to convince her of the extreme importance to the economic life of her country of peace and industry. In order to keep the peace of the world a sympathetic understanding of Japanese difficulties in England is most desirable. Japan's statement of her own case is not always well put. The Japanese are a proud and reticent people; facile speech and easy propaganda are not their strong points. Commercial competition does not oil the wheels of understanding, and the present loss of British markets to the Japanese is bound to make for hard feeling."

RECENT COLLECTIONS IN THE ORIENTAL SECTION: BRITISH MUSEUM

We call the following from the latest issue (Vol VIII. No. 1) of "The British Museum Quarterly"

Two Indian Paintings.

"The National Art-collections Fund has presented to the Oriental section of the Department of Prints an Indian painting of the Mughal School. This represents the Emperor Jahangir sitting in a small pavilion in a courtyard, and giving audience. He is embracing an envoy, an elderly man, who bends to kiss his hand. At the left is a group of people, among whom a man in European dress is noticeable. Miniatures of the time of Jahangir are comparatively rare, and this, though unfortunately damaged in the lower right portion, is a welcome addition to the small series in the Department. Its interest is heightened by the introduction of the European, whom it is tempting to identify with Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador from James I who was first received by Jahangir in January, 1616, and who remained in India till February, 1619. The only known portrait of Roe, in the National Portrait Gallery, was painted many years later, some time after 1636 (he lived to 1644); and allowing for the difference in years and a different fashion of wearing the pointed beard, one can see a real resemblance in the shape of the face and a certain spirited carriage of the head. As in the other portraits in the miniature, the artist has set the eyes a little obliquely in the face. The blond colouring precludes the Portuguese; and though this might possibly be a portrait of William Hawkins, an earlier envoy, not from the king but the East India Company, it seems most likely that it represents Roe, who was so frequently and favourably received by Jahangir.

"Another Indian painting has been acquired as a gift from the Keeper of the Department. The subject is a 'Prince visiting a holy man among his disciples,' and the painting presents some unusual features. While the landscape back ground shows conventions of the early Mughal School and reminiscences of Persian painting, the figures are in Rajput style. It seems to date from some time late in the seventeenth century."

A Sculpture from Indo-China.

"The stone sculpture illustrated on Pl. V has been presented to the Museum by the National Art-collections Fund. It is part of a many-headed statue of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, commonly known in Indo-China as Lokeshvara (Lord of the World); and it can be identified as such by the small image of Buddha in the tiara of the topmost head.

"There are five heads on this fragment, and it may be that the tale of them is complete as there is a five-headed Avalokitesvara in Buddhist iconography. On the other hand, the more usual number is eleven when the Bodhisattva is represented as many-headed.

"The sculpture is of sandstone. The facial features are characteristic of Khmer art in its mature period, about the twelfth century. Its provenance is not known, but persons familiar with Indo-Chinese sculpture regard it as a provincial piece, perhaps from Eastern Siam, and not as an example of the metropolitan art of Angkor."

Two Illustrated Assamese Manuscripts.

"Two Assamese manuscripts which have been lately acquired by the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts are of very considerable interest. The older of the two is a copy of the *Dharma-purana*, a metrical manual of Hindu religious doctrine and practice according to one of the churches which worship Vishnu in his incarnation as Krishna. It is written on thin smooth sheets of wood, 23 inches in width by 6½ inches in height, the borders being coloured red, and was copied in the Saka year 1657, corresponding to A.D. 1735-36. The folios run to 179, but a few are missing. The book is profusely illustrated throughout with coloured drawings in a local style of art. Most of these are of somewhat mediocre quality; but a few of them, obviously by a different master, are of real merit, and are designed to illustrate not themes of Hindu religion but the life of the patron of the book, who was no less a personage than Sib Singh (Siva-simha), the contemporary Ahom King of Assam. The reign of this monarch lasted from 1714 until his death in 1744. During the life of his first queen, Phulesvari, he achieved a rather bad eminence by persecuting the worshippers of Vishnu-Krishna, both he and his consort being ardent devotees of Siva. Phulesvari died about 1731, and Sib Singh then married her sister Ambika. During the latter's reign, which ended with her death about 1738, more tolerance seems to have been shown to the church of Vishnu-Krishna. Our *Dharma-purana* bears evidence to this change of attitude. A manual of Vishnuite religion, it explicitly claims as its patrons Sib Singh and Ambika. On fol. 2a we have a picture of Sib Singh on his throne graciously receiving a copy of the book; and on fol. 179b we see him on his throne 'examining the *Dharma-purana*,' as the title below tells us, while behind him sits Ambika with the heir-apparent on her knee. Fol. 173a (Plate VI) presents the royal pair riding in procession. On fol. 2b (Plate VII) is seen a dark handsome woman, with her hair dressed in the high chignon (*jata*) affected by holy persons, who is seated on a couch, and holds in her lap the heir-apparent, she is Rajapatesvari, 'Mistress of the King's Diadem,' the guardian genius of the throne. She reappears on fol. 3a, where she is seen sitting, again with the young prince in her lap, and conversing with Sib Singh.

The other book is also an extremely rare religious poem, written on similar sheets of wood, which are 25½ inches wide and 8½ inches in height; the date of copying is the Saka year 1768 (A.D. 1836). It is the *Brahma-khanda*, the first section of the *Brahma-vaivarta-purana*, which is an

Assamese metrical adaptation by one Durgacharya, who seems to be otherwise unknown to fame. It is likewise abundantly illustrated with coloured drawings of a local Eastern school. These, despite their crudity, have some merit and more interest, as they show a slight but distinctly recognisable influence from Burma. A quaint anachronism in them is their frequent representation of the troops of soldiers attending upon kings, who *are clad not in the garb of ancient Ind but in uniforms faithfully copied from those used by the British Army at the time, with shukos and muskets.*

At Home and Abroad

Dutch Universities

Henceforth, foreign students will be forbidden to enrol in Dutch Universities and technical schools as a result of a Government Bill passed by the Lower House.

The purpose of the measure is to ensure that Dutch students are not crowded out by foreigners.

Allahabad University

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has accepted the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor to address the convocation of the Allahabad University this year. The convocation will be held on November 25.

Italian University Delegate

Professor Father Don Giuseppe Capra, Professor of Political Economy and Geographical Exploration, at the University of Perugia and Rome, arrived in Mandalay in September last. He has been sent by the Italian Government for studying Burma and her resources and for securing closer relationship between Burma and Italy.

He visits Bhamo, Maymyo, Shan States, Siam, Indo-China and Singapore, *en route* to Italy.

Asiatic Society of Bengal

On January 15, next year, the Asiatic Society of Bengal attains its 150th birthday, and arrangements are now being made to celebrate the event in a befitting manner.

At 5-80 in the evening of January 15, there will be a *conversazione* in the Indian Museum to be followed by a banquet in the Hall of the Society. At the conclusion of the banquet a special meeting will be held for the election of 150th anniversary honorary members, and to receive addresses from learned societies in various parts of the world.

In connection with the centenary celebration in 1884 a volume depicting the progress of Letters and Science, during the preceding 100 years, was published, and it has been decided to undertake the preparation of a special volume on similar lines covering the period of the last 50 years. To give effect to the wishes of the Council a number of sub-committees have been appointed to arrange details connected with the various items of the celebration.

Education in London

About a quarter of a million Londoners mostly, but not all of them, young, recently resumed studies under the extremely comprehensive system existing in the Metropolitan area for providing for continuance of education. The winter programme, mainly organized by the London County Council, offers a choice of no less than 20,000 classes on almost every conceivable subject. Most of them deal with languages, branches of science, and art, handicrafts, professions or trades, but the syllabus is sufficiently broad to include such subjects as lip-reading for the deaf and a cure for stammering. The importance of these classes is indicated by the fact that, during the current year, 65,000 boys and girls are leaving the London County Council schools and evening classes to enable them at a trivial cost to specialize in subjects helpful to them. There is no age limit to the classes and, in one instance, a grandfather aged 70 is studying in company with his son and grandson.

Agra University Elections

A piquant situation has arisen in the Agra University due to the recent ruling of the Vice-Chancellor. Ever since the right of electing their representatives has been confined to the staff of colleges, all of them, without exception, including demonstrators have been participating in them and voting in them. This was also the practice of the old Allahabad University. On a reference from some colleges the Vice-Chancellor has ruled that demonstrators and those teachers who are connected with the practical work only on the science side cannot be considered as imparting instruction and are not entitled to vote along with other members of the staff. This decision has caused consternation and dissatisfaction. A protest was made and the Vice-Chancellor was asked to reconsider and revise his decision. But he refused to do so. An appeal to the Chancellor under Sec. 35, Agra University Act, is considered inevitable.

Education in Ajmer-Merwara

It is distinctly unsatisfactory that about 50 per cent. of the taxpayers' money in Ajmer-Merwara should be utilised in providing higher education to the select few in urban towns, while the illiterate masses have largely to go without the knowledge of the three R's and the education of girls on which the future advance of the people, social, educational and economic, depends should be allowed almost to starve. It is necessary that the position should be reversed before long, says the quinquennial report on education in Ajmer-Merwara for the period 1927-32 compiled by the Rev. J. C. Chatterjee, Superintendent of Education for the centrally administered areas. The report says that out of the total expenditure of Rs. 8,39,999 only Rs. 1,67,697, a bare 14 per cent., was being spent on female education in 1931-32. Similarly the expenditure on primary education was only Rs. 2,18,900 in round figures which is just 25 per cent. of the total expenditure, in spite of the fact that about 60 new Government primary schools were opened in the district during the quinquennium. As the net result of labour and expenditure of the past decade, Ajmer-Merwara had added only 1.8 per cent. to the population of male literates and 0.9 per cent. to female literates and the total literacy percentage is still as low as 10.6 per cent.

Indian Academy of Science

A society for the promotion and advancement of scientific research in India is expected to be established shortly in Calcutta. A meeting of Calcutta scientists under the presidentship of Dr. U. N. Brahmachari was held in the hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Park Street, Calcutta, when it was decided that a central body, capable of co-ordinating research and safeguarding the interests of scientific workers, should be organized in Calcutta. It was agreed that the institution should be known as the Indian Academy of Science, and all departments of science, both pure and applied, such as mathematics, physics, meteorology, chemistry, geology, zoology, botany, medicine, anthropology, psychology, agriculture, forest research, engineering, veterinary research and geography—should be included in the scope of the proposed Academy and allowed effective representation in its constitution. The Academy, it was proposed, should encourage scientific research in all its aspects by holding meetings, publishing results of research of outstanding merit, providing suitable library facilities and by such other means as might appear conducive to the advancement of science in India. It is also to be an object of the Academy to stimulate research in less developed sciences and to arrange for provision of equal facilities for research in all the departments of science included in its scope. With a view to ensuring co-ordination of research, it was decided that the existing scientific bodies in India should be represented on the Academy. This, it was suggested, would enable scientific knowledge in the country to be pooled and applied to the practical needs of the people. The meeting agreed that the institution should be so designed as to command the greatest respect and influence both in India and in international circles. It was, therefore, considered desirable to associate the Academy, when founded, with the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which has already given birth to an active scientific body, namely the Indian Science Congress. The whole scheme regarding the foundation of the Academy will be placed before a special meeting of the General Committee of the Science Congress at its forthcoming session at Poona for full discussion.

Lucknow wants an Elected Vice-Chancellor

For some time now the Act Revision Committee appointed by the Court of the Lucknow University has been sitting and it is understood that it held three meetings. It is learnt that one of the important recommendations that had been made is about the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor. According to the present Act the Vice-Chancellor is appointed by the Chancellor after considering the recommendations of the executive council. The amendment recommended is that the Vice-Chancellor shall be appointed by the Court from among three names recommended by the executive council. This will be subject to confirmation by the Chancellor. Another important recommendation appears to have been made to the effect that the Vice-Chancellor should not preside at meetings of the Court but a person elected by the Court as chairman from among members of the Court who are not either members of the executive council of the university or members of the teaching staff.

Patna University Convocation

The annual convocation of Patna University for conferring degrees will be held at Patna on November 25.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University, has been invited to address the convocation.

Carnegie Scholarship

Dr. A. Subba Rao, University Professor of Physiology, Mysore, has been awarded the Carnegie Fellowship Scholarship by the Executive Council of Universities of the British Empire. He will sail this week for London further to specialize in physiology.

Kayestha Pathshala Jubilee

The Kayestha Pathshala, which has grown from a modest school with 20 students and two teachers 60 years ago to one of Allahabad's leading educational institutions with university college, intermediate college and junior school and over 1,000 students on its roll, celebrated its diamond jubilee recently. The celebrations began with a session of the College Parliament followed by distribution of prizes by Mr. Pannalal, I.C.S., Commissioner of Benares, who paid a high tribute to the founder of the institution. Munshi Kaliprasad thanked the Minister for Education and the Director of Public Instruction for their sympathetic attitude towards the institution and called on students to qualify themselves in order to solve the big problems facing the country, chief among them being the amelioration of the condition of the Indian agriculturist, alleviation of distress among the uneducated and the unemployed and the future of women. The Educational Exhibition was opened by Mr. A. H. Mackenzie, Director of Public Instruction, who said that as an educationist he wanted to see in students initiative, courage and self-reliance. The Kayestha Pathshala, he said, had always co-operated with the Education Department and had contributed not a little to making the Allahabad University what it is.

"University in Exile"

A "University in Exile" is to be opened in New York this month staffed by members of the German Faculty who have been driven from their country by the anti-Jewish and anti-Liberal stand of the Hitler Government. The professorial staff will be an independent, self-governing faculty teaching political and social science.

The University is made possible from funds raised by a national committee, headed by Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, of the United States Supreme Court. Announcement of its opening is made by Dr. Alvin Johnston, Director of the New School for Social Research. He has just returned from London, where he made arrangements to bring 14 exiled German scholars to the United States, as a first contingent.

The sponsors hope the plan can be expanded ultimately to include other faculties. Dr. Johnson says they can make a distinctive contribution to American Scholarship. He emphasized that the "University in Exile" was to function purely as a centre of scholarship, instruction and research, and not as a point of dissemination of anti-Nazi propaganda. An agreement on this has been reached with the professors, he said, on the ground that their work was "too serious to admit of political by-play."

Nagpur University

Nagpur University is both an examining and affiliating institution. The two directions in which the development of the University may be

expected in the immediate future, says the annual report for last year, are the organization of the Honours Courses and the introduction of Technological Training in the University. The Colleges have commenced the teaching of the Honours Courses from July, 1933, and the result of the University's scheme of Honours Courses, which in many respects are different from that adopted in most of the other Indian University, will be awaited with interest by the University educationists.

As regards the introduction of the technological training made possible by the magnificent bequest of the late R. B. D. Laxminarayan, a committee appointed by the Executive Council is working out the details and it is hoped that it will be possible to establish a Technological Laboratory without undue delay. Meanwhile, it is hoped that the annual allotment of Rs. 10,000 which the Executive Council has decided to make from the funds of the bequest for scholarships for technological training, grants for research in Applied Science and Chemistry and the purchase of books on Technology, will give some impetus to Technological studies in the Provinces until it is possible to carry out a more comprehensive scheme for the purpose.

Travancore Education Scheme

The committee with Mr. R. M. Statham as chairman which was appointed to study the existing educational system in Travancore and to report on the best method of making education progressive in the State has, it is understood, completed its report, which will be published shortly. According to the recommendations, it is understood, primary education will be compulsory and there will be no separate schools for boys and girls. Teachers will also be recruited from both sexes. From the next stage boys and girls will be educated separately. Separate schools are recommended for boys and girls in the High School course. The present Vernacular and English Middle schools will give way to Anglo-Vernacular schools. The two Colleges in the State are recommended to be amalgamated and the Women's College to be made a second grade one. The salaries of teachers are to be revised, the minimum being Rs. 25 and the maximum Rs. 125. The committee anticipate a saving of Rs. 5 lakhs if the two States of Travancore and Cochin adopt the recommendations.

Andhra University

The Gazette of India announces that the Governor-General in Council has authorised the Andhra University, under section 3 of the Indian Medical Degrees Act of 1916, to confer, grant or issue in British India degrees, diplomas, licences and certificates with effect from April 1934, stating that the recipient of such degrees is qualified to practise in western medical science.

Theosophical College, Madanapalle

The Theosophical College at Madanapalle has been asked by the University of Madras to show an increase of a lakh of rupees in its accounts, if it is to be allowed to retain its status as a college.

The Theosophical Education Trust was formed at Madanapalle to provide education to students of all faiths, with religion as an integral

study. The Trust took over an existing educational institution there as its first unit and called it the Theosophical High School. This was raised to the status of a second grade college in 1915, and two years later it was made the central constituent of the National University which was subsequently suspended. The institution was raised to the status of a first grade college and affiliated to Madras University in 1925.

Punjab University Jubilee

In commemoration of the Punjab University Jubilee Celebrations which have been fixed for December 4, 5 and 6 next, the Senate has decided to confer honorary degrees of D. C. L., D. Litt. and D.Sc. on some of the distinguished personages who have been directly and indirectly connected with the Punjab University including Sir Shadilal, Mr. A. C. Woolner, Sir Fazli Hussain, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, the Maharajas of Kashmir and Patiala and the Nawab of Bahawalpur. On this occasion, the Syndicate has decided to hold an exhibition of old manuscripts and historical documents on Dec. 5 and 6. States, institutions and individuals possessing valuable collections are being requested to lend them for exhibition. Manuscripts should be sent to the Secretary of the Manuscript Exhibition Committee.

Lucknow University

The Executive Council of Lucknow University have made several appointments to the teaching staff. The temporary lectureship of Commerce, due to the absence on leave of Mr. Gupta, has been split up into two posts, Mr. Maqbool Ahmed being appointed to teach purely commercial subjects and Mr. A. Loomba as junior lecturer to help the Politics Department. Owing to the increase in the number of Politics students, a lectureship has been created for the rest of the session and the Council has decided to appoint Dr. B. N. Sharma to fill the new post. Dr. Dorothy Speer has been appointed to fill the new post of part-time lecturer in German. The University has nominated Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor, as its representative on the Inter-University Board.

Proposed Palestine University

Some 800,000 Moslems in Palestine have subscribed £250,000 for the establishment at Jerusalem of a Moslem University and centre of learning. The organizers of this scheme aim to collect £1,000,000 for the realization of their ideal of not only setting up a world centre of Islamic learning and culture, but also of bringing about the rehabilitation of the Arabs in Palestine. To further the prosecution of this object His Eminence Syed Aminul Hussaini, the Grand Mufti of Palestine, accompanied by Muhammad Ali Pasha, ex-Minister of Waqfs in Egypt, is touring India, interesting his co-religionists in the project and eliciting their financial support. Committees have been established in almost every province for the furtherance of the scheme, while an all-India committee has been recruited from the provincial bodies with Alhadi Nawab Bahadur Sir Abdel Kerim Ghusnavi as President.

His Eminence is gratified with the support he has received in India.

Benares University

Following are the extracts from an appeal recently issued by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University, for Rs. 50 lakhs for developments that are urgently needed :

" By the grace of God a crore and a half of rupees has been collected for the Benares Hindu University in the course of twenty years. The University has built a new town, two miles long and one mile broad; has laid out 20 miles of road; built large colleges and science laboratories; established thirty-two departments of learning, including colleges of Sanskrit learning on one side and those of mechanical and electrical engineering, and department of mining, metallurgy and industrial chemistry on the other. It has built seven hostels which accommodate nearly two thousand students and 110 residences for members of the teaching staff. It has provided extensive playgrounds for athletics and sports. Students flock to it from all parts of India, including Indian states. Their present number is nearly 3,500. It is open to students of all castes and creeds and of both sexes.

" Fifty lakhs more is now immediately needed for urgent developments: ten lakhs for a marble temple; twelve lakhs for hostels to accommodate fifteen hundred more students; classes of arts and science; five lakhs for the college of engineering; ten lakhs for a Polytechnic Institute for the further development of the teaching of applied science; five lakhs for the University Library; three lakhs for the University Press. Every Indian has reason to feel gratified at this achievement of his people. I therefore appeal to every Indian, particularly to every Hindu, to contribute his or her quota to the further growth of this great institution. Every one may give at least one month's income, if necessary by convenient instalments, or may help to build a room or endow a scholarship of fifty, thirty, twenty, fifteen or ten rupees per month in honour of him or her mother or father or any one else whom he or she loves or adores, or in his or her own name, or may give a donation ear-marked for any of the many needs mentioned above.

" I also invite all who can to pay a visit to the University. I promise they will find much to interest them."

Indian Educationists for Kabul

Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Sir Ross Masood, Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, and the other Indian Educationists invited by the Afghan Government to advise on the proposed Kabul University and reorganization of the Afghan Educational system left for Kabul on 21st October last.

Oxford University

Lord Irwin, Minister of Education, has been formally nominated as a candidate for the Chancellorship of Oxford University, rendered vacant by the death of Viscount Grey.

Ourselfes

THE LATE LADY SUHRAWARDY

We are deeply grieved to record the death of Lady Suhrawardy, the wife of our Vice-Chancellor. She was keeping indifferent health for some time past but none thought that her end was so near. The tragedy of the event is deepened by the fact that at the time of her death her husband was in Europe and her daughter, her only surviving issue, was at Nagpur at her father-in-law's house. Lady Suhrawardy came of a distinguished family ; she was a lady of culture and deep piety. We offer Sir Hassan Suhrawardy our sincerest sympathy at his bereavement.

THE LATE MRS. ANNIE BESANT

By the death of Mrs. Annie Besant, India has lost a talented leader who possessed power and influence not only within the limits of this land but also outside it. Mrs. Besant will be remembered not alone for her contributions to the cause of political regeneration of this country but also for her distinguished services to education. She was one of the finest speakers of her generation ; her oratorical powers were strengthened as much by a voice that was deep and sonorous as by a diction that was brilliant and masterly. While mourning her loss we cannot but recall the illuminating lectures which she delivered at this University in 1925 as the first Kamala Lecturer. Her health had at that time been on the decline but her silvery voice was not yet a thing of the past and it gladdened the hearts of thousands of men who had thronged in the Senate Hall to listen to her lectures. Mrs. Besant had dedicated her life to the service of India, a cause for which she fought valiantly and suffered courageously. May her great example inspire others in the discharge of their duties to their motherland which in her case was India.

THE LATE SRIMATI KAMINI RAY

We have also to mourn the death of a distinguished Bengali lady, Mrs. Kamini Ray who was recognised as a poetess of great renown. We publish in this issue a short appreciative note of her genius from the pen of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. In recognition of her contributions, the University awarded her the Jagattarini medal a few years ago. Her death is a great loss to the cause of Bengali literature. We offer our sincerest condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

* * *

THE LATE NAWAB ABDUR RAHAMAN

We have also to lament the death of Nawab Abdur Rahaman, Khen Bahadur, who was for many years a Judge of the Calcutta Small Causes Court and a Fellow of this University. He took a keen interest in the work of the University during the years he was associated with it. He was also a champion of Mahomedan education and rendered valuable services to its progress. His charming manners attracted everyone towards him and he was loved and respected by all who came into his fold. His son Mr. Latifur Rahaman is also a Judge of the Small Causes Court and a Member of the Senate. We offer him our condolences at the death of his distinguished father.

* * *

THE LATE MR. PATEL

The death of Mr. V. J. Patel at Geneva has removed a great Indian patriot. Mr. Patel's services to his motherland will long be remembered with gratitude by his countrymen. He was one of those men who possessed indomitable will and energy, one of those who had the courage of their convictions, and could cheerfully suffer for the attainment of their ideal. Mr. Patel was the first elected President of the Indian Legislative Assembly. During his days the Swarajists were in the Assembly which included giants like Pandit Motilal Neheru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai. Mr. Patel's work as President challenged the admiration of one and all; he established conventions of abiding value and conducted the business of the House in a manner which was in accordance with the best traditions of any progressive Assembly. His mortal remains are being brought to Bombay for cremation. We mourn with the rest of the country the great loss which India has suffered by his death.

DEBATES WITH BRITISH STUDENTS

Three students of British Universities are now visiting India and taking part in debates at the Indian Universities. They are :

(1) Mr. W. Greenwood who was educated at Merchant Taylor's School and at Balliol College, Oxford. Mr. Greenwood studied Economics, Politics and Philosophy at Oxford and is now reading for the bar.

(2) Mr. J. C. McGilvray who is a graduate in Philosophy in the University of Manchester where he is now preparing to take the degree of Master of Arts.

(3) Mr. Jack Jones who entered University College, Aberystwyth, in 1931 and is now studying Law under Professor Levi.

Arrangements have been made for a debate in Calcutta on 1st November. The subject chosen is "*The World owes more to its poets than to its politicians.*" Four students belonging to this University have been selected after a competitive test held before the Puja vacation. The Indian students selected are :

- (1) Mr. Dwarkanath Chatterjee—Presidency College.
- (2) Mr. Sachindranath Dasgupta—University Law College.
- (3) Mr. Sivaprasad Mitra—University Law College.
- (4) Mr. S. Jah—David Hare Training College.

* * *

DR. SYAMADAS MUKHERJEE

Dr. Syamadas Mukherjee who is now in Europe as a Rashbehari Ghosh Travelling Fellow has been touring various Universities on the Continent. The energy and enthusiasm which he has displayed at his age are indeed remarkable. Information has reached us that he had recently read a paper on his new methods in Geometry at the *Henri Poincare Institute* at Paris. The paper was written in French and was greatly appreciated by well-known French mathematicians who attended the meeting. He also spent some time at Hamburg where he was given a most cordial welcome. After visiting several Universities on the Continent Dr. Mukherjee proposes to spend sometime in Great Britain.

* * *

M.A. AND M.Sc. EXAMINATION RESULTS

An analysis of the results of the last M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations shows that out of 495 and 172 candidates who actually appeared in the M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations respectively, 358 and 106 came out successful as against 254 and 90 respectively in 1932. Of the successful candidates of the present year 59 have been placed in the First Class in different subjects in the M.A., and 21 in different subjects in the M.Sc. Examination as against 38 and 16 respectively in 1932. It is gratifying to note that 5 lady-students have secured positions in the First Class in the M.A. and 1 in the M.Sc.; indeed in Physics, Philosophy and Ancient Indian History and Culture (Gr. A) they have topped the list of successful candidates.



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ARTISTIC RENAISSANCE IN INDIA

By G. S. DUTT, I.C.S.

Calcutta.

WHAT is somewhat loosely described as an artistic renaissance is really a renaissance, not of art itself, but of the spirit of a race expressing itself through the medium of art. The spirit achieves a renaissance by obtaining a fresh accession of inspiration and then expresses this renaissance through all aspects and spheres of life including that of language. The language through which the renaissance is expressed may be in the form of literature or of art; for art is in essence nothing but a form of language.

Being a form of language art is essentially a race-mode or a racial way of expression. Each race tends to develop a mode of expression which is its own art vernacular and which embodies in it the distinctive harmonic grammar and idiom and the aesthetic rhythm of the race-spirit or race-genius. It is only through this distinctive race-vernacular that the race-spirit can make its characteristic

contribution to the synthesis of world culture and find its culminating development in aesthetic expression.

This has now been acknowledged in the sphere of literature; but in the sphere of art this truth is not so fully admitted. On the other hand, there are many people, including Indians of eminence, who believe that art speaks through a universal language and, as a result, we find today in India numerous self-conscious attempts at the production of an eclectic art bred of an international cosmopolitanism or of an esperantist art without reference to any particular race traditions. This passes by the name of modernism. There is also another school of art in India which seeks to speak in what I may describe as a Sanskrit art language or an archaeological, antiquarian and iconographic art language. It follows the cult of classic revivalism and aims at reproducing the old classic Indian forms, formulas and motifs which were developed in certain past ages of ancient and mediaeval India for expressing modern Indian ideas and ideals.

The so-called artistic renaissance in India is an exhibition of these two unnatural tendencies and movements in varying degrees of intensity, with the result that this renaissance has been mostly a misdirected, unreal and artificial one and does not represent an organic growth of art from living roots. Both the above tendencies involve a denial of the law of growth of art as well as of other forms of expression from living roots in contemporary life; and both of them result in the production of unnatural and artificial creations devoid of the vigour and energy of life and out of touch with, and unrelated to, the life and ideals of the people belonging to the race from which the artist springs and to the harmonic mode and rhythm in which they spontaneously express themselves in their common pursuits and crafts of life.

So we see a very curious spectacle. On the one hand it is now admitted that there is no such thing as a single common Indian modern language or a common Indian modern literature but that there are several Indian modern languages and several Indian modern literatures, each representing the spirit and culture of a distinctive race-group forming part of the political Indian nation. In the sphere of art, on the other hand, attempt is being made, through the ill-concealed prompting of a political motive for symbolising an all-Indian political unity, to create a make-believe all-India art-Sanskrit or art-esperanto irrespective of the distinctive racial traditions of the component races which have handed down the traditions of ancient Indian culture, each in its own way, modified in accordance with its

own distinctive race genius as moulded through its special geographical and other environmental influences as well as by special degrees of its race-admixture and other influences of a historical and cultural character. Time has come to frankly recognise the fact that modern Indian art cannot be represented by one particular form of expression based on a classic revivalism or on a particular stereotyped anatomy or style derived from archæological relics or iconographic literature, but that it really consists of a number of distinctive art languages or art vernaculars each developed by a distinctive race-unit as in the case of literary expression. These may have deep mutual affinities or resemblances by virtue of the history of their origin and cultural contacts, but they are none-the-less distinct organic entities each with valuable distinctive characteristics of its own specially adapted to the race-group whose evolutionary life and character are reflected in them. The time may come, ultimately, when through racial fusion the various races inhabiting India, which have come to develop distinctive race languages, may become one homogeneous race with one mother-language but that time is not yet. In the meantime it would be as foolish to try to make-believe that there is only one single literary language for this vast continent as that there is only one art-language for the various races that today comprise the Indian nation.

What I wish to emphasise here is the fact that if we only care to look beneath the surface we shall discover that each distinct race group in India has its own distinctive living art tradition and that this distinctive living art tradition is the living art-vernacular of that race-group, just as the Bengali language has at last been accepted as the recognised living literary vernacular of the Bengali people. This living art-vernacular may, and will no doubt be, gradually, continuously and progressively enriched by organic assimilation and subconscious imbibement from outside influences with which the race comes into contact in the course of its evolution ; but it will not do to ignore it or to supplant it either by phantoms of classic forms and styles or by a rootless and mechanical conglomeration of the styles of other countries at the mere dictates or the whims of particular individuals or groups of individuals.

Let the Bengali, Madrasi, Mahrathi and Gujrati, who has already discovered and adopted his literary mother-language, now look for, discover and learn his own form-language or mother-language in art which is still used by vast sections among the rural population of his province as a distinctive spontaneous mode of

rhythmic and harmonic expression and let him express his creative genius in a natural, spontaneous and unaffected manner through the medium of that art-vernacular. Let every Bengali, Madras, Mahrathi and Gujrati child be given the opportunity of imbibing, like the milk from his mother's breast, not only the spoken language of his race but also its own distinctive art tradition. It is by this means only that a Bengali will grow up to be a true Bengali and a true Indian, a Madras will grow up to be a true Madras and a true Indian and so forth : and by this means alone will he be able to make his most valuable contribution to the synthesis of Indian culture. The attempt on the part of the educated sections of different provinces of India to create a composite eclectic style by indiscriminately copying each other's styles or by adopting the styles of a past epoch is bound to prove disastrous to the genius for creative expression of the people of each province and even to their basic character : for art has a very subtle and irresistible effect on character; and affectation, make-believe or insincerity in art tends to produce a corresponding affectation, make-believe and insincerity in national character. Is it possible to imagine Shakespeare, who gathered his inspiration from every European country, achieving his inimitable artistic expression in Italian or Norwegian or Greek or Latin or esperanto or in anything but his own current racial English ? The appeal of his art was universal but his medium, mode and rhythm of expression was his own current racial vernacular. Unless, therefore, they establish touch with the current racial art-language practised in the rural areas of their own province by the common folk of their own race, it will be impossible for the modern Indian artists to achieve true artistic expression. Could any one, for example, imagine Rabindranath achieving his supreme literary expression if he had spurned the language of Chandidas and other Vaishnava poets and if he had not the good fortune, through a lucky accident, of being thrown into intimate contact with and filling his soul with the language, the tunes and the rhythm of the *bāul*, *kirtan* and *bhāitāl* singers of Eastern Bengal ? Could he attain this supreme aesthetic expression if he spoke and wrote in a language which was a mixture of Manipuri, Malabari and Gujrati or of Sanskrit, Pali and Persian ? And yet this is exactly what is being attempted today even by distinguished men in India in the sphere of art, namely, an attempt to impose upon the Bengali people traditions of dance imported bodily from Malabar, Manipur and Lucknow, traditions of painting imported



Chopping off of Surpanakha's Nose
(A scene from the *Ramayana*)

from ancient Indian caves and from the courts of mediaeval Rajput and Moghul princes; and types of architecture consisting of "elegant extracts" imported from Madura, Mahavalipuram, Ellora, Agra and Delhi. Thus art and dance have been hopelessly confused with archaeology and antiquarianism and with the aspirations for an all-India political union on the one hand, and with mere prettiness, sensuous refinement, novelty and elegance on the other. The result is a plethora of pose and posturing, of affectation and aristocratic ornamentation, and of insincerity, make-believe, stage-acting and a striving for spectacular effect as well as an atmosphere of effeminacy, sensuousness and mysticism on the one hand, and on the other hand, a craze for affecting the suave and sophisticated curve and semi-nudity of Ajanta and Sigiriya, the sensuous diaphanousness of mediaeval Rajput courts, the soft effeminacy of the Manipuri female dance and the mystifying mimicry of the *mudrā* dance of Malabar—a craze for appearing oriental at any cost before Western eyes. If the traditional dances which are danced by real live Bengali men and women in the rural areas of Bengal have not got the suave "oriental" curve of Manipuri and the mystic *mudrās* of the *kathakālī*, then the latter must be imported into Bengal to supplant true Bengali dances! The result is a complete abandonment of all fixed standards and racial traditions and the production of a rootless and anchorless babel of art language which is tending to change the very character of the people of modern India, to disintegrate their souls and to destroy their originality and creative genius. To those people I would say: If your object is to earn the approbation and the money of Europeans and Americans, do so by all means by exhibiting these eclectic compilations or these pageants of pseudo-classic revivalism as "oriental" art in Europe and America; but do not unsettle the basic character of the Indians, do not disintegrate their souls and do not destroy their originality and genius for creative expression by holding these up before the plastic minds of the youths of India as models for copying in the garb of their national language of emotional self-expression. I believe that the real art of the people of modern India belonging to the various races is the very reverse of these effeminate, pseudo-archaeological and insincere creations.

So far as Bengal itself is concerned, I know that the real art of the Bengali race is characterised by a simplicity and sincerity, a spontaneity, a clarity, a robustness, an innate insistence on design in

line and colour and a fitness to the practical purposes and uses of life which is the very antithesis of the academic and purposeless art which is being introduced and admired in our cities. The result of this complete ignoring of the indigenous art-vernacular of each race and province, whether out of ignorance or contempt, is a state of rootlessness, anchorlessness and spinelessness. Acting in an ancient style may be all very well on the stage or in a pageant; and esperanto may be useful in the field of commerce, administration and politics; but these have no place in the sphere of emotional creative self-expression of the spirit of a race which is a very different affair altogether, affecting the very quality of its soul. Here continuity of living race traditions, spontaneity, sincerity and unself consciousness are of supreme importance to the healthy development and the faithful expression of the spirit. You may, with impunity, change even the religion of a people but not its innate and spontaneous idiom of life and self-expression which is only another name for art.

This criminal ignorance and neglect of, and contempt for, the art-vernacular of each province by the universities and educated classes is unfortunately fast leading to the disappearance of priceless race traditions and race forms and to the drying up of the fountain heads of national art in India. The disappearance and destruction, through neglect and contempt, of race forms created by race culture and race tradition often means an irreparable national loss to a people for centuries to come by taking away living roots from which, and genuine foundations on which, to build up and develop national character, national ideals and a truly national system of education, just as in the sphere of sociology, loss of a valuable traditional form of national organisation and expression, namely, that of the Indian village community, has left Indian rural life adrift for centuries and is proving an insuperable obstacle to the reconstruction of genuine organic life and to the building up of a strong and stable civic structure in India to this day.

I propose to show you today by means of actual examples that there is a distinctive Bengali art-language and art tradition which has hitherto been despised and ignored by our universities as well as by our artists, art critics and art pundits; but that just as Calcutta University has at last accepted Bengali as the medium of linguistic expression, so time has come when the Universities of Bengal and its educated classes should accept this indigenous Bengali art tradition as the basic art-vernacular of the Bengali people. It



Scenes from Krishna lila

is only by rescuing this art-vernacular of Bengal from extinction and by its adoption as the foundation of art teaching in Bengal that the spirit of the Bengali race can retain its distinctive characteristics, regain its power of creative expression and achieve its culminating development in the sphere of art. For the reasons explained above, the art of the Neo-Bengal urban artists is not the real national art-vernacular of Bengal. In its archaeological, antiquarian, sentimental, historical and literary preoccupation in subject and in technique, this imitative urban art displays a sad lack of the innate Bengali genius for form and design. It uses idioms and motifs which are foreign to and unintelligible to the great mass of the Bengalee people. It is only in the rural and indigenous art of Bengal that we shall find that art-vernacular which is the true expression of the spirit of the Bengali people, embodying the basic idiom of their soul. We shall find that this Bengali art-vernacular, although bearing the impress of the "national mark" of Bengal, represents with greater purity and faithfulness than the art traditions of any other province or race in India, the original pre-Buddhistic, and one may almost say, pre-Aryan, main-stream of art tradition of continental India practically unadulterated by foreign influence and unaffected by court influence or priestly and monastic influence; and that it has distinctive and positive qualities of its own by virtue of which it can bear comparison with the art of any other epoch in India. It has retained the unsophisticated, spontaneous and virile character of primitive art and is at the same time replete with objective loveliness. It is distinguished by the fundamental characteristics of true art through a reliance on the basic art-alphabets of pure and robust line and colour form—particularly the latter, an innate insistence on design, an avoidance of unessential embellishments and a spontaneous harmonising of abstract and naturalistic idioms of expression; and it is not the mysterious, esoteric and academic monopoly or the wanton and idle plaything of a self-appointed and privileged art-aristocracy but the common spontaneous activity and birth-right of the men and women of the whole race as the natural "Bengalee way" in every walk and sphere of life, in craft and industry, play and pastime, work and worship.*

* Lecture delivered before the Cultural Association of the University of Calcutta on 18th September, 1932. The lecture was illustrated with lantern slides.

ANGLO-JAPANESE RIVALRY AND THE FUTURE

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS, PH.D.

San Remo, Italy

IT is generally regarded that if in the near future a war breaks out in the Pacific, it will be between America and Japan or between Japan and Russia. But as things stand today there is a greater possibility of an Anglo-Japanese War.

To be sure that there are conflicting interests between Japan and Russia in the Far East; but a Russo-Japanese War in near future is not so probable. The present rulers of Soviet Russia are not sentimentalists but realists, and they are determined to avoid an armed conflict with Japan which may prove disastrous for Russia. This attitude of the Soviet government became quite apparent from the fact that it was willing to sell its rights of the Chinese Eastern Railway to the government of Manchuoko, a protectorate of Japan. Mr. Litvinoff's significant diplomatic victory in signing several non-aggression pacts—specially with Poland and Roumania—has decidedly strengthened the position of Soviet Russia. Yet the menace of a National Socialist Germany, with its deliberate programme of eastward expansion has frightened Soviet Russian statesmen to such an extent that they are seeking French co-operation, if not the revival of the Franco-Russian Alliance of the pre-World War days. A Russo-Japanese conflict will undoubtedly upset Russia's growing power in European politics and may provide a splendid chance for Germany to carry out her threat of an eastward expansion at the cost of Russian security. It seems that for this reason alone, Soviet Russia will try to avoid a conflict with Japan.

Furthermore a Russian defeat (which may be a possibility) in any war will be followed by a Revolution which will end the present regime; therefore the leaders of Soviet Russia are interested in avoiding a war with Japan. They are most anxious to concentrate on augmenting economic, industrial and military power of the State for future emergencies. It is possible that the present Russo-Japanese tension will pass without an armed conflict. It may be added that although Japan is prepared to fight Russia if it be necessary, yet

every far-sighted Japanese realises that if Japan be engaged in a war with Russia, other powers may use the opportunity in ousting her from various markets of the world. A Japanese-Russian war would benefit Great Britain, Germany and the United States the most from the standpoint of commercial expansion. Therefore the Japanese are not anxious for a Russo-Japanese War.

II

Just as the Russian leaders are anxious to avoid a war against Japan, similarly there are many Japanese leaders who are convinced that an American-Japanese war will not only hurt Japan, but will strengthen Britain, Germany and Russia. In spite of much talk of commercial rivalry between America and Japan in the Far East, the fact is that expansion of American trade in the Far East really does not hurt Japan very much, because American-Japanese trade relations are not competitive but supplementary.

A Tokyo despatch dated October 6th, 1933, from the very well informed American journalist Mr. Wilfred Fleisher, published in the *New York Herald Tribune* (Paris) of October 7, 1933, gives the following interesting and suggestive views of Japan's veteran statesman, Viscount Ishii, an ardent advocate of Japan's Monroe Doctrine for the Eastern Asia, regarding the present tendency of Japan's policy towards America and the agitation behind the talk of an American-Japanese War:—

"An agreement between Japan and the United States pledging never to resort to war was urged by Viscount Ishii, who was interviewed today on his way to Tokio from Kobe, where he arrived yesterday from London. Viscount Ishii said he favors the conclusion of an arbitration treaty with the United States providing for the renunciation of war.

"Viscount Ishii declared: 'Relations between Japan and the United States do not appear at present to be very cordial, but an agreement to improve the relations could be reached if the two nations show the determination never to wage war in the future.

"*It is possible that certain European countries desire war between Japan and the United States, so that they can wrest their markets from them, but America would never commit the folly of sending her fleet to the Far East to engage in battle with the efficient Japanese navy. If the leaders of both countries agree never to resort to war there would be plenty of ways of averting it. The Disarmament Conference should be conducted in this spirit and we must not permit other nations to rob us of our markets.*"

There is every reason to believe that America and Japan may easily come to an agreement by signing an arbitration treaty and by mutually agreeing to respect each other's rights in the Far East. If Japanese statesmen follow this policy steadfastly, it is conceivable that the Government of the United States under President Franklin D. Roosevelt (who does not believe in a war with Japan) will re-establish the same form of cordial relations between Japan and the United States as was done by the late President Theodore Roosevelt, after the signing of the Root-Takahira Agreement.

To understand the full significance of the statement of Viscount Ishii that "*it is possible certain European countries desire war between Japan and the United States, so that they can wrest their markets from them,*" one must inquire which European countries are effective competitors of Japan and the United States in world markets. It happens that Great Britain and Germany are the powers; and it is very significant that in British and German circles one hears pronounced anti-Japanese discussions and prophecy about an American Japanese war.

III

The actual situation in world politics of today is that Britain is Japan's greatest rival. To illustrate this point, I quote a few extracts from an article by Dr. Tyler Dennett, Professor of International Relations, Princeton University:—

"Japan and Great Britain a generation ago were what may be described as 'natural friends,' if one is willing to adopt the convenient and sound though somewhat, 'cannibalistic philosophy' of nationalism. In those days the two nations had common interests in their desire to keep open the trade doors in China, in their opposition to Russia and in a similar co-operative policy in the Pacific. Today the situation is quite changed. Japan and Great Britain are now clearly '*natural enemies*': they are engaged in no common effort anywhere, and over a considerable portions of the earth, they are relentless competitors. They compete for the carrying of trade, for naval supremacy in the Far East and most of all, for many markets where a generation ago Great Britain had to fear only Germany.

Japan's most dependable outlet for manufactured goods is not in America, where silk is a luxury and subject to fickle fashions, but in Asia and Africa, where cheap cotton garments are all one style and the alternative of wearing them is nakedness. Here Japan and Great Britain have come to grips with results that make it not difficult to plot the curve of Anglo-Japanese relations for the next generation. A

trade war has been developing not merely in Manchuria and China, where Great Britain is powerless to influence the results, but in Malaya, in East Africa and in India, where British industrial interests still can influence the tariff. Already London has informed Tokyo that at the expiration of six months the most favored-nation clause shall not apply in British West African colonies, while the Government of India has already imposed an additional duty on Japanese imports, from 75 to 87 per cent. on cottons. Now comes the government of the British Federated Malaya States with new duties on low-grade products from 30 to 80 per cent. Thus the lines are closing in on Japan which is almost certain to adopt retaliatory measures.....

"Equally disturbing to Anglo-Japanese relations is the Japanese demand at Geneva for naval parity. Parity in the Far East and South Pacific means not parity at all but a Japanese naval supremacy which would cast its long shadow westward across the Indian Ocean as well. Japan has a colonial Empire to defend and trade arteries to protect. They lie, in part, in what were only a few years ago unquestioned British trade preserves. Now Japan has as much reason for seeking to maintain and extend her position as Great Britain had when she fought the Second Afghan War or when she fortified Zanzibar, or more recently, when she laid out the Singapore naval base. Let us therefore keep in mind the fact that today Japan and Great Britain, so recently effusive partners in the famous Anglo-Japanese Alliances, are no longer 'natural friends'; today they are 'natural enemies.'"

Prof. Dennett is regarded as one of the foremost authorities of Far Eastern Politics and his opinion should not be lightly taken by any one.

Those who have carefully watched the evolution of Japanese bitterness against Britain will testify that it began after the World War, when Britain decided to give up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to cultivate closer collaboration with the United States. The Japanese blame British statesmen for deliberately following a policy during the Washington Conference and afterwards, which might have led to complete isolation of Japan in world politics. It is also argued in Japan that the British government and officials secretly encouraged China to oppose Japanese policy in the Far East and used the League of Nations against Japan. They further accuse Britain of carrying on world-wide anti-Japanese propaganda through the activities of the Lytton Commission. The Japanese people regard that the Singapore naval base is a serious menace to Japan's national security. Furthermore the Japanese people resent Britain's objection to Japan's naval parity.

In certain section of Great Britain, bitterness against Japan is so acute that responsible papers and persons have directed a veiled threat of economic boycott of Japan by all the members of the League of Nations ; and others have even advocated suspension of diplomatic relations, because of Japan's refusal to submit to the decision of the League of Nations on the Manchurian question.

In short the present Anglo-Japanese tension may be well compared with the Anglo-German commercial rivalry before the World War. If during the next Naval Conference (which may be held in 1935-1936) Japan refuses to cut down or limit her naval power according to British proposals, then it is certain that the present Anglo-Japanese commercial rivalry would take the form of an ugly and dangerous Anglo-Japanese naval rivalry full of serious possibilities.

Historians of the World War have made it clear that Anglo-German naval rivalry—Germany's refusal to agree to Britain's suggestions of limiting German navy—was one of the prime causes of the World War. If the present Anglo-Japanese commercial rivalry be followed by a naval rivalry between these two powers, the future is dark. Therefore one may safely predict that between 1935 and 1936 one may expect a serious crisis in Anglo-Japanese relations. In such a crisis American and Indian attitude will play very important parts in making Britain's decision. It is inconceivable that Britain will ever enter into a war with a first class power as is Japan, unless she feels absolutely sure that the Indian people would support her wholeheartedly in such a serious undertaking. Possibly for this very reason and to win the confidence of Indian Princes, Indian Moderates and others, the British authorities are going to extend some form of concessions towards Indian self-government. Furthermore, if during an Anglo-Japanese conflict the United States of America remains neutral, Britain will become economically the loser, even if she wins a victory over Japan. Therefore the British policy is to influence the United States of America to make a common cause with Britain against Japan. It is very problematical how far the United States would go in this matter. America went to the World War to aid Britain and her allies and now she finds herself hated by these powers for whom she fought. American foreign policy is becoming nationalistic and American statesmen may refuse to fight Britain's battle against Japan.

It is often said about the World War that the statesmen of Europe stumbled into it without intending to have the world conflagration. It is evident that both Japan and Britain are consciously

falling apart; and an Anglo-Japanese rivalry may lead to a world conflagration in which India will have to bear a very heavy burden. Let us hope that all friends of world peace and especially Indian statesmen with vision will use their influence in averting such a possible calamity.

LAW IN LITERATURE *

By THE RT. HON'BLE VISCOUNT FINLAY

WHEN it was suggested to me that I should, in accordance with an ancient practice recently revived, deliver a Reading in Hall, I had, I must confess, great difficulty in finding a theme upon which I might hope with any profit to address you. Two of those who have recently preceded me were more fortunate in that respect.* Master Sir Cecil Hurst was a member of a great International Court. Master Hart had recently been a member of another International Court hardly less important. In the scope, the history, the practice, the procedure, of their respective Courts they had subjects ready to their hands certain to interest their hearers. I had not their good fortune but I did, though after a good deal of reflection, find a subject which, I thought, might interest you. Having found a subject I then had a further difficulty—to find a title which would at all express it. The title which I have selected is, I am conscious, a great deal too wide and too ambitious, and, in order that those who have done me the honour to come to listen may be as little disappointed as possible with what is to follow, I will at once explain that what I wish to do is to bring before you certain contacts of law and literature, certain books or passages in books, which, dealing with law and lawyers, may be of interest to those whose privilege it is to study the law.

Of the many books to which reference might be made in this connection, I can mention but a few. This is due partly to my own ignorance, partly to those inexorable limits of time most properly imposed on an occasion of this sort.

There is one omission so glaring and so obvious that I had better at once explain it. About Shakespeare I propose to say nothing. His works contain one of the most celebrated of trials and innumerable allusions to law and lawyers. More than one learned disquisition has been written on the subject of law in Shakespeare and Shakespeare's legal attainments. One such, written by Lord Chancellor Campbell, produced comments from persons so variously eminent as Lord Macaulay, Charles Dickens, Dean Milman, and Mr.

* A Reading delivered before the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple. Published by kind permission of Lord Finlay and the Treasurer of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple.

Gladstone. If I were to attempt to deal with Shakespeare, my treatment of him would inevitably be inadequate, and further, I should have time to deal with no one else. This does not appeal to me and about Shakespeare I am, therefore, silent.

I may begin by a brief reference to Bacon, eminent as a lawyer, still more eminent as a philosopher and a writer. In a short work of his (it can be read in a very few minutes), the *Essay on Judicature*, the office and duties and attributes of a judge are discussed with that massive common sense which is one of the distinguishing notes of the Essays.

Biography

Biographies I must pass by with the slightest mention. I may, however, be allowed to point out how greatly the reading of legal biographies can add to the interest of the study of law, can make the dry bones live. Surely one will read with far more interest a judgment of Lord Mansfield's, if one knows that he was not only the greatest master of our commercial law, but also the subject of a famous line of Pope's, a wit and a statesman who, if he had not preferred to devote himself to the task of elucidating and developing the common law, might probably have been Prime Minister at a critical moment in our history. And surely, too, the figure of that eminent member of this Inn, Lord Eldon, not perhaps very romantic or interesting, is clothed with a greater interest when one reads of that really romantic episode when, from a window of a house still to be seen on the quay at Newcastle-on-Tyne, Bessie Surtees descended by a ladder to run away with the then young and impecunious John Scott.

It is from that point of view that, without attempting any detailed discussion, I would commend to your notice Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors* and *Chief Justices*. These books have been much criticized as being superficial and deficient in dignity both of language and thought, but they contain a vast amount of information and they are eminently readable and entertaining. Of far higher merit from a literary point of view is Atlay's *The Victorian Chancellors*. Indeed, it is admirably written and presents a series of skillfully executed portraits of the Victorian Chancellors, including that extraordinary man, Henry Brougham, not strictly a Victorian Chancellor at all.

Then there are, of course, many biographies of individual judges—one of the best being Cunningham's *Life of Bowen*—adorned as

it is by specimens of the judgments, speeches, verses, letters of Lord Bowen, sometimes grave, sometimes gay, but always unfailingly delightful.

*One other biography I will mention. It is a life of a Bench*er of this Inn of whom we are all justly proud. I need hardly say that I refer to Mr. Marjoribanks' *Life of Lord Carson*, unhappily unfinished. Those who have the privilege of knowing Lord Carson, those who have seen him and heard him in Court and in House of Commons, will, I am sure, agree that the lamented author has, with singular skill, presented a portrait of one of the most dominating, arresting, and interesting figures of our time. He has also given us admirable accounts of many trials : in Ireland during the earlier part of Lord Carson's life and in England during his later period—always interesting, sometimes amusing, and sometimes rising to great heights of drama. This leads naturally to my next topic.

Famous Trials

There is a whole literature—I must touch on it still more slightly—devoted to descriptions and reports of real trials. Of such descriptions I will select one single example, the description, in Macaulay's History, of the *Trial of the Seven Bishops*. Matthew Arnold, in a well-known passage, has said that Lord Macaulay had his "heightened way of putting things". The account of the trial of the Seven Bishops perhaps illustrates Matthew Arnold's remark, but so vivid is the narrative that it is impossible, I think, to read it without feeling something at least of that absorbing interest and emotion which, we are told, so deeply affected the spectators of that great trial. If any one here should contemplate reading or re-reading Macaulay's account, may I suggest that he should do so with the report of the case in the State Trials (that great collection which illustrates at so many points both our law and our history) at his elbow ?

The Novelists

I turn now to what is my main theme—law and lawyers, as they have been described in some of our great novels. I begin with Sir Walter Scott, and I take first the trial scene in the *Heart of Midlothian*. There is no scene in Scott's novels more charged with emotion, none more admirable in its restraint and in the humour—Saddle-tree the legal pedant, and others—introduced to lighten the gloom.

Its central theme, of course, is the conflict in the soul of Jeanie Deans between the desire to save a sister's life and the determination at all costs to tell the truth—a conflict resolved in the way all who have understood the character of the heroine—so sound, so noble, but also so austere—must feel to be inevitable. The trial is full of interest. Scott was writing of what he thoroughly understood; he was describing a trial, supposed to have taken place less than a century before he wrote, in that High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh with which he was perfectly familiar. Apart from the dramatic interest of the story, it is well worth reading as a picture, done by a master-hand, of a Scottish criminal trial in the reign of George II.

My next example is taken from *Redgauntlet*, and shows Scott in a lighter vein. In Poor Peter Peebles we have an incomparable description of a type with which we are all familiar—the poor half-insane litigant who haunts the Courts. Peter's conference with his solicitor and counsel and the scene at the Court—particularly the plan adopted to ensure that his presence should not make his cause ridiculous—abound with the richest humour, though there are touches which show how slight may be the line that divides true humour from true pathos.

Before I leave Scott I would refer to *Guy Mannering*—perhaps on the whole his masterpiece. It contains in Pleydell a perfect sketch of a Scots lawyer—alike in his graver hours and in his hours of relaxation. One remark of Pleydell's I may quote to you. He was showing Colonel Mannering his library, "the best editions of the best authors," and he said: "These are my tools of trade. A lawyer without history or literature is a mechanic—a mere working mason; if he possesses some knowledge of these he may venture to call himself an architect".

With these words put into the mouth of Pleydell but representing—no one can doubt it—the opinion of his creator, I leave Sir Walter, and, in leaving him, would add only this, that if anyone is sufficiently interested to desire to study in more detail law in Scott's novels he will find ample material in a book to which my fellow-Bencher, Lord Craigmyle, drew my attention, *Sir Walter Scott and Scot's Law* by David Marshall.

I come to Charles Dickens, and there I am indeed embarrassed by the wide field open to my choice. Of the vast number of characters created by Dickens a very substantial proportion were lawyers, or directly connected with the law. I am compelled to a rigorous selection. *Bleak House* is associated in all our minds with Jarndyce

v. Jarndyce, the interminable Chancery suit, and with the lawyers, including the Lord Chancellor himself, who took part in that slow-moving drama. The description, in the first chapter, of a murky November day in London and of the Lord Chancellor sitting in the fog in Lincoln's Inn Hall has never, I think, been excelled by its author, unless possibly in the description in *David Copperfield* of the storm at Yarmouth.

About *Bardell v. Pickwick* it is unnecessary that I should say much, for I suppose no passage in the whole range of English fiction is more familiar than the report of that case. It would be presumptuous to praise it, but I may perhaps mention three points which may be of some interest to students.

I. It is worth noting that neither Mrs. Bardell nor Mr. Pickwick was allowed to give evidence. This was due, of course, to the remarkable state of the law which, until 1851, prevented the parties to an action, who are in most cases likely to know more about the facts than anyone else, from giving evidence. The matter has been neatly expressed thus—

“ If a farmer in his gig ran over a foot-passenger in the road, the two persons whom the law singled out to prohibit from becoming witnesses were the farmer and the foot-passenger ”.

It is a curious fact—but we have it on the authority of Lord Campbell, who was Chief Justice at the time and must have known—that, when the Bill to make parties competent witnesses was introduced, all the Common Law Judges except one were opposed to it. The important point for our present purpose is, that the state of the law when *Pickwick* was published has diminished for ever the public stock of amusement, by making impossible a cross-examination of Mr. Pickwick by Sergeant Buzfuz.

2. The examination of Mr. Winkle by Mr. Skimpin appears to be most irregular and such as no judge would have allowed.

3. It may be doubted whether Sergeant Snubbin (who was himself in Court throughout) would have left in the hands of his inexperienced junior the cross-examination of so important a witness as Mr. Winkle.

But I feel I ought almost to apologize for these petty criticisms of a great masterpiece.

There has, I think, of late been a revival of interest in Anthony Trollope, but the interest has perhaps not extended much beyond that *Barchester* series, which no doubt contains on the whole his best work and which, as a picture of the ordinary provincial life of its period,

has, I suppose, never been excelled. It is, however, to a novel outside the Barchester series—to *Orley Farm*—that I wish now to call your attention. There you will find, together with much admirable description of life in mid-Victorian England and a pleasant love story, a history, told in much detail and in parts with a dramatic force unusual in Trollope, of a lady who, having as a young woman forged a codicil and given false testimony about it, is, after a lapse of many years, tried on a charge of perjury, and acquitted. The story of the preliminaries and of the trial itself is full of interest, and it will become not less, but more, interesting to the student if he takes the trouble to detect some breaches of legal etiquette and some slips in legal forms and legal procedure of which Trollope is guilty. It is perhaps an interesting speculation what would have been the effect on the story if the prisoner had then been competent to give evidence on her own behalf. As you are all aware, that change in the law was made only in 1898.

Samuel Warren's *Ten Thousand a Year* must be mentioned. That novel depends for its main interest upon a legal atmosphere, legal characters, and a legal plot—a plot the correctness of which, from a legal point of view, was, if my memory serves me, vindicated by the author in a series of copious notes. I must confess that when, many years ago, I read the book, I was disappointed, but it must always possess an interest for lawyers and, if once unduly admired, it is now unduly neglected.

I must be content with an even briefer mention of another and a very different novel of the Victorian period. George Eliot's *Felix Holt the Radical* has always seemed to me rather dull, but it would be wrong to omit all reference to a novel, by so eminent an author, which depends for a vital part of its plot upon a base fee.

To the late Victorian period belongs *Weir of Hermiston*—that fragment (for it is no more) which suggests that, delightful as are many of the books which Stevenson left us, he died with his masterpiece unfinished. The principal character is a sketch of that great, coarse, cruel Scottish Judge, Lord Braxfield. The character of Lord Braxfield obviously interested Stevenson. Not only is he the principal character of Stevenson's last novel. In one of the early essays—that on *Some Portraits by Raeburn*—Lord Braxfield is sketched, and with something of that gusto which, as is there said, Raeburn showed when he painted his portrait. "The tart, rosy, humorous look of the man, his nose like a cudgel, his face resting squarely on the jowl,

has been caught and perpetuated with something that looks like brotherly love ”.

Lord Braxfield is described very forcibly but not very favourably in an admirable book by a distinguished Scottish Judge—Lord Cockburn's *Memorials of his Time*. To us here it must always be interesting to remember, in connection with *Weir of Hermiston*, that Stevenson was aided on a vital point in the plot, which he never lived to complete, by a note by Mr. Graham Murray—now Lord Dunedin and a Bencher of this Inn.

I have always thought—it is a purely personal opinion, and I speak wholly without authority in such matters—that one of the best of short stories is one by Thomas Hardy in *Life's Little Ironies*, called “ On the Western Circuit.” I cannot, owing to this personal predilection, refrain from mentioning it, but it is proper that I should admit that the legal element, though not entirely absent, is less prominent than the title would suggest.

I hope and believe that no apology is needed for a reference to two works in a lighter vein.

Everyone here—I doubt not—knows almost by heart the trial scene in *Alice in Wonderland*. The jury of animals and birds with their slates and pencils ; the King as presiding Judge with his “ Consider your verdict ” before any evidence was given, and then at frequent intervals throughout the trial ; the Queen's correction “ No, no, sentence first, verdict afterwards ” ; the suppression of the guinea pig's applause ; the Hatter's evidence—this is a phantasy delightful to everyone, but peculiarly so to those whose everyday work lies amidst

brawling Courts
And dusty purlieus of the law.

W. S. Gilbert's *Trial by Jury* is no doubt at its best when seen on the stage and when the delightfully humorous words are set off and adorned by the music of Sir Arthur Sullivan. But the words are well worth reading. The Usher's song, the admirable song of the Judge, the speech of the plaintiff's counsel from which I cannot resist one brief quotation—

Swiftly sped each honeyed hour
Spent with this unmanly male ;
Camberwell became a bower,
Peckham an Arcadian vale ;
Breathing concentrated Otto,
An existence *d la* Watteau.

and the song in which the plaintiff endeavours to inflame, and the defendant endeavours to mitigate, the damages—all these constitute a most pungent satire in which the weaker side of a trial by jury is ruthlessly exposed and ridiculed.

I think it best to say nothing about works by authors still living, and I refrain, with difficulty, from any discussion of "Forensic Fables," of "Misleading Cases," and of Topsy's experiences as a jurywoman. When I first projected this Reading, I had intended in this place to mention, but only to mention, Mr. Galsworthy. By his death English literature has suffered a severe loss. I may perhaps call to your attention, as possessing a direct interest for lawyers, four of his plays—"The Silver Box," "Justice," "Escape," and "Loyalties"—the last, if I may venture an opinion, the best and most interesting of all its author's plays. For the rest I may perhaps suggest as an interesting theme to some collector of curiosities of law the obligations of novelists to Lords of Appeal. A few moments ago I drew your attention to the assistance which Stevenson received from Lord Dunedin. A letter in *The Times* last February shows that Mr. Galsworthy was able, in dealing with points of law in one of his novels, to command the erudition of Lord Macmillan.

I come to the last book about which I would speak. Some of you may have noticed that, while I have dealt—most inadequately I fear—with Dickens, I have said nothing about his contemporary and rival, Thackeray. Both these great men were, as you all know, students of this Inn. To Dickens' connection with the Inn we owe, I doubt not, the fact that in *Martin Chuzzlewit* the meeting place of Tom and Ruth Princh was the fountain just outside this Hall. To Thackeray's connection with the Inn we owe that chapter in *Pendennis*, "The Knights of the Temple," which must always have so special an interest for us in this Hall. I feel that, with a reference to that chapter, I reach an appropriate end. There are sketched the life of the Temple and its associations both legal and literary, sketched in parts with that rather acid humour of which Thackeray was master, in parts with a grace not unworthy to be compared with that of Charles Lamb's Essay "The Old Benchers of the Inner Temple", recently annotated with scrupulous and delightful skill by my brother Judge, Mr. Justice Mackinnon. In this chapter—The Knights of the Temple—the dinner in this Hall is described. Thackeray calls the Hall that of the "Upper Temple," but this deceives, as it was intended to deceive, no one. He tells us how here a man may sit down and fancy that he joins in a meal of the seventeenth century. Improvements, of course, there must be

and, indeed, I imagine that a meal of the seventeenth century would be very little palatable to a man living in the twentieth century. But improvements—inevitable improvements—here are made and, as I trust, always will be made, with a due regard for, and reverence for, that great and historic past which Thackeray, in common with many hundreds of others who 'have eaten dinners in this Hall, felt so profoundly.

With this chapter in *Pendennis*, a chapter which may be said to belong to everyone of us here in this Hall, I end.

My object—and I can only hope that I have not entirely failed in it—has been to suggest to those who are still young, who are on the threshold of their great profession, who, with their minds fresh and faculties untired, are beginning the study of the law, a means whereby they may vary and lighten, and, so to speak, illustrate their labours in the law by excursions into some of the most delightful fields of English literature.

RAMMOHUN ROY : THE FIRST PHASE

(From New and Unpublished Sources)

By BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

Calcutta

OF all the stages of Rammohun's many-sided career, his youth and early manhood is the one most lacking in authentic details. What we know of Rammohun's life before the commencement of the 19th century is both vague and meagre and almost wholly based on hearsay and late tradition. We were thus faced with a forbidding scantiness of material when I came upon two very important sources of Rammohun's biography. They are, first, the old Revenue records of the Government of Bengal and, second, the papers of an extremely important case in the Equity Division of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, in which Rammohun was involved.¹ Owing to the fact that almost all his properties were implicated in this suit, we have in these documents a wealth of detail regarding the sources and the stages of acquisition of Rammohun's wealth and property which is wholly new. They contain a good deal of information about the circumstances of the family when Rammohun was a young man, and thus form an important source of information for his early life as well. It is mainly with the help of this find that the following outline of the first phase of Rammohun's career has been reconstructed, while the Revenue records have been of invaluable help in filling up the gaps and checking the testimonies of the witnesses in the case.

Rammohun Roy's Ancestry and Childhood

Rammohun was born into a family of combined landed proprietors and State employees who were coming into prominence in Bengali society towards the latter half of the 18th century. His great-grandfather, Krishnachandra Banerjee, was in the service of the ruler of Bengal, who conferred on him the title of *Roy-Rayan*. He had three sons, the youngest of whom, called Brajabinode, was the grandfather

¹ I have been enabled to utilize this last-mentioned source through the kindness and help of Mr. Khagendranath Chatterjee.

of Rammohun and was also, as Rammohun himself says in a memorial sent to Lord Minto in 1809,

... .. at various times chief of different districts during the administration of His Highness the Nawab Mohabut Jang [Alivardi.]¹

The Mughal Emperor Akbar Shah II also wrote to Rammohun about

the good services rendered by your grandfather to his late Majesty [Shah Alam II], at the time of his residence in the Eastern Provinces.²

Ramkanta Roy, Brajabinode's fifth son, was the father of Rammohun. He, too, like his forefathers, is said to have served the Court at Murshidabad in his early life. But our records show him at Radhanagar in his later years, engaged in the management of his property.

Brajabinode Roy had six sons besides Ramkanta, and their names were Nimananda, Ramkishore, Radhamohan, Gopimohan, Ramram and Bishnuram. All of them, including Ramkanta, were living in the same ancestral homestead at Radhanagar with their wives and children, but at some unspecified time they had become separate both as regards food and property. Ramkanta Roy was married thrice. His first wife, who was called Subhadra Devi, had no children. The second, Tarini Devi, was the mother of two sons, Jagamohan and Rammohun, and a daughter whose name is not known. The third wife of Ramkanta, whose name was Ram-mani Devi, had one son, Ramlochan Roy who was the youngest of Ramkanta's sons. As some confusion exists on this score it is necessary to state here that Ramlochan Roy and Ramtanu Roy are two different persons, the latter being the son of the above-mentioned Gopimohan Roy.³

Of the two sons of Tarini Devi, Rammohun was the younger. He was born while Ramkanta was living at his ancestral house at Radhanagar, but we have no means as yet of ascertaining the authentic date of his birth. The generally accepted date is 1774, though Miss Collet

¹ For the full text of this petition the reader is referred to my article on *Rammohun Roy and an English Official*, published in the *Modern Review* for June, 1929.

² See my monograph on *Rammohun Roy's Political Mission to England*, pp. 3-4.

³ Deposition of Ramtanu Roy taken on August 27, 1818. Ramtanu was the son of Gopimohan Roy, brother of Ramkanta Roy, and was cited as a witness on behalf of the defendant—Rammohun. In his deposition Ramtanu describes himself thus: "Dewan aged 38 years or thereabout He was the Dewan to the Salt Agent at Tamuk which estate (sic) he resigned on the 28rd February last... He maintains himself by the rents and profits of his real estates and the interests of his personal estates He was in the situation of Dewan at Tamuk for about one year, previous to which he was employed as Naib Dewan to the said Salt Agent for about six months and during that period he was employed as Peshkar also."

prefers May 22, 1772, on the authority of information indirectly derived from Ramaprasad Roy, the younger son of Rammohun. The only contemporary data about Rammohun's age we have at present are two statements of Mr. Digby that when he met Rammohun first, the latter was twenty-seven years of age, and that in 1817 he was about forty-three. We shall see below that there is reason to think that Digby first met Rammohun in 1801. This as well as the other statement would give 1774 as the year of Rammohun's birth. I am inclined to accept this provisionally, though it would not be safe to dogmatize about it.

Whatever may have been the date of his birth, there can be no doubt that the childhood of Rammohun was spent in the Radhanagar house. There, at the age of 14, he became acquainted with Nandakumar Vidyalankar of Palpara near Sukhsagar, who later became famous as Hariharanandanath Tirthaswami. The current tradition is that Rammohun met him first at Rangpur. This, however, is shown to be incorrect by the testimony of Vidyalankar himself, who says "that he hath known Rammohun Roy from the time [he] attained the age of fourteen years and hath ever since been on the most intimate terms with him."¹ As a matter of fact, Hariharanandanath was associated with Rammohun not only in spiritual matters as is generally believed, but in business transactions as well. As Nandakumar Vidyalankar or Hariharanandanath was a teacher by profession in his early life it is tempting to suppose that Rammohun learnt Sanskrit from him.

In 1791 Ramkanta Roy removed with his three wives, three sons and a grandson on the daughter's side to Langulpara—a village not far from Radhanagar, where he built a new house and settled down with his branch of the family.² The causes which led to this removal are not known, but the ancestral house was probably getting over-crowded and Ramkanta was perhaps desirous of living more comfortably without however giving up the right to his share of the ancestral house. He was in very prosperous circumstances at this time, for, in addition to his other properties, he had, in May, 1791, taken in farm from the Company, for nine years (1198-1206 B. S.), the pargana of Bhursoot whose annual *sadar jama* was assessed at Rs. 1,01,389. His eldest son Jagamohan was his surety for this farm.³ Ramkanta Roy was apparently training his sons in the

¹ Deposition of Nandakumar Vidyalankar taken on 27th August, 1818. Nandakumar Vidyalankar was the guru of Rammohun Roy and was cited as a witness on his behalf. He describes himself thus: "Pandit aged fifty-six years or thereabout He is a Brahmin and maintains himself by the donations and contributions of his disciples *chishyas*."

² Depositions of Ramtanu Roy and Gurudas Mukherji.

³ Board of Revenue *Proceeds.*, dated 2nd May, 1791, Nos. 30, 85.

vocation of a landlord from an early age. In 1794, an important *taluq* called *Harirampur* in *Chitwa Pargana* was bought at a revenue sale in the name of Jagamohan Roy,¹ and a Bengali letter dated 22nd March, 1796 (12 Chaitra, 1202 B. S.),² proves that young Rammohun was also engaged in looking after his father's property from an early age.

The new house, which Ramkanta built at Langulpura and in which he established new idols, was the typical house of a well-to-do landed proprietor of the age. We have a very full description of it in the Board of Revenue records, because more than twenty-five years later the Government was proposing to bring it up for sale for arrears of revenue due from Ramkanta's son Jagamohan and had a minute inventory prepared. This inventory shows that the residential portion of the house stood on 16 bighas of *Brahmottar* land, with tanks and orchards, in which there were 100 mango, 70 cocoanut and 200 palmyra trees. The palmyra trees stood on the banks of a big tank to the east of the house occupying 18 bighas of land. There were two other smaller tanks. Part of the property which was occupied by the buildings was surrounded by 700 cubits of brick wall, and within the enclosure were *pucca* as well as straw *baitak-lhana* houses, a straw *nat-mandir*, an *atchala*, other single and double-storied buildings, a *pucca bhandar* room, two straw kitchens and two *durwaza* houses, both *kutchas* and *pucca* with accommodation for menials. Some of these were of quite a fair size. The six-roomed *pucca* building in the zenana, for example, was slightly over fifty-two feet long. Like all Bengali houses of the age it was a rambling affair, more like a collection of homesteads than one house. Some of us may even now have faded recollections of such houses seen in our childhood, and it was in this characteristic Bengali setting that Rammohun's adolescence and early manhood was spent.

Partition of Property and After

The family was apparently maintaining its outward appearance of opulence and unity when an important legal transaction took place towards the end of 1796. On December 1, 1796 (19th Agrahayana,

¹ Letter, dated 14th August, 1794, from S. Davis, Collector of Burdwan, to the Board of Revenue, Calcutta. *Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, dated 19th August, 1794, No. 4.

² Published in the *Nabyabharata* of 1803 B. S. (Ashwin, p. 284).

³ Enclosure (Separate Paper No. 1) to letter, 19th January, 1818, from A. Campbell, Collector of Midnapur, to the Board of Revenue, Calcutta. *Board of Revenue Consultation*, dated 27th Jan., 1818, Nos. 82-83. Also Enclosure (Separate Paper No. 1) to letter, dated 8th May 1822, from J. Digby, Collector of Burdwan, to the Board of Revenue, Calcutta. *Board of Revenue Gen.*, 17th May 1822, No. 8.

1208 B. S.), Ramkanta Roy executed a document by which he divided the greater portion of his immovable property among his three sons, reserving only a part for himself. This deed, which all the three sons of Ramkanta endorsed, was attested by seven witnesses, and Ramkanta had the seal of the Qazi of Krishnagar (Khanakul)—Khadumoashshira—affixed to it. In this deed Ramkanta Roy wrote :

You three will enjoy and possess the dwelling houses and tanks and *Ber* gardens and so forth according to the shares which I have defined and allotted to you three. The wearing apparel, goods and effects, ornaments and so forth which I have given severally to individuals are become theirs. I have not given any cash to either of you three. Whatever goods and effects, ornaments and so forth I may give hereafter to individuals severally, shall become theirs, for which there shall be no mutual claims among you three one and against the other. A small part of my self-acquired property and the Burdwan lodging house remain my own exclusive of the shares I have given to you three. You have no concern with my debts and dues extant contracted before this and what shall be so hereafter and with what I may earn from this day I will give the same to whomsoever I please. I have no concern with what you may earn. My own share of the worship of *Ishur* which devolved from my father remains yours three persons in equal shares. All the idols and worship connected with the worship which I have established myself, remain mine, you have no concern therewith. Jagamohan Roy and Rammohun Roy the lands given by your maternal grandfather are become the property of you two. The lands given by Ramlochan Roy's maternal grandfather are become Ramlochan Roy's. I give the lands and tanks whereof Bills of Sale have been obtained by the daughter of the late Bhattacharya in the names of her own sons Jagamohan Roy's, etc. to her. I give to the daughter of the said Ramshankar Roy the lands which she has purchased. Should a claim be ever preferred for the same one against another it is false. I give the entire *talug* Harirampur in Chetooa Pargana to Jagamohan Roy. With this *talug* Rammohun Roy and Ramlochan Roy have no concern. Year 1203, date 19th Agra-hayana.¹

It will be seen from this that Ramkanta Roy gave something to his two younger wives, but that nothing fell to the share of the childless Subhadra Devi.

¹ The original document is in Bengali. The English version given is from the translation given in the schedule to Govindprasad Roy's plaint, dated 28rd June, 1817. The correctness of this translation was admitted by Rammohun.

All the sons endorsed this document in identical words :

I Sri.....Roy write I take the dwelling house and so forth which you have allotted to me according to the particulars on this sheet. I will enjoy and possess according to this allotment. Should I ever prefer any claim to any of the items specified, against anybody, or if any one prefers it, it is false. Year 1208, date 19th Agrahayana.

By this partition, which amounted to a gift, Rammohun got the following properties :

Sri Rammohun Roy's Share.

<i>Mauza</i> Nangoorpara : Dwelling and Ber house, Hall bounded by four boundaries together with trees etc. and the tank towards the private door and the new tank with its banks four boundaries. Of all these one moiety ..	1 One Item
Gohalbatee's Ber with trees, etc., and Halls bounded by four boundaries	8 Eight Bighas
In <i>Mauza</i> Crishnnogar : Soorjdas Roy's Ber Paddy Lands	9 Nine Bighas
Paddy lands at Cotholyarcoond	3 Three Bighas
Poorunchuck in Parg. Chundercoona	70 Seventy Bighas
My own share of the paternal Ber in <i>Mauza</i> Kettyadul	1 One Item
House with a pond bounded by four boundaries purchased of Ramcrishn Set and others at Jorasanko in <i>Mauza</i> Calcutta	1 One Item
My own share of the paternal tank at Copinathpoor .	1 One Item.

Without going into the details of the other two brothers' shares, it may be stated that, roughly speaking, all the brothers got shares of equal value, with one exception. This exception was that Jagamohan Roy got the *taluk* of Harirampur which had been bought in his name and with which somehow or other he seems to have been specially associated. Of the dwelling houses, that at Langulpara went to Jagamohan and Rammohun in equal shares (value of Rammohun's share being four to five thousand rupees), while Ramlochan got his father's share of the ancestral house at Radhanagar. Another important point to note is that Rammohun Roy got the Calcutta house of Ramkanta at Jorasanko, which was valued at about Rs. 3,000.

Though such a partition and gift could take place at the father's option under the *Dayabhaga* laws in their original form, it cannot be

said that it is or was ever a common occurrence in Bengal. It is, therefore, natural to ask if any special reasons existed for it—a query which it is not at all easy to answer. The documents I have been able to consult do not offer any explanation. So we are left wholly to conjecture or at best inference. In the special interrogatories prepared on behalf of Rammohun and intended for Tarini Devi, if produced, there is a passage which refers to the reasons for the partition. It runs :

Did you not hear from the said Ramkanta Roy why or for what reason he had made such partition of his property during his lifetime ? If yea, declare what reasons were assigned by the said Ramkanta Roy for so dividing or allotting his property.....

Tarini Devi was not, however, produced before the Court for examination, and thus we have no answer to this question. But as this set of interrogatories was prepared with a view to cross-examining her, it is quite likely that she had something to do with the partition and a probable hypothesis is that the quarrels between the two younger wives of Ramkanta were one of the reasons which led to it. The fact that Ramlochan Roy was given the Radhanagar house and shortly afterwards removed there with his mother lends some support to this view. This does not, however, exclude alternative or additional explanations, of which I shall put forward one for what it is worth. We know from the deed of partition as well as from other sources that Ramkanta was more or less indebted at this time. He had two or three months before the partition executed a *kistbandi* bond to the Raja of Burdwan binding himself to pay in instalments a sum of Rs. 7,501 on account of the arrear *jama* of parganas Buleca, Bugdee, etc., in one year and by the 15th Ashwin 1204 B. S. (28th Sept., 1797). Bearing this obligation in mind Ramkanta might have made an attempt to safeguard a part of his property for his sons at the expense of his creditor. That in the end he managed to evade this particular payment by "pleading his want of means,"¹ is a further confirmation of the assumption.

However that might be, the separation became a legal fact. Whether it was also real is an interesting though difficult question. There is no doubt that so far as Ramlochan Roy and his mother were concerned, the separation was actual as well as legal. But the situation in regard to Ramkanta, Jagamohan and Rammohun is more complicated. About twenty years after the partition, Govinda-

¹ See *Calcutta Review* for August, 1931, pp. 162-65.

prasad Roy, the son of Jagamohan, brought a suit against his uncle Rammohun claiming his due share in the properties then held by Rammohun on the ground that Ramkanta, Jagamohan and Rammohun had reunited after the partition and that the properties in the actual possession of Rammohun were the properties and acquisitions of a joint, undivided Hindu family. This claim was vigorously disputed from Rammohun's side. He categorically denied that "immediately or shortly or at any time after the said partition the said Ramkanta, Jagamohan and the defendant [Rammohun] reunited and lived together as a Hindu family or became again and were joint and undivided in food, property and in all other respects," and produced witness after witness, all, it must however be admitted, his relations and friends and persons under obligation to him, to prove that Ramkanta, Jagamohan, and he had never reunited with one another and had all three kept separate accounts of their earnings and expenditure. He admitted that after the partition, he and Jagamohan Roy remained the joint owners or co-sharers of the Langulpara house, that the families of the two brothers lived together under the superintendence and management of their mother Tarini Devi, and that they both paid the expenses of their mother Tarini Devi and their stepmother Subhadra Devi, of their respective families and of the religious services at their house in equal proportions, but he denied that these expenses were paid out of "any common stock or fund" and further said that Ramkanta, he and Jagamohan "were in all other respects unconnected with each other," having "separate and distinct servants and establishments for the service, accommodation and ceremonies of each other and of their respective families" and that the contributions of the two brothers towards the common expenses were paid into the hands of certain *sarkars*.

This state of affairs, though a little illogical and confused, might after all be what actually existed, for even now we come across Hindu families which are separated as regards title to property but united to all outward appearance. This is the result of an unstable and weak compromise between conservatism and self-interest, but it is quite probable that Rammohun's and Jagamohan's families were, as a witness put it, "united in food but divided in property."²

On the other hand, there is no need to take a legal defence at its full face value, particularly when there is independent evidence

¹ Rammohun Roy's answer filed on 4th October, 1817.

² Deposition of Becharam Sen, produced on behalf of the complainant—Govinda-prasad Roy. Becharam was "formerly a *Mohurrir* in the service of the defendant for several years since 1815 and of the complainant from Achar, 1824."

to show that the affairs of Ramkanta, Jagamohan and Rammohun were not as distinct and self-contained as Rammohun tried to prove was the case. We have already seen that *taluk* Harirampur in Chitwa pargana was expressly allotted to Jagamohan in the deed of partition to the exclusion of any claim from anybody else. Yet, I have come across a letter, dated 11th July, 1800, in the Board of Revenue records in which the Collector of Burdwan writes that Ramkanta Roy "is generally supposed to be the actual proprietor of Harirampur, although it is registered in the name of his son."¹ Three years later, in connection with a case of default by Jagamohan Roy, the Collector of Midnapur also wrote that "his father [Ramkanta]... is said to have had the joint management of all his concerns."² In addition to these two statements, we find from two Bengali letters of Rammohun himself, dated 21st February, 1798 and 28th February, 1799,³ that he was issuing instructions from Bhursut in respect of properties which were neither allotted to him in the partition nor included in the list of the properties which were self-acquired by him, and which, accordingly, must have belonged to his father. All these important contemporary evidence goes against Rammohun's categorical statement that the affairs of the father and the sons were wholly distinct.

There are also other indications of Ramkanta's continued interest in the affairs of his sons and of his desire to help their worldly advancement. In the period after the partition he was acting as the Muktear of Maharani Bishen Kumari of Burdwan and held the management of her estates. During that time and with her money he purchased some *mauzas* in a revenue sale in the *furzeer* or substituted names of his son Jagamohan and two other persons. For some years Jagamohan not only enjoyed the actual benefits of this property, but tried to make his possession more secure by applying at the Collectorate for a separation from the other *benamdars*, while his father tried to transform the *benami* title of his son into a real title by manufacturing a proof of resale from Maharani Bishen Kumari to Jagamohan. Jagamohan's right to the property was, however, promptly contested by Maharaja Tej Chund after the death of his

¹ Letter, dated 11th July, 1800, from B. Cunningham, Collector of Burdwan, to the Board of Revenue.—*Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, dated 15th July, 1800, No. 14.

² Letter, dated 25th March, 1803, from T. H. Ernst, Collector of Midnapur, to Wm. Parker, Actg. Collector of Burdwan.—*Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, dated 22nd April, 1803, No. 3.

³ Published by Pandit Mahendranath Vidyanidhi in the *Nabyabharata* of 1303 B.S. (Ashwin, pp. 284-85).

mother in November, 1798, and after a prolonged litigation the case was decided in the Maharaja's favour.¹ There is reason to think, as we shall presently see, that Ramkanta tried to help Rammohun also with money and landed property even after the partition.

We must now come back from the discussion of probabilities to what actually took place after the partition. Within a short time of it Ramlochan Roy removed to Radhanagar with his mother and lived there till his death in Pous 1216 B.S. (Dec.-Jan., 1809-10). Ramkanta went to Burdwan and occupied himself with the management of some zamindari which he had farmed from the Government and the Raja of Burdwan, and of that part of his property which he had reserved to himself, as well as of the estates of Maharani Bishen Kumari whose Muktear or agent he was. From this date till his death he lived for the most part at Burdwan and fixed his residence in the house which he had kept for his own use.² This did not, however, prevent him from remaining in close touch with his family which he occasionally visited. He went both to Langulpara and Radhanagar, and all his sons, too, visited him at Burdwan whenever they could or wanted. We have the specific testimony of one witness that Rammohun occasionally visited his father at Burdwan when he was not absent from home.³ But none of Ramkanta's wives ever went to see or live with him for any time at Burdwan.⁴

In the Langulpara house, the partition brought about very little outward change except the removal of Ramlochan and his mother. Tarini Devi remained there with her sons and their wives as well as her grandson on the daughter's side (Gurudas Mookerji) and perhaps also her daughter. As we have already seen, it was she who supervised and managed the affairs of the family, and under her, to all appearance, masterful control of the secular as well as the religious routine of the affairs of the family was strictly maintained.⁵

Turning now to Rammohun himself, we find that there is less paucity of information about his activities in this than in the previous

¹ See *Sadar Dewani Adalat Reports*, Vol. I, pp. 257-59: "Raja Tej Chandra Vs. Jugamohun Roy."

² Answer of Rammohun Roy filed on 4th October, 1817.

³ Deposition of Radhakristo Banerji Bhattacharya taken on 21st August, 1819. He was cited as a witness of the complainant—Govindaprasad Roy. "He went daily to Langulpara family as an officiating Brahmin."

⁴ Deposition of Guruprasad Roy taken on 1st October, 1818. Guruprasad was the son of Neemananda Roy, eldest brother of Ramkanta Roy. He describes himself thus: "Zamindar aged 47 years or thereabout.....He was in the employ of Ramkanta Roy from 1204 to 1207 B.S."

⁵ Rammohun Roy's answer filed on 4th October 1817.

period, though it cannot be described by any means as full or abundant. But small as this information is in quantity, it nevertheless establishes some very important and reliable fixed points in Rammohun's life, from which it is possible to construct an articulated skeleton of his career. We learn from the testimony of Guruprasad Roy that about nine months after the partition Rammohun went to reside in Calcutta. There is nothing surprising in this, because Rammohun had probably had the Calcutta house of Ramkanta assigned to himself with a view to living there. But it does not seem probable that he fixed his permanent residence in Calcutta so early. There are other documentary testimonies which show him at different places at this time. Piecing all these indications together it seems probable that from 1796 to 1800 Rammohun was coming and going between Calcutta and the different places at which the other members of his family or its properties were.

The same Guruprasad Roy tells us that when Rammohun went to Calcutta he left his "wives" at Langulpara. He must, therefore, have been married more than once before 1797, and his wives must have been living in that year. It also seems probable that one of Rammohun's marriages took place after or very shortly before the same date, for we find Nandakumar Vidyalankar (Hariharanandanath Tirthaswami) deposing with reference to the year 1799 that Rammohun "was married at or before the time of the date of the said paper-writing [1799]," but that he had not "at that time or before any child or children by such marriage or otherwise."¹

The immediate occasion of Rammohun's going to Calcutta in 1797 was most probably a business transaction. In 1797 he lent a sum of seven thousand and five hundred rupees to the Hon'ble Andrew Ramsay, a Civil Servant of the East India Company, who was Assistant to the Collector of Midnapur till 1797 and went to Benares towards the close of that year as Assistant to the Commercial Resident. The money was sent by Rammohun through his *sarkar* to the office of an attorney where the Hon'ble Andrew Ramsay executed a bond.²

¹ It is worth while to give here the current account of Rammohun's marriages. According to William Adam his first wife died at a very early age after which his father, when he was only about nine years of age, married him within an interval of less than a twelve month to two different wives. Nandamohun Chatterji, a descendant of the Roy family, says that the name of Rammohun's second wife was Srimati Devi and that of the third, Uma Devi (eldest sister of Madanmohun Chatterji of Bhownipur). The second wife, who is said to have died in 1824, was the mother of all of Rammohun's children. The third wife (childless) survived him. The information now before us indicates that Rammohun was married at least once after he had reached the years of discretion.

² Deposition of Goloknarayan Sarkar taken on 11th May, 1819. Goloknarayan was cited as a witness on behalf of Rammohun. He describes himself thus: "A sarkar residing at Simla but out of employ. Knows defendant for 23 or 24 years."

As Guruprasad Roy says that Rammohun went to Calcutta nine months after the partition, and as Ramsay joined his appointment at Benares in December, the transaction must have taken place sometime between August and November, 1797.

The next two mentions of Rammohun's whereabouts are to be found in two of his own letters dated 21st February, 1798, and 28th February, 1799, respectively, which contained instructions about certain business matters and were written from Bhursut. Bhursut, it will be recalled, was the *pargana* which was taken in farm by Ramkanta from the Government for nine years from 1791 to 1800 and in which some of Ramkanta's ancestral properties were situated.

In the following year, Rammohun transacted a far more important business. On 12th July, 1799 (30 Ashar, 1206 B.S.), he bought at Burdwan two *talucs* called Govindapur (in Jahanabad Pargana) and Rameshwarpur (in Chandrakona Pargana) for Rs. 3,100 and Rs. 1,250 from Gangadhar Ghosh and Ramtanu Roy respectively.¹ These *talucs* were two of the most important properties held by Rammohun. The net income which accrued from them to Rammohun after paying all expenses and the *sadar jama* (which was Rs. 21,868-12-0 in 1799) was between five and six thousand rupees.

An incidental, but important, question arises in connection with the loan to Andrew Ramsay and the purchase of the two *talucs* mentioned above. In his plaint Govindaprasad Roy contended that the money for these transactions was given by Ramkanta Roy from a common fund. Rammohun, however, denied this and asserted that neither Ramkanta nor Jagamohan had any connection with these transactions and that all the money was his own. There is, however, this difficulty in the way of accepting Rammohun's version as correct that we cannot explain where Rammohun got so large a sum of money from. He lent seven thousand and five hundred rupees to Andrew Ramsay within a year of his getting his share of the paternal property. So far as we know, he was at home during all this time, without employment or additional sources of income of any kind. Besides, the property which he got from his father was not so extensive as to give him this sum of money in less than a year, and we have no proof that at this time he sold any part of his property. The Calcutta house which was the only property received from his father ever sold by him with a view to converting his landed resources into liquid assets, was alienated much later. These objections hold true in the case of the purchase of Rameshwarpur and Govindapur

¹ Answer of Rammohun Roy filed on 4th October, 1817.

also, though in a lesser degree. On the other hand, Ramkanta Roy was in very prosperous circumstances at that time. He was then managing the affairs of the Burdwan zamindari and holding important zamindaries in farm in his own name. Another important consideration to be borne in mind is that by the deed of partition Jagamohan Roy got the *talug* of Harirampur, the income of which was between five and six thousand rupees a year, while Rammohun got nothing half so profitable. We have also seen that Ramkanta was helping his son Jagamohan to acquire more property by virtue of his position at Burdwan. It was, therefore, not at all improbable that he should have done the same for his second son and wished to place both the brothers in equal affluence.

Evil Days of the Roy Family and Rammohun's Prosperity.

The closing year of the 18th century saw a disastrous turn in the fortunes of the Roy family as a result of which it was almost wholly ruined in three years. On November 9, 1798, Maharani Bishen Kumari died and with her Ramkanta's power and influence at Burdwan came to an end. On July 13, 1799, Maharaja Tej Chund brought a suit against Ramkanta and Jagamohan in order to recover the *benami* property of his mother which the father and the son were trying to get for themselves. Early in 1800 Ramkanta's farm of Bhursut Pargana expired and he was found to be in arrears of revenue for the year 1206 B. S. The arrears due to the Maharaja of Burdwan for the zamindaries taken in lease from him also reached the high figure of about Rs. 80,000 by this time. By the middle of the next year (1800) Ramkanta was put in *dewani* jail by the Government. He, however, managed to pay a part of the arrears due, viz., Rs. 3,338-2-5 being principal and interest, himself, and the balance was realized from the sale of the lands of his son, Jagamohan, who was his surety.¹ He thus became free from his debt to the Government and was released from the Hooghly jail early in October, 1801. But immediately afterwards he was again put in jail by the Raja of Burdwan who kept him first at Hooghly and afterwards in the *dewani* jail at Burdwan. In 1801 Jagamohan Roy failed to pay the revenue of Harirampur for the year 1207 B. S. He was arrested in June, and kept in the Midnapur *dewani* jail from which he did not come out till 9th March, 1805, and his *talug* of Harirampur was sold in lots in 1801-02. Even after this measure the Government was inquiring about the resources of the family so as to compel the defaulter to pay.

¹ *Board of Revenue Proceedgs.*, 9th October, 1801, No. 57.

But these inquiries did not yield great results, and in 1803 the Collector of Burdwan wrote :

I have made enquiries respecting the truth of Ramlochan's assertions [about the inability of the family to pay] from such persons as were immediately near me, and...they all agree in declaring that they believe the family, although once opulent, to be now in ruined and desperate circumstances.¹

Rammohun alone escaped this ruin through his astuteness and enterprise. He must have known the affairs of the family well and been anticipating the events. Towards the end of 1799 we find him putting his own affairs in order and preparing to go to "Patna, Benares, and to other provinces remote from Calcutta," obviously in search of employment.² Three legal documents, all concerning the business affairs of Rammohun in this year have come down to us. The first of them is a *kistbandi* bond (in mixed Persian and Bengali)³ executed by Rammohun for Rs. 17,989-6-0, constituting the revenue of the *taluqs* Rameshwarpur and Govindapur from Sravan to Chaitra of the Bengali year 1206. Rammohun had apparently not been able to pay the revenue and was putting the whole affair on a business footing so that the *taluqs* might not be put up to sale for arrears of revenue. The second and the third documents, which were closely related, are respectively a *kabala* written in Persian but signed in Bengali, and a Bengali *ikrarnama* attested to by three witnesses among whom was Rammohun's *guru*, the famous Hariharanandanath Tirthaswami, *sakin* Raghunathpur. By the first document which was executed on 7th Paus, 1206 (20th December, 1799), and registered at Hooghly on 10th January, 1800, before A. Cockburn, Registrar, Rammohun made a sale of his *taluqs* Rameshwarpur and Govindapur to his friend and relation, Rajiblochan Roy, for a sum of Rs. 4,001.⁴ This was, however, a fictitious or *benami* transaction for which no money was actually paid, though Rammohun acknowledged before witnesses that he had received the money.⁵ The *ikrarnama* which

¹ Letter, dated 30th March, 1803, from W. Parker, Actg. Collector of Burdwan, to the Actg. Collector of Midnapur.—*Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, 22nd April, 1803, No. 3.

² Deposition of Rajiblochan Roy; Rammohun Roy's answer.

³ বঙ্গদেশে মতর হাজির নগ শত উননকিই হর আনা আঠার গতা কনা ইত্যক আদব নাগাদী আবেরি
শ্রীমদমোহন রায় সা বঙ্গ ভগাড়া ১৭৯৯।—Mixed Persian and Bengali Records (Board of Revenue),
No. 4—^{Wk}_g, p. 625.

⁴ This document gives the following information regarding the parties: "Document executed by Rammohun Roy son of Ramkanta Roy and grandson of Braja Binode Roy of Nangurpara Zila Hooghly in favour of Rajib Lochan Roy son of Madan Mohan Roy grandson of Ram Gopal Roy of Jara, Pargana Chandrakona, Zila Hooghly."

⁵ Deposition of Rajiblochan Roy taken on 10th and 20th April, 1819. Rajiblochan was, as Rammohun says in his answer, "a confidential friend of this defendant." He was "Rammohun aged 60 years and upwards."

bore the date 7th Paus (20th December, 1799) and was given by the same Rajiblochan Roy to Gurudas Mookerji, the nephew (sister's son) of Rammohun, who was not present there and was only a boy of about eleven, runs as follows :

আপনকার অস্থিতিতে ও টাকার লাট রাশেশ্বরপুর মোতালক পরগণে চত্ৰকোণা ও লাট সোবিলপুর পরগণে জাহানাবাদ হুই লাটের সদর জমা ২১৮৬৮৫১১ শ্রীরাঘনোহন রাজের নিকট সন ১২০৬ সালের ৭ পৌষ বঃ ৪০০১ টাকা সিকা পনে আপন নামে আপনার বেনামিতে খরিদ করিলাম। এই হুই লাটের মালিক ও দান বিক্রীর অধিকারী আপনি আমার সহিত কি আমার ওয়ারিসানের সহিত কিছু এলাকা নাই।

কোন বিছা দাওয়া আমি ইহাতে করি কিবা কেহ করে সে বাতিল এবং মিথ্যা।

This document was, however, delivered not to Gurudas Mookerji or his legal guardian but to Rammohun who kept it with himself.¹

The obvious intention of the transaction completed by the two last-mentioned documents was to keep the title of Rammohun to the *talugs* as much in the background as possible and at the same time to enable him to assert his rights against everybody whenever he chose to do so. And it cannot be doubted that the intention was realized to the full by the documents. The *kabala* was a regularly registered document and, to all intents and purposes, a valid deed of sale, unless its *benami* nature could be definitely proved. This is always a difficult matter. So, in order to safeguard himself against any possibly fraudulent intentions of Rajiblochan Roy, Rammohun had the *ikrarnama* executed in favour of a minor, who in his turn could not prove a real title. The threefold effect of this transaction was, therefore, this: first, the *talugs* to all outward appearance were Rajiblochan Roy's; secondly, Rajiblochan could not prove a title to them on account of the *ikrarnama* which was taken by Rammohun; and thirdly, Gurudas Mookerji, too, had no real title, and not only because Rammohun kept the *ikrarnama* in his own possession, but also because he could not prove a *bona fide* purchase, or a real payment of money by himself or his father or mother on his behalf.

Such was the transaction. What were the motives, it may be asked, behind all this *finesse*? On this point Rammohun himself says:

... sometime in or about the year of Christ 1800 this defendant was about to proceed to Patna Benares and to other provinces remote from Calcutta and considering the uncertainty of life and having at that time no child this defendant was desirous that in the event of his death happening during his absence from Calcutta, one Gurudas Mookerji then an infant of the age of ten or eleven years and who was the only son of

¹ Deposition of Nandakumar Vidyalankar.

this defendant's sister should after this defendant's death inherit or become entitled to the said two *talugs* of Rameshwarpur and Govindapur and that this defendant therefore as is usual amongst Hindoos caused a nominal transfer of the said two *talugs* to be executed to the said Rajiblochan Roy who was a confidential friend of this defendant in trust for the said Gurudas Mookerji.¹

From both Rajiblochan Roy's and Gurudas Mookerji's depositions we, however, find that the transfer was made with the object of better and more convenient management of the property during Rammohun's absence.

It must be admitted that the latter explanation is more admissible than that of Rammohun, which is highly coloured and, on the face of it, not quite straightforward. We have already seen that the transaction conferred no real title on Gurudas Mookerji, and in the event of Rammohun's untimely death he could not make good his claim as against Rajiblochan, or Rammohun's legal heirs even with the *ikrar-nama* in his possession. On the other hand, when this transaction took place Rammohun was actually expecting a child, and as we shall presently see, his wanderings were neither so long nor so risky as is implied in his statement. Besides, Rajiblochan expressly states that the reason for the transfer assigned by Rammohun himself at the time of its occurrence was the better management of the properties. It is, therefore, very likely that Rammohun was using Gurudas only as the tool of his legal subtlety.

But there might have been another and no less important motive besides the plea of better management. The financial situation of the Roy family was at that time very precarious and shortly afterwards Rammohun's father was put in the *deewan* jail for his debts. Anticipating this event, Rammohun might have, of his own accord or at the prompting of his father, sought to protect his most valuable properties against being involved by any chance in the general débâcle.

Anyway, the transaction was completed and in all probability Rammohun set out on his journey shortly afterwards, before his son Radhaprasad was born towards the middle of 1800.² We know from the documentary evidence before us that Rammohun went to Patna and Benares at some time between 1800 and 1803, and, though no dates are given of his stay at these places, there can be no doubt that it was at this time that Rammohun went there. From December

¹ Rammohun Roy's answer filed on 4th October, 1817.

² Deposition of Rajiblochan Roy.

1797 to 1802 Andrew Ramsay, to whom Rammohun had lent some money, was at Benares, and it is likely that Rammohun went to him for employment or help. We shall presently come across one undoubted instance of Rammohun's serving under a Civilian obliged by him with a loan.

Rammohun's stay at Patna, Benares and whatever other places he went to was not, however, of long duration, for we find him again in Calcutta in 1801.¹ In this year he employed as his *tahbildar* or "cash-keeper" one Gopimohan Chatterji who remained continuously in his service and managed his affairs in Calcutta. From the statement of this man we find that Rammohun was keeping an establishment at Calcutta, all along, while he himself went to different places in the mofussil—such as "Patna, Benares, Rangpur and Dacca and sometimes Jessore"—on account of employment or business. For a year or two after coming back to Calcutta, he does not, however, seem to have gone to any distant place. It was during this period perhaps that Rammohun began to associate with the Qazi-ul-quzat of the *Sadar Dewani Adalat* and the Head Persian Munshi of the College of Fort William, as well as with the principal officers of those two institutions. The following passage in a memorial of Rammohun to Lord Minto (dated April, 1809) supports this conjecture:

The education which your petitioner has received, as well as the particulars of his birth and parentage, will be made known to your Lordship by a reference to the principal officers of the *Sudder Dewani Adalat* and the College of Fort William, and many of the gentlemen in the service of the Hon'ble Company, as well as other gentlemen of respectability and character.

The word 'education' in this passage would suggest that Rammohun was indebted in some way for his education to these Muhammadan officials, or at any rate they had special opportunities of acquiring first-hand knowledge of Rammohun's intellectual attainments. It is not at all unlikely that Rammohun carried on his Islamic studies with these officials, and Calcutta was in those days a great centre of Muhammadan learning, thanks to the interest taken by the new rulers of the country in the laws and customs of their predecessors.

There is further confirmation of Rammohun's special association with the learned Maulvis of the *Sadar Dewani Adalat* and the College

¹ Deposition of Gopimohan Chatterji taken on 28th September, 1818. Gopimohan was "Muktear aged 32 years," and was cited as a witness on behalf of Rammohun. He describes himself thus: "A *tahsildar* or cash-keeper in the service of the defendant since 1803 B. E.....having lived for 17 or 18 years with Rammohun Roy in Calcutta."

of Fort William in a letter (dated 31st Jany., 1810) written by Mr. John Digby to the Board of Revenue relating to Rammohun :

I now beg leave to refer the Board to the Qazi-ul-Quzat in the Sadar Dewani Adalat, to the Head Persian Munshi of the College of Fort William, and to the other principal officers of those Departments or the character and qualifications of the man I have proposed.

f
It was perhaps at this time also that he made the acquaintance of Digby, who, as we know from State records, arrived in this country as a Writer in December, 1800, and, before joining his first appointment as Assistant to Registrar of City Court of Dacca in August 1804, had to enter the College of Fort William in order to acquire the necessary knowledge of Oriental languages. This is in perfect accord with Digby's statement that he made his first acquaintance with Rammohun when the latter was twenty-seven years old (i.e., in 1801 according to our calculation).

In Calcutta, Rammohun was also engaged in monetary transactions of various kinds. He bought Company's Papers and dealt in them,² and in the next year (1802) lent a large sum of money to another Civilian, Mr. Woodforde. His *tahbildar* Gopimohan Chatterjee says that in 1209 B.S. (1802) "he had Rs. 2,000 on his hands on account of Rammohun and Rammohun desired him to bring Rs. 3,000 from Joykissen Singh..... which sum of Rs. 5,000 was by order of Rammohun delivered to Juggernaut Mozumdar the reputed Sarcar of Thomas Woodforde, Esq."³

A few months after this (March, 1803) Rammohun went to Dacca-Jelalpur (the present Faridpur) as Mr. Woodforde's Dewan. Mr. Woodforde was perhaps very glad to accommodate in this way a man to whom he was under a heavy pecuniary obligation.

Rammohun's tenure of dewanship was, however, very short. He joined his appointment at Dacca-Jelalpur on the 7th March, 1803, and relinquished it on the 14th May next. The reason for this was

¹ Another statement about Digby's acquaintance with Rammohun occurs in a letter addressed by him to the Board of Revenue on 30th December, 1810. In this he wrote :

"...The opinion I have formed of his [Rammohun's] probity and general qualifications in a five years' acquaintance with him,....."

Though this statement is at variance with what has been said above, the discrepancy is only apparent. In this passage Digby was obviously referring to the period during which Rammohun was actually serving under him, which dates from 1806 when Digby was officiating as Magistrate of Ramghar Zila and where Rammohun acted under him in the capacity of Sheristadar of the *Faujdar* Court.

² Deposition of Gurudas Mukherji taken on 30th April and 1st May, 1819. Gurudas was the sister's son of Rammohun and was cited as a witness on behalf of the defendant. At the time of deposing he was "Sheristadar aged 32 years or thereabout."

³ Deposition of Gopimohan Chatterji.

perhaps the departure of Woodforde from Dacca-Jelalpur on account of ill-health.

About this time Ramkanta Roy, Rammohun's father, died. He had been leading a troubled existence after his release from the *dewani* jail of Burdwan. He had paid Rs. 500 to the Raja of Burdwan and executed a *kistbandi* bond to him for the balance which was to be cleared off in eleven years. His eldest son was in the *dewani* jail at Midnapur. His own creditors and those of his son were still pressing for payment, and the only chance of paying them consisted, as his youngest son Ramlochan Roy told the Collector of Burdwan, "in his obtaining a profit from a farm of a lac of rupees per annum which he holds of the Raja, and that the dependence of the whole family is on this farm."¹

All these anxieties and reverses of fortune were too much for a man of Ramkanta's age. He died in his house at Burdwan in Jaistha, 1210 (May-June 1803).² His son Ramlochan was probably there at the time and his grandson Gurudas Mookerji arrived there on the day following his death. But his wives most probably were not present there. Among his two other sons, Jagamohan Roy was in Midnapur jail and Rammohun was perhaps in Calcutta on his way back from Dacca-Jelalpur, which he must have left almost immediately after his resignation (14th May, 1803). That the latter was not present at Burdwan at his father's death-bed is established beyond doubt. In the special interrogatories prepared for Tarini Devi on behalf of Rammohun we find this question: "Where was Rammohun Roy, as you know, have heard, or do believe, at the time of the death of the said Ramkanta Roy?" As the same question is also asked with reference to Jagamohan Roy, it implies that both the sons were absent at the time of their father's death, and the priest of the family, Radhakristo Banerji Bhattacharya, when cross-interrogated on behalf of Rammohun, expressly deposed that "at the time of the death of Ramkanta Jagamohan was at Midnapore and Rammohun at some foreign place, the name of which he does not recollect."³

The death of Ramkanta was the occasion of a dispute in the family over the *sradh* ceremony, in which, to all appearance, Rammohun prominently figured. In the end, he performed a separate *sradh* at his own expense in Calcutta,⁴ while Ramlochan Roy performed the

¹ Letter, dated 30th March, 1808, from W. Parker, Actg. Collector of Burdwan, to the Actg. Collector of Midnapur.—*Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, 22nd April, 1808, No. 8.

² Rammohun's answer filed on 4th October, 1817.

³ Deposition of Radhakristo Banerji Bhattacharya.

⁴ Special Interrogatories prepared on behalf of Rammohun and intended for Tarini Devi, if produced.

sradh at Langulpara ¹ with the money which Tarini Devi had raised by pawning the jewels of her grandson, Gurudas Mukerji.² Jagamohan as the eldest son performed another *sradh* at Midnapur.³

At the time of his death Ramkanta possessed no personal property, and of real properties he had only the Burdwan house (worth about seven or eight thousand rupees) and that part of his ancestral *lakheraj* and *Brahmottar* property which he had reserved to himself by the deed of partition of 1796 and which consisted of "about 50 or 60 bighas of *Brahmottar* lands partly at Chandrakona, partly in the pargana of Jahanabad, partly at Bena, partly in Pargana Gwalla Bhoa and Bursoot and certain Ayma, or farms."⁴ The first of these, i.e., the house, was taken possession of, in part settlement of his dues, by the Raja of Burdwan who also resumed the zamindaries let in farm by him, while the other lands which were left by Ramkanta for the services of a certain idol which he had established, were applied for that purpose by his widow Tarini Devi. Three years after his death and after Jagamohan Roy had been released from the *dewani* jail it was discovered that Ramkanta had certain moneys owing to him and that he had left certain judgment decrees from the zila courts of Burdwan and Hooghly. Jagamohan formally applied for these sums as his father's heir, and in the absence of other claimants obtained them from the courts. Their amount, however, did not exceed three thousand rupees.⁵

While the death of Ramkanta and the continued imprisonment of Jagamohan left the family in great distress, Rammohun was leading a prosperous existence and, as he himself suggests, was "in rich and opulent circumstances." We find further evidence of this in the fact that in 1803 (1210 B.S.) he bought the *talug* of Langulpara in Pargana Boyrah through his *naib* Jagannath Majumdar, from Manikram Dutt and others.⁶

Soon after this Rammohun must have gone to Murshidabad, where his Arabic-Persian treatise on monotheism called "the *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahiddin* or a Gift to Monotheists" was published. The date usually assigned to the *Tuhfat* is 1803 or 1804. This date seems to be correct, for both Andrew Ramsay and Thomas Woodforde were at Murshidabad in 1804 and it is likely that there, too, Rammohun was connected in some way with these two Civilians.

¹ Deposition of Radhakristo Banerji Bhattacharya.

² Special Interrogatories.

³ Deposition of Radhakristo Banerji Bhattacharya.

⁴ Deposition of Guruprasad Roy.

⁵ Deposition of Gurudas Mukerji.

⁶ Rammohun's Answer filed on 4th October, 1817.

The tradition is that Rammohun wrote the *Tuhfat* when he was only about sixteen years old, though he did not publish it for many years. This tradition is, however, absolutely untenable, because in the preface of the *Tuhfat* we find :

" P.S. In order to avoid any future change in this book by copyists, I have had these few pages printed *just after composition*."

This would place the composition of the *Tuhfat* some time not earlier than the advent of the 19th century, if not exactly in 1803-04. In any case the treatise was never *published* in its existing form till after Rammohun's travels in 1800-1801 to which the following passage in the Introduction to the *Tuhfat* obviously refers :

" I travelled in the remotest parts of the world, in plains as well as in hilly lands."

Rammohun concluded the *Tuhfat* with the following words :

" I have left the details to another work of mine entitled *Manazirat-ul-Adiyan*,—Discussions on Various Religions."

It would perhaps be going too far to infer from this statement that Rammohun had actually *published* the latter treatise, though he might have contemplated writing it, or had even composed it, either wholly or in part, at the time when he wrote the *Tuhfat*. It is significant that not a single copy of this treatise has yet been discovered by anybody. Secondly, when speaking of his early publications against idolatry Rammohun mentions only the *Tuhfat*, and not the *Manazirat*, as will be seen from the following passage in his *Appeal to the Christian Public*, a booklet published by him in 1820 under the pseudonym of " A Friend to Truth " :

Rammohun Roy...although he was born a Brahman, not only renounced idolatry at a very early period of his life, but published at that time a treatise in Arabic and Persian against that system; and no sooner acquired a tolerable knowledge of English, than he made his desertion of idol worship known to the Christian world by his English publication.

The New Information and the Current Traditions.

I have tried to set forth above those facts of Rammohun's early life which I think are proven, or, at any rate, reasonably free from all doubts. If these give nothing more than a bare, skeletal outline,

the fault lies as much perhaps with the sources as with me. It has not been my purpose here to describe the growth of Rammohun's ideas and personality. But even if that had been the case, I very much doubt whether in the existing state of our knowledge and short of a real windfall in the way of new material, a reconstruction of the actual workings of young Rammohun's mind could at all be attempted. One must, therefore, rest satisfied for the present with what is only the second best.

But that does not, to my mind, deprive the outline given above of its legitimate value. This framework will substantially stand, and it will be within the four corners of this framework that all new facts, whenever they come, will have to be fitted. As with the new knowledge, so with the old. All that we already know or have heard about Rammohun must be brought within the same framework. This process, as everybody familiar with the existing biographies of Rammohun will find, yields very interesting results. Among them, I shall describe only those which have struck me as far-reaching.

In the first place, the statements in the current biographies about Rammohun's early and wide travels within or outside India and about prolonged sojourns in centres of Islamic, Hindu or Buddhist learning are shown to be more or less open to question. The outline I have constructed hardly leaves any room for them during the period with which we are dealing. His biographers, for example, surmise that Rammohun stayed at Benares for ten years or more in order to study Sanskrit. When could he have undertaken these or other *prolonged* sojourns? Our documents prove that Rammohun was intermittently at Langulpara, Calcutta and places not far-off from 1791 to 1800. There is, of course, mention of an intended visit to Patna and Benares and other provinces remote from Calcutta in 1800. During these travels, he might have, as the tradition has it, perfected his knowledge of the Hindu or Islamic scriptures. But these stays, as we have seen, were not long, for we find Rammohun again in Calcutta in 1801, 1802 and 1803. The only hypothesis on which the story of Rammohun's long travels and theological education becomes tenable is that he began them at the age of six or seven and finished them by the time his father removed to Langulpara in 1791. And even that would not allow sufficient time for the stays in "Tibet" (for two or three years) and Patna (duration unknown) according to the current traditions.

Secondly, the new information settles once for all the vexed question of Rammohun's patrimony. A good deal of unnecessary

sympathy has been wasted on Rammohun on this score. Mr. Sandford Arnot, his friend and latterly his Secretary in England, writes : " Though the sacrifice of his patrimonial rights was tendered at the shrine of truth and conscience, it was not eventually exacted from him." ¹ All current biographies also repeat the story that Rammohun was deprived of, or did not come into, his share of the ancestral property on account of his religious beliefs. They also state that he was persecuted by his orthodox relatives and countrymen for the same reason. All these assertions derive strong support from the line of defence Rammohun himself took up in the Burdwan case. In this defence, among other things, he said :

.....so far from inheriting the property of his deceased father, [he] had during his lifetime separated from him and the rest of the family, in consequence of his altered habits of life and change of opinions, which did not permit their living together ; the plaintiff, therefore, on the plea of inheritance, could urge no claim against the defendant.....in case of a son separating himself from his father during his lifetime, and by his own exertion acquiring property unconnected with his father, and after his father's death inheriting no portion of his father's property, both the *shastur* laws and the established usage and custom of the country do not hold him amenable for his father's debts.²

These statements of Rammohun can only be accepted with a good deal of qualification. It is of course technically true that Rammohun did not *inherit* any part of his father's property, because when old Ramkanta died there was no property left for his sons to inherit. He died in extremely embarrassed circumstances, and whatever he left was taken, with one unimportant exception, by one of his creditors, the Raja of Burdwan, in part satisfaction of his dues. But taken in its broader sense, Rammohun's assertion is both incorrect and unfair to his father. As we have already seen, Rammohun did receive his share of the paternal property, and there was no discrimination against him on any ground whatever. He received this property from his father, enjoyed it all along, and was enjoying it when he made the assertion, though perhaps he had increased it considerably like the biblical servant with one talent. Similarly, we find no proof that Ramkanta Roy was alienated from his second son

¹ *Asiatic Journal*, 1833, Sep.-Dec., p. 197.

² For the full proceedings of this case the reader is referred to my article on " A Chapter in the Personal History of Raja Rammohun Roy " published in the *Calcutta Review* for August, 1981.

during his lifetime, though of course Rammohun did not help his father with money in his distress.

Last of all, these facts show Rammohun in a new light and, as I regard it, in a more correct perspective. All the existing biographies of Rammohun suffer from an excessive stress on the religious aspect of his career. They all assign a long and rigorous religious apprenticeship to him. The new information, however, proves beyond doubt that during these years Rammohun was also occupied with the management of his father's and his own estates, with lending money to European Civilians and holding jobs under the men so obliged by him, with acquiring properties and carrying through subtle *benami* transactions, with buying Company's Papers and dealing in them, in short with making money and doing everything that went to make a successful and influential man of the world of his age. These facts show Rammohun in another aspect of his life, which is not perhaps less important for a correct understanding of his personality. What Rammohun's biographers totally failed to perceive was that religion, or rather intellectual and dialectic pre-occupation with dogma, was only a part of Rammohun's being, and that he had other matters (including his own worldly advancement) no less near to his heart. This distortion of perspective, the new material before us helps to correct. To give only one example : We have seen that the death of Ramkanta Roy was the death of an ordinary man of the world, which perhaps was sustained by his son with the fortitude of a man of the world. But the pious friends of Rammohun could not let slip such an opening for edification without improving on the occasion. So we find William Adam writing :

R. Roy, in conversation, mentioned to me with much feeling that he had stood by the deathbed of his father, who with his expiring breath continued to invoke his God—Ram ! Ram ! with a strength of faith and a fervour of pious devotion which it was impossible not to respect although the son had then ceased to cherish any religious veneration for the family deity.

Unfortunately, Rammohun was not present at all by his father's death-bed

THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA BILL, 1933

By **BENOY KUMAR SARKAR**
Calcutta University

A Big and Privileged Commercial Bank

[N the Reserve Bank of India Bill there are certain features which are likely to be interesting to those of our countrymen who wish to see the progress of joint-stock banks "under Indian auspices." The Reserve Bank is essentially a commercial bank, and since it is a big institution and an institution enjoying certain privileges from the Government, the ordinary, *i.e.*, private commercial banks have reasons for anxiety in its presence. Even large-sized commercial banks are likely to be upset by the establishment of such a powerful concern. Now, Indian banks with solitary exceptions are as a rule medium-sized, nay, tiny or pigmy. As for the eight to nine hundred Loan Offices or "cottage banks," as I have called them so often,* there is every reason for their being nervous about their very existence as soon as the Big One makes its appearance in the market.

"Indian" Banks not likely to suffer

It is just from the standpoint of these fears and anxieties of private banks that we should call attention to the very nature and function of the Reserve Bank as proposed in the present Bill. As in other countries, in India also the Reserve Bank is to be saddled with a statute such as will prevent it automatically from injuring the interests of the private banks. Indian, nay, Bengali banking concerns, as banks, are not likely to suffer simply because of the establishment of the Reserve Bank. The safeguards that have been proposed are extensive and varied and will tend to offer the private concerns, even the Loan Offices of Bengal, opportunities for self-assertion in their own fields. It is to these measures of safety that as students of bank-technique and bank-capitalism our countrymen ought to devote a part of their attention.

* See "The Bank Capitalism of Young Bengal" in Sarkar: *Applied Economics*, Vol. I (1902).

Reserve Bank not to pay Interest

From the standpoint of private banks the most important clause in the Bill is certainly that which saves them from competition with this privileged institution. The safety of these banks,—large, medium and small, non-Indian as well as Indian,—is guaranteed by Art. 17, Section 1, which describes one of the different kinds of business which the Reserve Bank will be authorized to carry on. This has reference to what is called “passive banking,” as follows:—“the accepting of money on deposit without interest from and the collection of money for, the Secretary of State in Council, the Governor-General in Council, Local Governments, States in India, banks and any other person.”

The position is emphasized in Art. 19, Section 6, which, while enumerating the different kinds of business forbidden to the Reserve Bank, mentions categorically that it is not permitted to “allow interest on deposits or current account.”

On this point the Bill can cite a recent American precedent. The Federal Reserve Act of 1913 has been amended on a large scale by the Banking Act of June, 1933,* which provides, among other things, for the “safer and more effective use of the assets of banks,” and “prevents the undue diversion of funds into speculative operations.” Section 19 of the American Act under the present regulations has the following: “No member-bank shall directly or indirectly by any device whatsoever pay any interest on any deposit which is payable on demand.”

Naturally, the Reserve Bank is not likely to attract interest-seekers. The business world, therefore, is left wide enough for all the private banks, and they are thereby enabled to draw upon the resources of everybody who possesses something without fear of competition from this source.

Reserve Bank bound by One, Two or More Signatures

Another source of security for the private banks in regard to the question of competition with the Reserve Bank is furnished by Art. 17, Section 2. The purport of all these measures is to prevent the Bank from entering into those kinds of “active” business which are likely to be risky in any way. No bill of exchange or promissory note is to be purchased, sold or rediscounted by the Bank unless the

* For the Banking Act of 1933 see *Federal Reserve Bulletin* for June 1933.

documents bear the "signature of a scheduled bank" as in the case of business in Government securities [Clause (c)] or "two or more good signatures, one of which shall be that of a scheduled bank" as in the case of *bona fide* commercial transactions [Clause (a)] or of agricultural operations or marketing of crops [Clause (b)].

In all these instances the risks fall ultimately on those institutions which furnish the signature, and it is interesting to observe incidentally that in every instance the "scheduled bank" is either the only such institution or at any rate one of such institutions. Whatever is necessary to safeguard a Central Bank from the temptations of running headlong into business, which, although likely to be profitable is none the less attended with risk, nay, which is likely to be very profitable *because* it is attended with speculation and risk, has been attempted in this Article. The compulsion to consider certain kinds of business only when the guarantee has been furnished by one, two or more good signatures is the greatest brake upon the freedom of the Bank. It is necessarily therefore the most desirable in the interest of the private banks because the Bank's competition is thereby reduced to a minimum. The entire world of speculative, risky and therefore profitable business is left free and unobstructed for them, and they are at liberty to ransack this world, each according to its risk-bearing capacity.

Reserve Bank not to make Unsecured Loans and Advances

In regard to other kinds of "active" business also the interests of private banks are safeguarded by Section 4 of Art. 17, which describes the conditions under which the Bank is authorized to make loans and advances. It is provided that the loans and advances must be either repayable on demand or during the period of not more than ninety days. And in no instance are the loans and advances to be made without security. The kinds of security are enumerated in clauses (a) to (c), which, however, need not be discussed here. These limitations upon the freedom or discretion of the Bank are further emphasized in Art. 19, Sections 4 and 5, where it is forbidden to make unsecured loans or advances and draw or accept bills payable otherwise than on demand.

It is to be understood that private bankers are subject to no such limitations. They can use their discretion in regard to every proposition that comes, and it is at their free will that they can decide as to whether a client deserves an unsecured accommodation or a credit

for longer than ninety days. Indeed, it is just in this power of exercising discretion that the *forte* of banking consists.

The Claims of "Indian" Banks

As regards the status and number of "scheduled banks," the Bill of 1933 is superior not only to that of 1927 but also to that of 1928, because the number of scheduled banks which rose from 26 to 62 in 1928 has risen to 69 in the present instance. In other words, the privilege of "signature," on the strength of which the Bank is to purchase, sell or rediscount bills of exchange, etc., has been extended to a large number of Indian, including some Bengali, concerns.

The following Bengali banks have been accorded a place in the list of scheduled banks :

1. Bhowanipur Banking Corporation, Calcutta.
2. Jalpaiguri Banking and Trading Corporation, Jalpaiguri.
3. Raikut Industrial Bank, Jalpaiguri.

The list is not imposing. But one will have to observe that in 1927 not one was mentioned and in 1928 the third in the list of 1933 did not obtain the privilege. But still at the present moment we must not refrain from exploring the possibility of pushing the claims of some more of our "cottage banks" to legislative recognition.

More Bengali Banks deserve Recognition

It is surprising, indeed, that only three should have been singled out in the Bill. So far as capital-power is concerned, the following institutions belong more or less to the same group as these three :—

1. Jagadamba Loan Co., Birbhum.
2. Indian Industrial Bank, Calcutta.
3. Mahaluxmi Bank, Chittagong.
4. Bengal Central Bank, Calcutta.
5. Luxmi Industrial Bank, Calcutta.
6. Naogaon Atrai Bank, Rajshahi.
7. Chittagong Bank, Chittagong.
8. Jessore Loan Co., Jessore.
9. Tipperah Loan Office, Tipperah.

The capital of these institutions ranges between Rs. 100,000 and Rs. 500,000.

And if the criterion is to be furnished by the command over deposits, the claims of the following might well be considered along with those of the three in the Schedule :—

1. Jessore Loan Co., Jessore.
2. Faridpur Loan Office, Faridpur.
3. Rangpur Loan Office, Rangpur.
4. Bogra Loan Office, Bogra.
5. Bengal Central Bank, Calcutta.
6. Khulna Loan Company, Khulna.
7. Comilla Union Bank, Tipperah.
8. North Bengal Bank, Rangpur.
9. Faridpur Bank, Faridpur.

The deposits in these institutions range between Rs. 1,000,000 and Rs. 5,500,000.

The institutions common to the above two counts are only two in number. Excluding the double entries, there are at least sixteen Banks or Loan Offices in Bengal the claims of which ought to be seriously discussed while preparing the final Schedule for the time being.

The Problem before Bengali Bankers

It is important to signalize the fact that the present Bill does not, like the one of 1927, make the list statutory and fixed. According to Art. 42, Section 7, the door is open to the Loan Offices of Bengal and the *Nidhis* of Madras as well as other Indian banking institutions to enter the list. The possibility of raising the status of the smaller banks is not to be ignored or minimized.

Bengali economic statesmen should know how to manage their banking affairs in such a way as to command important position in the atmosphere of the Reserve Bank along with the representatives of other regions in India. Once more let me repeat my suggestion of long standing to the effect that the time has come for amalgamation and consolidation in Bengali banking enterprise. The opportunities to be rendered available by the establishment of the Reserve Bank should be utilized by Bengali bankers in right earnest in order to strengthen their position in Bengal as well as in All-India.

Two Bengali Interests need Special Directors

The two fundamental interests of the Bengali people in the domain of Indian finance are (1) those of the agriculturists and (2) those of the small-sized banks and loan offices. For some long time

to come we Bengalis are bound to remain a nation of virtual peasant-proprietors, petty capitalists, small concerns, and cottage or medium industries. Our approach to the Reserve Bank must therefore be oriented to these inevitable considerations. From this standpoint we have to see to it that at least two of the eight Directors (in case they are to be eight only) of the Central Board representing the shareholders are persons such as possess special interest in agriculture and small banks. The problem of the directorate, central as well as local, will have to be re-examined from the view-point of these basic exigencies in the national economy of Bengal.

Bengali Cultivators and the Reserve Bank

In Bengal we ought to take interest in the manner in which French co-operative societies are enabled to finance the cultivators on account of the advances from the *Banque de France*, a topic to which I have been inviting the attention of our countrymen for some years. The Reserve Bank should be prevailed upon to cultivate the same relations with our co-operatives and cultivators as the French Central Bank does for those of France.*

Substantial Share-capital from Bengali Loan Officers

It is time for the directors, managers and others associated with the world of Loan Offices in Bengal to organize measures with a view to secure a substantial portion of Rs. 16,500,000 which is allocated as share-capital for Bengal. Not less than Rs. 5000,000 should be collectively subscribed by the combined Bengali banks. Here is a chance for the Bengali people to enter "high finance" at the thin end of the wedge, and commence the A, B, C of functioning on "Indian" economic platforms. There is no more secure method of safe-guarding "Bengali interests" in Indian commerce and capitalism than by taking advantage of the provisions offered by the Bill. It is to be trusted that Bengali businessmen will not fail to improve the capital power and financial position of their banks by fresh acquisitions as well as concentrations

Imperial Bank vis à vis Reserve Bank

It is curious that the Imperial Bank is to be the only one of the scheduled banks that will enjoy a certain number of gifts from the

* See "The French System of Agricultural Credit" in Sarkar: *Economic Development* (Madras 1926) and his *Law and the Cultivator: The Example of France* in the *Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce*, December, 1926.

Reserve Bank. The gifts are the following deposits (Third Schedule, Art. 3)—

1. Rs. 30,000,000 without interest during first five years,
2. Rs. 20,000,000 without interest during the next five years,

and so on up to the twenty-fifth year.

Under the system recommended the Imperial Bank is likely to become a rival of the Reserve Bank to a certain extent, at any rate, so far as its command over the financial resources is concerned. The proposal that the Imperial Bank should obtain from the Reserve Bank very large amounts as interest-free balances, is just calculated almost to introduce a "dyarchy" in Central Banking and ought to be treated as a reactionary and irrational measure. To establish a Reserve Bank and at the same time to continue to bestow certain Central Bank privileges on a private Bank constitute a bankocratic confusion of the worst type,—even although it be for a transitional period. Neither would the Reichsbank entertain such a proposition in favour of the Deutsche Bank und Disconto-Gesellschaft nor the Banque de France for the Credit Lyonnais, nor the Bank of England for the Midland.

Imperial Bank vis à vis other Scheduled Banks

In case the Bill in its present form becomes law, the anomalous position of the Imperial Bank in the banking system of India for twenty-five years after the establishment of the Reserve Bank can escape nobody's notice. If it is to be a "scheduled bank," i.e., one of the 69 private banks endowed with the privilege of "signature," on the strength of which the Reserve Bank is authorized to deal in bills of exchange, the Imperial Bank, like all the others, ought to maintain a balance with the Reserve Bank to the extent of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the daily average of its demand liabilities *plus* $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the daily average of its time liabilities [Art. 42, Section 1]. As a scheduled Bank, the Imperial Bank should not possess any privileges such as are denied to the others.

Any preferential treatment of the Imperial Bank is unfair to the other scheduled banks. From their standpoint the proposition is entirely objectionable. The concessions to be enjoyed by the Imperial Bank would spell danger to their normal functioning. As has been

pointed out above, they have been relieved of the fear of competition with the Reserve Bank because of statutory safeguards such as serve to curb it of its freedom in functions and delimit the range of its transactions. But out of the frying pan they would be thrown into the fire in so far as they will have to encounter rivalry with the pampered mammoth in the shape of the Imperial Bank, which will be as free as themselves to enter every market.

The Proper Conditions of Agency for the Reserve Bank

The trouble has arisen from the solicitude to entrust the Imperial Bank with the "sole agency" of the Reserve Bank (Third Schedule, Art. 1). The patronage in the form of agencies ought rather to be fairly distributed among a large number of scheduled banks and should not be a monopoly to be enjoyed by just one institution.

Besides, the period of twenty-five years during which the Imperial Bank is to enjoy the monopoly (Art. 43), should appear to be too long. Businessmen ought to try to have it brought down to not more than seven years.

There is no reason why the Reserve Bank should fail to develop a large number of branches of its own during the next five or seven years and be as far as possible independent of the Imperial Bank and other scheduled banks in regard to the business that is generally entrusted to agents in the absence of one's own branches.

CONTEMPORARY POETRY

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Any one familiar with the well-known instances in literary history of ill-balanced and unsatisfactory criticisms of the works of contemporary poets will think many times before venturing to attempt an estimate either of the main tendencies of the poetry of to-day, or of the works of the leading modern poets. He should at all events be conscious that his estimate must inevitably be incomplete, tentative, and premature. What he says to-day he may himself feel called upon to modify to-morrow and he may be certain that the coming generations will have something very different to say. Time and space have their own inscrutable and inexorable standards. Each day discovers a new prophet, but the generations and the centuries are just.

Victorian poetry, like the rest of Victorian literature, had been marked by what its arch-priest called 'high seriousness.' The Victorians took themselves seriously: they revered their Art. They were intellectual, highly moral, and severely practical. The controversies of Religion and Science, High and Low Church, Catholic Emancipation, Positivism, Free Trade, left them no heart for frivolity or light-heartedness. The solid virtues were praised: self-help, reliance, thrift. Poetry, too, was always distinguished, rarely trivial. The language employed by the poets was becoming once more dignified, pure, and impressive. As Flecker rightly remarked in his essay on John Davidson, "The royal harmonies of 'Hyperion,' the falling cadences of Rossetti, the clear rustle of Tennyson's measure, the impetuosity of Swinburne—spring from a nearly identical convention, rich and infinitely variable, which nevertheless yearly became more distant from the general language of mankind." Exceptions there had been, it is true, Thackeray and Patmore, for instance. But in the main, the typical Victorian expressed beautifully a comfortable philosophy of life. He had in his early years known mental distress, doubt, uncertainty, 'strife-divine.' The effort to

over it and to effect a ' compromise ' ended in a belief in Progress, in Liberalism that looked forward with confidence to the Federation of the World. God was in His heaven, and all was right with the world. William Morris spoke

Of the wonderful days a-coming,
When all shall be better than well.

Lord Morley, one of the most persuasive apologists of the Victorians, says: " The outcast and the poor are better tended. The prisoner knows more of mercy, and has better chances of a new start. Duelling has been transformed from folly to crime. The end of the greatest of civil wars—always the bitterest of wars—was followed by the widest of amnesties. Slavery has gone, or is going. The creatures below man may have souls or not—a question that brings us into dangerous dispute with churches and philosophies—either way, the spirit of compassion, justice, understanding, is more steadily extending to those dumb friends and oppressed servitors of ours who have such strange resemblances to us in form, faculty and feeling.' If the philosophical Radical be suspected of being too partial, here is the equally enthusiastic testimony of a pessimist like George Gissing: " Often have the English people been at loggerheads among themselves, but they have never flown at each other's throats, and from every grave dispute has resulted some substantial gain. They are a cleaner people, and more sober; in every class there is a diminution of brutality; education has notably extended; certain forms of tyranny have been abolished; certain forms of suffering, due to heedlessness or ignorance, have been abated." They forgot or did not choose to remember that, in 1880, Henry George had written in the Preface to his *Progress and Poverty*: " So long as all the increased wealth which modern progress brings goes but to build up great fortunes, to increase luxury, and make sharper the contrast between the House of Have and the House of Want, progress is not real and cannot be permanent. The reaction must come. The tower leans from its foundation, and every new storey but hastens the final catastrophe. To educate men who must be condemned to poverty is but to make them restive; to base on a state of most glaring social inequality political institutions under which men are theoretically equal, is to stand a pyramid on its apex."

But during the reign of Victoria, optimism, belief in progress, complacency continued, and it was not until after the first decade of the present century that the rumble of discontent began to be heard. The

mood of midsummer ecstasy had been worked to the dregs. Reaction inevitably set in.

Before 1914 is reached, however, we have to take note of the intervening period, and especially of the eighteen-nineties,—usually condemned as decadent, but in truth yielding an amazingly rich crop of poetry. It witnessed an æsthetic movement with which are associated the names of Lord Alfred Douglas, Ernest Dowson, Lawrence Housman, Lionel Johnson, J. A. Symonds, Arthur Symons, Francis Thompson, W. B. Yeats, Aubrey Beardsley, Max Beerbohm, George Moore—an impressive list of artists, who, whatever their other qualities, were genuinely, and passionately, devoted to their art. That several of them were unfortunate and died prematurely, that a few of them were drunkards or opium addicts, that at least one of them committed suicide—is irrelevant. Flaubert and Baudelaire had taught in France the glorification of Art as art, irrespective of ethics; in the nineties the English writers spent all their energy and all their intellectual resources on formal perfection, on technical finesse, on widening the range of literature by bringing in unsavoury subjects, dirty details, the seamy side of life. Mr. Middleton Murray wonders if it was not a misfortune that the word 'art' ever came to be mixed up with literature. At any rate, while in its content poetry was brought nearer to the homes and hearts of the masses, in form it was more exquisite, more 'precious' than ever before. From this semi-artificial mode of expression a reaction was inevitable. The exotic hot-house air of Lord Alfred Douglas'

"Steal from the meadows, rob the tall green hills,
Ravish my orchard's blossoms, let me bind
A crown of orchard flowers and daffodils,
Because my love is fair and white and kind.

To-day the thrush has trilled her daintiest phrases
Flowers with their incense have made drunk the air,
God has bent down to gild the heart of daisies,
Because my love is kind and white and fair.

To-day the sun has kissed the rose-tree's daughter
And sad Narcissus, spring's pale acolyte,
Hangs down his head and smiles into the water,
Because my love is kind and fair and white."

or of J. A. Symonds'

" Fear not to tread; it is not much
To bless the meadow with your touch
Nay, walk unshod; for, as you pass,
The dust will take your feet like garss.
O dearest melodies, O beat
Of musically moving feet! "

was bound to be rudely disturbed. And even during the nineties the first notes of rebellion were heard—silently at first, faint and unheeded, but calm, and apparently without any feeling. Combining faultless expression with deep discontent, Mr. A. E. Housman's work created little or no impression when *A Shropshire Lad* appeared in 1896. And yet it was a portent. Gone was the smug self-satisfaction of the Victorians, the enthusiasm and ardour, the pride and sense of glory. Instead, discontent reigned—not at anything ephemeral, temporary, or accidental, but at the sorry scheme of things entire, at the very texture of the world. The peace and the absence of violent expression made the discontent grimmer, more poignant and terrible. There was no way of escape; the shades of the prison-house were bound to lengthen. Death alone could perhaps open a way out.

" Now hollow fires burn out to black,
And lights are guttering low;
Square your shoulders, lift your pack,
And leave your friends and go.

Oh never fear, man, nought's to dread,
Look not left nor right:
In all the endless road you tread
There's nothing but the night."

" Shot? so quick, so clean an ending?
Oh that was right, lad, that was brave,
Yours was not an ill for mending,
'Twas best to take it to the grave.

Oh, you had forethought, you could reason,
And saw your road and where it led,
And early wise and brave in season
Put the pistol to your head.

Oh soon, and better so than later
After long disgrace and scorn,

You shot dead the household traitor,
The soul that should not have been born.

Right you guessed the rising morrow.
And scorned to tread the mire you must:
Dust's your wages, son of sorrow
But men may come to worse than dust.

Souls undone, undoing others,
Long time since the tale began.
You would not live to wrong your brothers:
Oh lad, you died as fits a man.

Now to your grave shall friend and stranger
With ruth and some with envy come:
Undishonoured, clear of danger,
Clean of guilt, pass hence and home.

Turn safe to rest, no dreams, no walking;
And here, man, here's the wreath I've made;
'Tis not a gift that's worth the taking,
But wear it and it will not fade."

Rudyard Kipling's career began while Tennyson's mellifluous voice was still heard, and Browning's verse was beginning to be understood. Fitzgerald's spell was spreading, the half-sceptical melancholy, the vague longing for the pleasures of the flesh mixed up with a stoic philosophy, made the Persian Omar an English classic. Coming close after were the striking figures of Morris, Swinburne and Meredith. Mediaeval romance, 'Chaos illumined by lightning,' enchanted scenes, blend of psychology and fancy—these held public attention for a few years. Kipling followed these giants and had to bear the brunt of the attack on the moderns. His poems were matter-of-fact, practical, business-like, they did not imagine so much as observe. There was room for humour, for pathos, for tears, they were a leaf out of the book of life. They were not tinted with rainbow hues nor did they echo the roar of the thunder. They described earthly life, with all its many aches and ecstasies. If he sees romance in the street and beauty in the barracks, he is a genuine poet. For the true seer beauty and loveliness never pass away, the squalor and the smoke conceal the mystic wonder which he both discovers and interprets. Kipling's manner of writing seemed jarring, harsh and crude. He employed many cockney expressions, many phrases known to the Tommy alone, many words which Anglo-Indians alone could understand,

he took great liberties with spelling, he manipulated pronunciations, he used many abbreviations. All this was new, and Kipling suffered grievously for his innovations.

Then Thomas Hardy came out with his poetical works—employing the dramatic lyric much more successfully than even Browning, singing of God's helplessness and man's insignificance. He used too many words which are local colloquialisms. He introduced into poetry the art of the reporter, merely reproducing a conversation without any explicit comment. This was followed up by Mr. Wilfred Gibson, whose first volume of poems appeared in 1900. He began in the approved Victorian style of pseudo-romanticism ; but by the year 1905 he had cast off this superficial veneer and asserted his own personality ; and since the publication of *The Web of Life* in 1908 he has gone on singing of the dull, drab and dreary life of the workmen, the shop-keepers, the workless. Their little dreams, their humble aspirations : the fight for their daily bread ; the courage and the manliness, their generous impulses and their loving kindness ; these became soon his chosen themes. Nor has he shaken off their charm yet. He is the Poet of his own poem :

“ His was no easy eloquence—
Not his the volubility
Of volatile vacuity :
So much he had to say.
Such crowded news he gathered by the way,
That his tongue stammered, struggling with a sense
Of the unutterable opulence
And unimaginable magnificence
Of every day.”

It is this “ unimaginable magnificence of every day ” which struck the poets who were before long to declare themselves realists with a vengeance. How can this be reconciled ? What have magnificence and offensiveness in common ? It is the supreme achievement of the modern poet that underneath the superincumbent weight of dull thick ugliness he hears the heart of the beautiful palpitating in harmony with all that is good and lovely.

In 1911 appeared *The Everlasting Mercy* by the present Poet Laureate. It immediately created a sensation. His latest biographer, Mr. Gilbert Thomas, says, “ It disturbed both the surface and the hidden depths. It carried Mr. Kipling's literary method further than its originator himself had done. But it not only

wrinkled the smooth bosom of the lake ; it probed to the mud of conventional and stagnant morality beneath." Some described it as a work of genius, others as a blatant piece of vulgarity. The significant fact is that it dwelt upon ugliness if not with satisfaction, certainly with no disgust; that it mingled beauty with dirt and loveliness with scum; that blackguardism and godliness are both found in the same individual; that swear-words and ' bad ' words and tabooed words are freely used. The passages that were found revolting then and are not very pleasant even now were like the following :

" The room was full of men and stink
Of bad cigars and heavy drink.
Riley was nodding to the floor
And gurgling as he wanted more.
His mouth was wide, his face was pale,
His swollen face was sweating ale;
And one of those assembled Greeks
Had corked black crosses on his cheeks...
A dozen more were in their glories
With laughs and smokes and smutty stories;
And Jimmy joked and took his sup
And sang his song of ' Up, come up '
Jane brought the bowl of stewing gin
And poured the egg and lemon in,
And whisked it up and served it out
While bawdy questions went about,
Jack chucked her chin, and Jim accost her
With bits out of the ' Maid of Gloyster.'
And fifteen arms went round her waist.
(And then men ask, Are Barmaids chaste?)."

Kipling, A. E. Housman, Thomas Hardy, Wilfrid Gibson, and Masfield anticipated and determined the main tendencies of what has been designated the Georgian School of Poetry.

With a wonderful sensitiveness to popular feelings, never more striking than during the years immediately preceding the War, Mr. Lloyd George said once in course of a speech : " You have hundreds of thousands of men working unceasingly for wages that barely bring them enough bread to keep themselves and their families above privation. Generation after generation they see their children

wither before their eyes for lack of air, light, and space, which is denied them by men who have square miles for their own use. Take our cities, of a great empire. Right in the heart of them everywhere you have ugly quagmires of human misery, seething, rotting, at last fermenting. We pass them by every day on our way to our comfortable homes.... You can hear, carried by the breezes from the North, the South, the East and the West, ominous rumbling." This was before the War, and Georgian Poetry came into prominence two years before that world-conflagration and was indeed independent of it. The War opened men's eyes. They saw their comfortable fictions fail. Disillusionment came. And a nervous, fearful people realised that the music-makers had indeed a truer vision, and they had read the riddle aright. Recognition and popularity the Georgian poets now received in abundant measure. Indeed, appreciation became unreflecting, and praise was transferred into adoration. The wheel had come full circle.

A well-informed critic divides the moderns into seven groups—the Philosophers, consisting of Lascelles Abercrombie, Rupert Brooke, John Drinkwater, Harold Monro, John Masefield; the Realists, comprising Wilfrid Gibson, Siegfried Sassoon, W. H. Davies; the Fantastics, including Walter de la Mare, Ralph Hodgson, Robert Graves, James Stephens; the Exotics, consisting of Gordon Bottomley, Flecker, and D. H. Lawrence; the Critic Poets such as J. G. Squire, John Freeman, Edmund Blunden; the Imagists including Ezra Pound, Richard Aldington, and F. S. Flint; and finally, the Wheels group, consisting of Edith Sitwell and her brothers Osbert and Sacheverell and Aldous Huxley. This division is not altogether satisfactory; but it helps to focus attention on the wonderful diversity of modern poetry, its varied aims and ideals and its main characteristics. To the question whether the moderns can rightly be said to form a school, two answers have been given, each by an eminent scholar. Sir Edmund Gosse says: "The poets who have become prominent in the present century are remarkable for their general identity. They form a school in a degree which has rarely been seen in this country." On the other hand, Professor Gilbert Murray insists that "each writer has his own special quality and character, and hardly any two of them are much alike. There is no remotest sign of a school, a clique, or a coterie. These writers are not Futurists, nor Unanimists nor Paroxysms, nor Asphyxiasts, nor

members of any other rising doctrinal body. They have written as suiting them best, and their work has been judged for its poetry, not for its tendency." To the extent that each poet has his own individuality, we may object to the use of the terms 'school' and 'group.' But in point of time, if nothing else, they must all be considered together. What can be more dissimilar than the torrent and storm in Marlowe and the serenity and sweetness of Spenser; the artistic lawlessness of Shakespeare and the dull classicalism of Jonson; the grace and studied elegance of Lyly and the sententious brevity of Bacon? And yet are they not Elizabethans? Wordsworth, Coleridge, Scott, Shelley, Southey, Keats, Byron—how diverse, how rich, and how abundant are their gifts, yet they all belong to the romantic school. There is nothing to be frightened of in a label. The characteristic features of the work of Masfield are different from those of W. H. Davies. No poets can be more dissimilar than Yeats and Ezra Pound. But none the less they are Georgians and there is something in the work of each of them that brands them so. One does not think naturally of poets who adhere to the classical tradition—poets like Maurice Baring, William Watson, and Lascelles Abercrombie; these seem uninfluenced by the spirit of the age. But for the rest the years 1910-30 are writ large on their work.

The origin of the name 'Georgian' is to be traced to the year 1912 when a volume of less than two hundred pages was published in the month of December. It was entitled *Georgian Poetry*, and had poems among others by Rupert Brooke, Abercrombie, Robert Graves, and Masfield. The editor, E. M., said he believed "English poetry is now once again putting on a new strength and beauty." Whether in quality the new poets were to achieve much was yet to be proved. But in quantity they amply demonstrated that poetry was very much alive. During the eight years 1912-1920, no fewer than a thousand poets published volumes of their work. There was no doubt that poetry had once more gained popular favour. Helicon was flooded.

There can be little question that the moderns are, despite all their apparent carelessness, skilled artificers of verse. So far as technique is concerned they are almost as meticulous as the most conscious artist of the 'nineties.' Robert Graves classes them into three groups, and distinguishes their verse thus: "With the Conservative the prosody is always that of the five iambic feet and the cæsura

that can have only three legitimate places. Variations are permitted only in the case of awkwardly scanning proper names, or occasional moments of passion or dramatic pause, or heavy humour. The extra syllable at the end is regarded as a decadence. The Liberal seldom uses blank verse, but when he does, justifies his greater variation, occasional trochees, dactyles or anapests instead of iambs, and frequent feminine endings, by Shakespeare's later tragedies. The Left Wing may do almost anything to blank verse, and does. The way to do it is to do it." This is a useful division, though it refers almost exclusively to the use of blank verse. There are many verse experimentors not all of them equally successful. Several old metres are revived. The octosyllable couplet, for instance, is used with remarkable skill by some. Here are some lines by Gerald Cumberland :

" For me life has no joys, but these :
 To search for new discoveries,
 To burn my flesh at life's great fire,
 To quench my soul of its desire,
 To rise upon ambition's wings,
 To risk my life for gorgeous things;
 But new discoveries soon blend
 With stale regret, and then they end."

Or the following by W. H. Davies :

" A poor life this, if full of care,
 We have no time to stand and stare."

Some other metrical forms are used with varying degrees of skill and new forms are attempted.

Then they sometimes startle readers used to the majestic diction of English verse, even to the homely language of Wordsworth's baldest pieces, by words of questionable taste, uncommon and obscure words, and words that hurt and wound. This is a definitely Georgian tendency, observable alike in prose and verse. James Joyce and D. H. Lawrence have done much to mitigate the rudeness of the shock caused by the style of Nasfield and others. Naked descriptions of the sex act are now acclaimed as touching the high water-mark of artistic excellence. One need not be a puritan to condemn the prurience that leads to such writing and the blind partisanship that praises it. But the great urge of the present day is to rend all veils. The earlier generations had mismanaged affairs so that their humanitarianism had led to a holocaust. Their civilization had collapsed. Religion and

Church had encouraged destruction. Social greetings and forms were camouflaged jealousies and hates. The generation that had been born to this heritage of woe was determined to destroy the entire fabric that had proved not only its worthlessness but its danger. Down with the aged ! Down with the past ! And specially down with all reticences ! No testimony could be trusted. Men must experience for themselves. The laxity that we observe in literature today is the manifestation of this widespread discontent. Compared to what readers get in some novels, Georgian poetry provides stuff that is weak as water. Yet when it first appeared, there was much comment and many shakings of the head. When *The Everlasting Mercy* appeared in Austin Harrison's *English Review* no swear-words were printed; spaces were left blank. In Masfield's *Collected Poems*, this great poem includes words like 'whored' (twice); 'closly put'; 'bloody' (about 10 times); 'damn' (several times); 'swine'; 'smutty'; 'bawdy'; 'pipped'; 'whores and sots'; 'lice'; 'offspring of the hen and ass'; 'dirty-whores';—words strong enough in all conscience, and used, one may be sure, of set purpose. The story is one of sin in all its phases and of redemption. There is appropriateness perhaps in the words quoted above appearing in passages that speak of Saul Kane's transgressions, even as there is appropriateness in the exquisite lines with which the tale of eternal mercy ends :

" O lovely lily clean,
O lily springing green.
O lily bursting white,
Dear lily of delight,
Spring in my heart agen
That I may flower to men."

One may observe next the fondness for irregular patterns and sentences left incomplete; for pictorial representation, thereby approximating to the cinematograph, for concrete objects rather than abstract ideas. Mr. Herbert Read remarks: "The modern poet does not deny the right of regular verse to exist, or to be poetic. He merely affirms that poetry is sincerity, and has no essential alliance with regular schemes of any sort. He reserves the right to adapt his rhythm to his mood, to modulate his metre as he progresses." This freedom to regulate his verse so as to suit the sense and the temper is illustrated in the following specimens :

" Himself
And the element,

Food, of course!
 Water-eager eyes,
 Mouth-gate open
 And strong spine urging, driving;
 And desirous belly gulping." (D. H. Lawrence's *Fish*.)

"He'd even have his joke
 While we were sitting 'tight,
 And so he needs must poke
 His silly head in sight
 To whisper some new jest,
 Chortling, but as he spoke
 A rifle cracked...
 And now God knows whe I shall hear the rest." (Wilfrid
 Gibson's *The Joke*.)

A wail.
 Lights. Blurr.
 Gone.
 On, on, Lead, Lead, Hail
 Spatter. Whirr ; Whirr ;
 Toward that patch of brown,
 Direction left." (Robert Nichols' *The Assault*.)

"The things of today and yesterday
 That have lived but a short time with her
 Are gone,
 And only the old things remain." (May Sinclair's *The Grandmother*)

When one seeks to recapture one's impression of the unity of thought in modern poetry, one is bewildered by apparent inconsistencies and contradictions. Even a single poet is not always consistent: how much less a whole generation of poets. But the observation may be hazarded that disillusionment is the predominant note in modern poetry. A glory and a loveliness have faded from life and men. The poet is depressed that there should be so much ugliness and misery. He realises the contrast between what is and what might be. The tyranny of the mere thing has gripped him, and he groans under it. Machine, man-made machine, crushes life out of man and all beauty is smothered. Man and woman and child are all alike becoming slaves to the god named Machine. Deliberately man plots his spiritual ruin. "These be thy gods, O Israel?" Little wonder that seeing thus

beneath the surface of things, the poets mourn and lament and cry. Melancholy their songs are in consequence, and wistful; but not melancholy in the manner of Keats and Shelley, not dejected as Coleridge was dejected, nor depressed as Byron fancied himself to be. It is a far cry from

“ The nightingale’s complaint
It dies upon her heart,
As I must die on thine,
O beloved as thou art! ” (Shelley)

“ But she is in her grave, and oh,
The difference to me! ” (Wordsworth)

“ If I should meet thee
After long years,
How should I greet thee?—
With silence and tears.” (Byron)

“ Still, still to hear her tender-taken breath,
And so live ever,—or else swoon to death.” (Keats)

to Wilfrid Gibson’s “ *Geraniums* ”—

“ Stuck in a bottle on the window-sill,
In the cold gas-light burning gaily red
Against the luminous blue of London night,
These flowers are mine; while somewhere out of sight
In some black-throated alley’s stench and heat,
Oblivious of the racket of the street,
A poor old weary woman lies in bed.

Broken with lust and drink, blur-eyed and ill,
Her Battered Bennet nodding on her head,
From a dark arch she clutched my sleeve and said:
“ I’ve sold no bunch today, nor touched a bite...
Son, buy six-pennorth; and ’twill mean a bed.”

So blazing gaily red
Against the luminous deeps
Of starless London night.
They burn for my delight:
While somewhere, snug in bed.
A worn old woman sleeps.

And yet tomorrow will these blooms be dead
With all their lively beauty; and tomorrow

May end the light lusts and the heavy sorrow
 Of that old body with the nodding head.
 The last oath muttered, the last pint drained deep,
 She'll sink, as Cleopatra sank, to sleep;
 Nor need to barter blossoms for a bed."

This is melancholy that borders on tragedy, stark and grim and real. There may be some exaggeration or mistake in taking such a serious view of life. But none can deny to the poet honesty and sincerity. If in the attempt to be true to experience he appears to be offensively fond of ugliness, his explanation is, in Rupert Brooke's words: "There are common things,—situations or details—that may suddenly bring all tragedy, or at least the brutality of actual emotions, to you I rather grasp relievedly at them, after I have beaten vain hands in the rosy mists of poets' experiences."

Connected with this feature and indeed part of it, is the poets' sense of the irony of life, and the curious mingling of light-hearted frivolity and deep feeling. The burthen of their songs is that 'the world's more full of weeping than you can understand.' Thomas Hardy is so persistently struck by the horror of the passage of time, by the miseries and griefs and losses which are mankind's inheritance, by the inevitableness of tragedy—that he is, despite his vehement protests, one of the major poets of pessimism in English. Not Clough, nor James Thomson, is more uniformly sad and depressing.

" Whence comes solace ? Not from seeing
 What is doing, suffering, being;
 Not from noting Life's conditions,
 Not from heeding Time's monitions;
 But in cleaving to the Dream,
 And in gazing on the gleam
 Whereby grey things golden seem."

Or again in the poem entitled, *To Life*:

" O Life, with the sad scared face,
 I weary of seeing of thee,
 And thy droggled cloak and thy hobbling pace.
 And thy too-forced pleasantry !

 I know what thou wouldst tell,
 Of Death, Time, Destiny—
 I have known it long, and know, too well,
 What it all means for me.

But canst thou not array
Thyself in rare disguise,
And feign like truth, for one mad day,
That Earth is Paradise ?

I'll tune me to the mood,
And mumm with thee till eve,
And may be, what as interlude
I feign, I shall believe ! "

The note of frivolity appears in such poems as Belloc's *Dives* Hardy's *Ah, are you digging ?*, which are at the same time full of a serious import.

Among other characteristics may be mentioned the return to nature, the habit of sharp contrast and anti-climax, and fondness for the distant and the romantic. One may quote such pieces as Ralph Hodgson's *The Gipsy Girl* :

" She fawned and whirled ' Sweet gentlemen,
A penny for three tries ! '
—But oh, the den of wild things in
'The darkness of her eyes ! '"

or from W. H. Davies' *The Likeness* :

" That flock of sheep, on the green grass.
Well might it lie so still and proud
Its likeness had been drawn in heaven,
On a blue sky, in silvery cloud "—

to illustrate the pictorial quality of some modern poetry. Or the sense of contrast by means of passages like

" Why do you lie with your legs ungainly huddled,
And one arm bent across your sullen cold
Exhausted face ? It hurts my heart to watch you,
Deep-shadowed from the candle's guttering gold :
And you wander why I shake you by the shoulder ;
Drowsy, you mumble and sigh and shift your head...
You are too young to fall asleep for ever ;
And when you sleep you remind me of the dead."

(S. Sassoon's *The Dug-Out*.)

or Wilfrid Gibson's *Snug in my Easy Chair*, or Masfield's *Gargoes*.

Very great departure in technique, and considerable change in theme and outlook—these mark out modern poetry. In so far as the language tends to approximate more closely to the language of everyday life it is an advance in the right direction and makes poetry more valuable for the masses and not merely for the cultured few. But when the theme is elevated and the poet does not deal with commonplace and vulgar subjects, the language is exalted, suggestive and rich in those qualities that mark the genuine song. Even a modern is capable of such exquisite lines as :

“ Poplars and fountains and you cypress spires
 Springing in dark and rusty flame,
 Seek you aught that hath a name?
 Or say, say: Are you all an upward agency
 Or undefined desires? ”

(Aldous Huxley.)

“ They are not long, the days of wine and roses :
 Out of a misty dream
 Our path emerges for a while, then closes
 Within a dream.”

(Ernest Dowson.)

“ Very old are we men;
 Our dreams are tales
 Told in dim Eden
 By Eve's nightingales ;
 We wake and whisper a while,
 But, the day gone by,
 Silence and sleep like fields
 Of Amaranth lie.”

(Walter de la Mare.)

“ Oh world of lips, O world of laughter,
 Where hope is fleet and thought flies after,
 Of sights in the clear night, of cries
 That drift along the wave and rise
 Then to the glittering stars above.
 You know the hands, the eyes of love !”

(Rupert Brooke.)

But one may hope that slang and swear-words will disappear speedily and leave literature alone.

When we consider the contents we are on surer ground. The poet of to-day has enlarged the range of poetry and has an outlook which differs materially from that of his forbears. He is not deeply

stirred by sunset and evening star ; Cleopatra and Helen are mere names to him ; Vallambrosa and Claramara murmur no secrets to him. He is not touched by the sight of moonlight sleeping upon the banks or by the sound of the sweet south that breathes upon a bank of violets. He is moved rather by the sight of the trenches and the mines and the brothels. He has plumbed the depths of man's misery. He dwells not on realism but on reality, as Lord Dunsany puts it. Tears well out of the abundance of his sympathy. He looks below and above and bewails the gulf. How sweet and pure and lovely are man's dreams ; and how dark and ugly their life. The end of poetry that concentrates on these is precisely the same as that of the poetry of earlier ages ; to emphasise the glory of happiness, the pricelessness of the endeavour to do and be good, the desirability of dreams. The method is different. After all the phases, after laughter and sorrow and scorn and rage, after the storm and tempest, one notices in the typical poetry of today a strain of tenderness, sympathy, and compassion. The cynicism is only surface-deep. The passionate rage is the outcome of pity. Join to this understanding and you have the philosophy of the world's masters, Homer and Shakespeare.*

* Portions of this appear as Introduction to the *Anthology of Modern Verse* (Macmillan, London).

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION *

By W. S. URQUHART, M.A., D LITT., D.D., D.L.
Calcutta.

THE subject which has been assigned to me is sufficiently vague to allow me to say anything whatever about it, and sufficiently broad to make me wonder very much what in the world I am going to say. The phrase "University Education" may be used in a very wide sense. J M. Barrie, for example, in addressing the students of St. Andrews University a few years ago said that besides the four universities of Scotland there was a fifth University—the "poor proud homes" that many of the students came out of, and he spoke most feelingly of the educative value of these homes. Even when you confine yourself to the more technical use of the term, you find an extraordinarily varied range of application. What is called University education in one country is regarded as mere high school education in another, and the confusion is worse confounded by the differences of opinion as to the purposes which the education is designed to serve.

But I take it that you wish me to speak more particularly about University education in this country. It is not a very popular subject at the present time amongst certain classes of people, not unrepresented in this gathering. Political occurrences of a tragic and deplorable character have made the name of student anathema to the minds of many, and, generalising rapidly, they can hardly bring themselves to speak of the class except in terms of dislike. I wish to make a simple but earnest appeal for calmness and fairness of judgment by reminding you of a logical rule. Because some terrorists have been University students, it does not follow that all University students are terrorists, any more than it follows that because some ships are made of wood, all wooden articles are ships.

Very well then, unfair judgments having been got rid of, what is the next of the difficulties that has to be considered? It is the common allegation that the whole of the educational system, and especially the university system is a misfit at the present time, doing no good to the country, and involving us in a colossal and wasteful expenditure. I may say, in passing, that the colossal character of the expenditure is often grossly exaggerated, as is immediately obvious when it is compared with other forms of public expenditure at the

* A Lecture delivered at a meeting of the Rotary Club, Calcutta, on November 14, 1933.

present time, which I need not particularise. And after all the expenditure is not a burden so much upon those who criticise from the outside as upon the people who benefit,—or as the allegation would suggest, fail to benefit—by it. It comes from the people who are being educated, either indirectly in the form of taxation or directly, and to a far greater extent, in the form of fees, food, clothing and lodging expenses incurred on behalf of the student members of their families.

This does not of course touch the other point of the accusation, *viz.*, that wherever the educational revenue comes from, whether it comes from the people or not, it is a most wasteful form of expenditure, and ought forthwith to be stopped or greatly modified as to its direction. Great stress is laid on the unemployment of graduates. A Government official, not belonging to Bengal, spoke to me the other day of how he had advertised a post at Rs. 30 a month, and found amongst the applicants scores of University graduates. He indicated that he considered this was in itself a condemnation of the whole system. His experience and his opinion is shared by many in mercantile offices. Now, in the first place the unemployment of educated men is unfortunately by no means confined to India, although it may be worse here than elsewhere. Instances of this mal-adjustment are all too plentiful in western countries at the present time. But the suggestion that other countries are just as bad or almost as bad, does not solve the problem. The question is, Is the educational system to blame here and now? It seems to me that to answer with a simple affirmative is to put the cart before the horse. The difficulty is not so much in the educational system as in the economic situation. The fact that Rs. 30 only are offered to as many graduates may be just as much a condemnation of our method of distribution of rewards as of the educational preparation of the candidates. In any business office, *e. g.*, may there not be something wrong with the respective shares which the various workers, from the highest to the lowest, get out of the business? Should we not consider this before we right away interpret the smallness of the pay as a condemnation of the educational system? In any case it seems to me to be rather too much to expect a change in educational methods to solve the economic problem, or simply to be disgusted because the present system has not done so up to the present time. Also to suggest that the size of a man's salary should be taken as a test of his educational equipment seems to be a dangerous principle. If it were universally applied some of us with small salaries might be shown to be academically unutterably stupid.

When we turn to the positive side of the matter we find that the remedy suggested by the critics is that education should be of a less literary character and that it should be more vocational and technical. The knowledge of higher mathematics and philosophy and Sanskrit, does not, it is said, fill the family coffers. Let the training be directly related to the work that is available. Give them the education that will be useful, and stop this waste. Waste, yes, from the point of view of quick returns, but perhaps not waste in the long run. At least do not let us decide the question out of hand. And here again it seems that you are trying to solve an essentially economic problem by a change in educational method. By all means improve your technical education and it will do something. But do not expect it to do everything. It will not make a piece of land which even on the most modern methods can produce only enough food for fifty people, capable of supporting double that number. Your change over to technical education would be an excellent panacea if it were a case of posts waiting until men are trained to fill them. But that is not so. Those turned out of technical training schools find the greatest difficulty in securing employment, and there are many trained to the utmost pitch of efficiency in the West who can find nothing to do on their return to this country. Now to my mind there is no sadder spectacle than that of the unemployed expert. He has been made ready for only one line and that line is closed to him. He has not the general education which enables him to turn to anything else. He cannot dig, or perhaps, if he is a mining engineer, he can do nothing else; and to beg he is ashamed. He is down and out now because he has been tied down at too early a stage in his educational career. And personally if I had to be unemployed I had rather be unemployed with a full mind than an empty one and a university education does at least profess to fill the mind. I should at least have something to think about while I sat about waiting. When the stomach is empty there is no particular advantage in having the mind empty also.

But let us come to grips with this amorphous institution, Calcutta University. In point of numbers it is the largest in the British Empire and the second or third largest in the whole world. Is it not too big? It is. Far too many get in. For years I have been struggling to get the standard of the Matriculation Examination raised, but without much success. The University patient shows a constant tendency to relapse. Popular opinion seems unfortunately to favour a low Matriculation. During my term in the Vice-Chancellorship,

I received an anonymous communication threatening me with death by 31st December unless I either left the country immediately or raised the percentage of Matriculation passes by 25%. The document was illustrated with a solitary figure in a boat crossing the *kalapani*, and, the period being that of the Simon Commission, it bore at the head the inscription, "Urquhart go back."

But while too many students get into the University, they do not get out so easily with honour or honours; those who continue to the end make much progress. The degree standard of the University is second to none in India, and compares favourably with many other countries. We have on the staffs of the Colleges and on the post-graduate University staff some of the most brilliant men the world possess in our day. Until recently we had, *e.g.*, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Sir C. V. Raman, whose reputation is world-wide. Scholars seem to gravitate to Calcutta University from all other parts of India, and there are countless products of our University of whom any country might be proud. Think of those who in the past have emerged from this University, leaders in the scientific world like Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray, leaders in the legal world like Lord Sinha and Sir Rash Bihari Ghose, and the greatest Vice-Chancellor which India has known, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. And the University has not come to an end of its usefulness.

As I look round amongst my younger colleagues in the University, and as I see the crowds of students issuing each year from its gates, I do not think it at all a vain expectation that amongst these we may find the future worthy leaders of India. There are many qualities needed at the present time which a true University education can foster—qualities of balanced judgment, accurate information, ethical and social aspiration. I think our University is doing something to meet the need. Even if to the critical the number appears to be too great, he can at least console himself with the thought that the greater the numbers, the greater the chance of the right and necessary men being thrown up to the surface. Do not be impatient for quick returns. Remember that even amidst the hurry of modern life there is time and need for those long years of preparation which may not be the equivalent in time of the period of the training of the *Brahmachari* but may at least reveal something of the same spirit as H. E. the Governor said the other day at the Sanskrit Convocation also: "Unquestionably there is yet room for those who are able and content to pursue knowledge for its own sake and even for those who

are not able or cannot afford to do so there is advantage in the study of branches of knowledge which are not purely utilitarian." There never was more need than at the present time for those who can think quietly and calmly. Perhaps a University Education may help to increase their numbers. Who knows? Stranger things have happened. There can never be too many educated men and women in a country, least of all in India, where not only is the country as a whole crying out for leaders but the villages are waiting to absorb men and women of enlightenment, who will not feel that they will be buried in obscurity but will find in the bringing of light of learning, or medical and sanitary science to the villages both their vocation and their opportunity. What has not many a village and countryside in the west owed to the doctor and the teacher, and these have been University trained. Similarly the villages of India are waiting for the Universities.

FLYING MACHINES IN ANCIENT INDIA

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AND

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THE invention of different flying machines in modern times has not come as a surprise to the Indian reader of the two great Sanskrit Epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, not to speak of the Purāṇas and other later works. He has been a believer in the possibility of such inventions through many centuries. The flying stories graphically narrated in the two epics of antiquity have seldom struck him as mere myth or creation of high poetical imagination. Anyhow he could never be reconciled to any argument hitherto advanced in support of the claim of originality and novelty of the invention of aeroplanes, biplanes, seaplanes, zeppelins and other flying machines of the present age. The utmost credit he is prepared to give to the western inventors is that they have, by their scientific skill, demonstrated once again the possibility which was once in this wonderful ancient land a *fait accompli*.

The rational section of the Indian people have so far cherished these two attitudes towards this mass or popular credulity, *viz.*: (i) that one should patiently wait for further information, born of careful investigations, before spurning or dismissing it as myth or creation of fertile poetic imagination, and (ii) that there should be no sympathy at all for a piece of credulity, to entertain which is to satisfy the vanity of a degenerate people who live by the glory of their forefathers.

We are to be counted among those who are ever reluctant to cherish the story of Indian invention of any flying machine as a fact till by chance any actual relic of it is found out anywhere in India or in any locality near about. We are aware that popular superstition and poetic imagination often precede astounding scientific discoveries and inventions; that the skilled artist painter of the "Bicycle window" of the country church, the quiet rural surroundings of which inspired the English poet Gray to compose his 'Elegy,' conceived both the possibility and the form of the riding mechanism long before its actual invention. With all such precautions against bias and predilection we think it worth our while to consider below two different lines of

evidence bearing upon the subject of the invention and use of flying machines by the people of Ancient India, leaving the impartial reader to judge for himself what these are really worth. For convenience' sake we shall differentiate these two lines of evidence as (I) scientific, and (II) poetical.

I. *Scientific evidence:*

As for the first line of evidence, we may discuss with profit a very striking story of the scientific invention of flying machines in a Pāli Commentary (the Commentary of Pārāyaṇavagga of the Sutta-nipāta), which may be definitely regarded as a work of the 4th or 5th century A.D., based undoubtedly upon an earlier commentary in Singhalese. The account given in this particular Buddhist work of a fairly early date is sufficiently realistic. After reading it through one is apt to feel that this old Indian birth-story of flying machines is not essentially different from that of modern invention. The account illustrates, in the first place, the truth of the modern maxim: Necessity is the mother of invention. The credit of invention is ascribed to the renowned head of an ancient institution of carpenters and woodcarvers near the city of Benares. The required materials, the timbers of the Fig (*Udumbara*) and such other light wood (*appasāra-rukkhā*), are mentioned. The shape and the size are described: that it looked like a wooden bird (*kaṭṭha-sakuna*) resembling a majestic flying eagle (*Supaṇṇa-rājū viya*), the machine being fitted with an engine or apparatus inside (*yantaṃ pūresi*).¹ The upward movement, the progress of the flight and the manner of the surprising descent are described. The necessity for invention arose from a keenly felt difficulty in maintaining the institute of carpenters by the sale of timbers and execution of occasional orders. The love of conquest or the spirit of world domination was the first incentive to the flying invention.

The story proceeds to relate that when a sufficiently large number of flying machines were ready, the ignoble desire of all the disciples and pupils was to seize the kingdom of Benares at the outset, which would have been carried into effect but for the restraint on the part of the master inventor who thought better of founding a kingdom in a place far off. The whole air-force flew in a body and descended upon a country across the Himalayas where they founded a kingdom for themselves under their great teacher as king, known by the name of Kaṭṭhavāhana, with his capital known by the name of Kaṭṭhavāhana-nagara. There was a commercial intercourse between

¹ Cf. Mahābhārata (I, 143 : 5, 6) referring to a special class of boats capable of swift movement and withstanding all kinds of tides, being fitted with (powerful) scientific apparatus (*yantropakṣam*).

the kingdom of Benares and that of king Kaṭṭhavāhana. That here the allusion is to a place like Tibet, or a country near about, may be substantiated by the finer manufacture of woollen rugs (*accantasukhumā kambalā, vaṇṇena bālasuriyamaruttamālakasadisā*), ivory and lacquer-work mentioned in the story.¹

Secondly, in the Yuktikalpataru, the authorship of which is ascribed to king Bhoja, probably a work of the later mediæval period and not later than the 13th century A.D., we come across three ślokaḥ definitely stating that the former kings of India were equipped with comfortable flying conveyances (*vyomayānam, vimānam*), in addition to 4 different kinds of vehicles: 4-footed, 2-footed, footless and many-footed,—elephants and horses coming under the first category, palanquins and the like under the second, boats and the rest under the third and chariots under the fourth.

It is easy to see that here we have an unequivocal statement about the flying machines in possession of the kings of India who had reigned in the past, there being no such exception made in the case of other kinds of vehicles with which even the later kings were equipped.²

Thirdly, in the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, also ascribed to king Bhoja, we meet with a whole chapter, Chapter XXXI, devoted to the description of diverse kinds of machines and machineries in use among the people of this country. Among these machines and machineries, those connected with the subject-matter of this paper are two varieties of flying machines, one suitable for solo flight, and the other for carrying passengers through the air. When the late lamented Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstri brought out an edition of the first volume of this highly interesting Sanskrit treatise in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, it called forth the following observation from M. Sylvain Lévi:

“ The first volume contained, in Chapter XXXI, descriptions of machines which seem to reveal a technique really extraordinary, for example, ‘the flying machine, in the shape of a bird, made of light wood having in the interior an apparatus of mercury, a fire-place placed below; the force of the sleeping (? heated: *suptasya* for *taptasya* ?) mercury sets the two wings moving, the man sitting in machine goes to long distances in the sky’ (vv. 95-96). Here also a complete translation is very necessary; if the text be authentic, India in the 11th century must be said to have at least conceived, if not

¹ Paramatthajotikā, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 575-577.

² Yuktikalpataru, Calcutta, 1917, p. 7.

realised, engines which no one expected. The only manuscript dated belongs to the 16th or 17th century. I had written to Gaṇapati that he had to give some precise information about the two other (incomplete) manuscripts of the work, one of which at least seems to date also from 16-17th century. Instead of replying to me personally by letter, Gaṇapati thought fit to publish the explanations publicly in the preface to the second volume. These explanations are so characteristic of his manner that I reproduce them here :

‘It may be said that since the different machines mentioned in this work have never before been known either by sight or hearsay, they are nothing but the products of imagination, and that they are not real machines manufactured and used in practice. This is not the case, for even things which have existed come, in course of time, to be considered unreal because they have gone out of use and things which have cost a good deal of labour, time and money are liable easily to go out of use.

‘It may be asked why the poet has not described the mode of construction of the machines. The poet himself furnishes the reply in Chapter XXXI, V. 79 :

Yantrāṇāṃ ghaṭanū naktā—guptyartham, nājñatūvaśāt : tatra hetur ayaṃ jñeyo, vyaktā naite phalapradāḥ.

‘The gist of the verse is that, “If the methods are revealed in the work, the first-comer, without having received the initiation from a master, will try to construct the machines, and an attempt made by such a person will not only be fruitless, but will even end in annoyances and difficulties. Neither is it rare, in the case of machines of public utility, that the methods for their construction are kept secret.”¹

Gaṇapati Sāstrī has defended his position also by the citation of the following śloka setting forth requisite qualifications on the part of the apprentice for constructing the machines :

“The secret together with proper directions is to be imparted as a tradition by the expert to the intelligent apprentice conversant with the rules as laid down in the Sāstras and diligent also in the actual art of construction. He who has a thorough grasp and clear conceptions, is fit to construct machines according to designs.”

¹ T. Gaṇapati Sāstrī. The Calcutta Review, Third Series, Vol. XXI, pp. 156-157,

Now turning at last to the ślokas in question, we cannot fail to note that two of them present descriptions of the details of the machine suitable for solo flight and that the remaining three are devoted to the description of the details of the machine constructed for carrying passengers.

(a) As for the description of the first kind of machines, we read :

“ A huge bird-like flying machine should be constructed with light wood, its parts being neatly and firmly joined. In its hold should be placed a mercury engine (turbine ?) with a fire-place below it. The aviator is carried up in it by the current of air produced by the movements of the two wings which are propelled by the mercury apparatus (turbine ?) within, and makes various figures as he flies far up in the air.”

(b) And as for the description of the second type of machines, we read :

“ In the same way (as described above, even) a heavy wooden machine, built like a temple, flies in the sky. The clever aviator should place, according to rules, stronger and larger jar-shaped (*drīḍha-kumbhān*) boiler containing mercury within it. The machine (moves) with a start and rises up in the air by the energy of the mercury (*rasarājāśaktyā*) which whizzes when slow heat is applied to those stronger and larger boilers (containing mercury), from a fire burning in an iron pot. That iron propeller (*āyasa yantra*) fitted with mercury (boiler) and well adjusted in the plane roars like a lion when it flies up in the air.”

In this connection we might refer to the installation of mercury turbines¹ by the Hardford Electric Company. It consists of a mercury boiler and a mercury turbine. The equipment was designed to operate at 35 lbs. per square inch gauge pressure on the mercury boiler and the vapour from this boiler drives an 1800 kilowatt mercury turbine. The advantages derived from mercury have been summarised by Moyer in these words: The system affords means by which the temperature ranges practical with steam are greatly increased with consequent gain in the conversion of heat into work. Curiously enough, the mercury boiler as depicted in the treatise (fig. 220, p. 458) is just like the mercury pot (*kumbha*) with the fire-place underneath described in the quoted text.

Lastly, in the *Silpasamhitā*, Chapter XVIII, we meet with a śloka, the importance of which lies in the characteristic features which it gives

¹ Steam Turbines, Chap. XVI, pp. 457-458, by I. A. Moyer, New York, 1924.

of a highly special class of flying contrivances of poetic fame, deserving to be called Pushpaka, or 'the Brilliant one.' The śloka reads:

"The divine architect made an aerial conveyance to be driven by steam (*vāshpayoge tu*), which had an uninterrupted motion (through the air), and could move at will like wind and was equipped with various requisites. It looked brilliant and was (therefore) named Pushpaka."

The details as described in a treatise like the the Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra dealing with machines and machineries (*yantra-vīdhāna*) can by no means be dismissed as interpolations. These are all that could be expected by the reader of the striking flying story in the Pāli Commentary above referred to. Even to a superficial view, these are merely corroborative and explanatory of the points to be noted in connection with the earlier Buddhist story. The main material required, according to the story, for building the body of the flying machines was the Fig and such other light wood. The timber of a fig-tree is just an example in point of *laghu dāru* (light wood) mentioned in the Sanskrit treatise. The shape, the size and other particulars in the two descriptions are, for all practical purposes, the same or similar. In the Pāli account the detail does not go beyond the simple description that the machines were fitted inside with an engine (*yantam pūresi*). The yantra was, according to the Sanskrit treatise, a mercury engine (? turbine—*Rasa or Pārada yantra*) of the shape of a water jar, there being an arrangement for heating the mercury by a fireplace (*jvalanādhāra*). The sound of the boiling mercury within the machine according to variations in the heat produced is vividly described. One additional point of information supplied in the Sanskrit treatise is that there were two varieties of these machines, the Pushpaka of poetic fame coming, as it would appear from the description quoted from the *Silpasamhitā*, under the larger variety workable as airship for carrying passengers. The reader may judge for himself if the descriptions, whether in the Pāli Commentary, or in the Sanskrit treatise, were possible if the air-conveyances were mere creations of imagination and not actual inventions.

It is, however, worthy of note that the description is not clear as to the principle on which the mechanism was worked. The attempt was surely made to render the machine, built of a wooden substance, heavier than air in spite of its lightness as compared with other woods, capable of floating by some scientific device. The common law of enabling a hard substance with greater specific gravity to float in a liquid or a fluid is

that the displacement must somehow be such that the displaced volume of liquid shall be heavier than the thing floating in it. In the balloons and bubbles the floating object is rendered lighter by filling it with a gas lighter than air,—a principle which has its application also in modern airship, here the floating object itself displacing the liquid or fluid. In the case of an aeroplane the flying mechanism is made to float and move in the air by the strong motion imparted to the air by means of the propeller which works on a screw principle and the reaction of this moving body of air drives forward the machine ; and in the case of rockets a more effective result is produced by the application of the shooting or bullet principle. Now, as regards the Indian flying machines, there is not the slightest hint as to any mechanism for the application of the screw or rotatory principle. As for the balancing of the whole machine while in flight, the use of the wings, as described in the Indian texts, is undoubtedly similar to that in the case of modern aeroplanes. If the flying conveyances were an actuality, and if they had not worked on the screw principle, the only other thinkable principle on which the energy was worked must be assumed to have been the bird or wing principle—a far more difficult achievement which we could not believe to have been at all possible but for the clear description of an apparatus for producing energy from mercury in revolving a *yantra* (turbine ?). Whether this is at all feasible or not, the Indian description would seem to be scientifically important for the suggestion of the possibility of a successful adoption of the bird or wing principle by means of a mercury turbine, which is worth the trial.

II. Poetical evidence :

The poetical conception of celestial mansions (*deva-vimānas*) moving up and down, back and fro, like so many aerial cars (*ratha*), is evidently anthropomorphic, suggested, as it would seem, by the mansion-shaped royal chariots. The description of the Sun personified riding in a one-wheeled chariot drawn by one, three, five or seven horses, is as old as the Vedic hymns. In the Pāli *Vimānavatthu*, a Canonical book of the stories of heaven of Aśokan age, is filled with descriptions of various celestial mansions, the dwellers of which were the gods and goddesses of popular mythology. Similar descriptions are met with also in other parts of the Pāli Canon, *e.g.*, the *Pāyāsi-Suttanta* of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* and the *Nemi-Jātaka*. But as the Fourth Rock Edict of king Aśoka goes to prove, the *vimānas* (celestial mansions or aerial cars) were counted among the notable artistic

constructions (*divyāni rūpāṇi*) exhibited for a practical popular demonstration of high rewards of the acts of piety.¹

The display of *vyomakas*, or *phānus* (open-mouthed fire-balloons) in connection with the celebration of some of the religious or royal festivals may be regarded as a reminder of the ancient custom, and, what is more, as a relic of the preliminary stage in the process of evolution of flying mechanism in this country.

According to the Brahmanical theory all artistic constructions, such as the figures of elephants, horses and chariots are nothing but intelligent reproductions of the works of nature divine (*devaśilpānām anukṛtiḥ*). Going by this theory we have to imagine that the first impulse to artistic constructions comes from nature, the idea of flying elephants, horses and chariots being suggested, perhaps, by the changing shapes of the clouds in the sky, moving up and down, back and fro. The very name *Valāhassa* employed in a Pāli Jātaka for the sky-going horse is really suggestive of this fact.

The Pushpakas of the Sanskrit epic fame were a class of vimānas, the mechanism of which was undoubtedly far more advanced than that of the Aśōkan vimānas. The Pushpakas were a large variety of aerial conveyances capable of high speed and piloted at will—a class of special chariots used with advantage for fighting from the sky under cover of clouds, or for carrying passengers through the air at high speed.

The Rāmāyaṇic tradition credits Kuvera with the possession of Pushpakas²—the Yaksha chief who, according to the Buddhist legend, was the ruler of Uttarakuru of trans-Himalayan location.³ It is from Kuvera that Rāvaṇa, the mighty ruler of Laṅkā, seized the Pushpaka as a trophy of victory. As soon as Rāvaṇa came into possession of this wonderful mechanism, his heart, like that of the carpenter-inventor of the flying machine in the Pāli story, was bent upon conquest and world domination.

Coming to Kālidāsa, we get two parallel and vivid poetical descriptions: (1) of the travel of the cloud messenger in the Meghadūta; and (2) of the journey, in the Raghuvamśa, of Rāma with his large retinue in the aerial conveyance, Pushpaka, from Laṅkā back to

¹ *vimānadasaṇā cha hastidasaṇā cha agikhanidhāni cha añāni cha divyāni rūpāṇi dasagītā janakā.*

² Cf. also the Sanskrit lexicons Amarakośa (I. i. 43), Abhidhāna-chintamoni (ii, 3; 61 104).

³ Cf. *Mahā-śiṣāpāṭya Suttanta, Dīgha-nikāya.*

Ayodhyā, his home, observing and enjoying the grand scenery of land and sea that could be seen from that aerial height. For us the historical importance of this parallelism between the two descriptions is that they further illustrate the possible suggestion of the idea of flying mechanism (as an artistic creation) by the shapes and movements of the cloud.

As for the flying machines forming the subject-matter of this paper, the suggestion from the clouds did not suffice. The shape and the flight of birds, as clearly hinted at in the Pāli story, were the additional and main factor.

The *Mahābhārata* is the other great poetical work of old which should be examined in this connection. The *Vanaparva* of the Great Epic contains several references to a large air-ship, called *Saubhānagara*. The *Saubhānagara* in the possession of the powerful demon king *Sālva* represented that class of aerial conveyances (*vaiḥāyasa vimāna*), the description of which fits in with the larger variety of *dāruvimānas* described in the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*. The *Saubhānagara* of *Sālva*, it is said, could travel in land, water and air. *Sālva* moved in this air-ship, and retaliated the wrong done to his friend by cruelly causing a complete devastation of *Kṛishṇa*'s city *Dvārakā*.¹

The *Valāhassa* ² of the Pāli *Jātaka* is introduced as a species of horse capable of flying through the air. It is said that a horse of this breed could easily carry over five hundred persons. The vehicle was a mysterious appearance before five hundred shipwrecked Indian merchants from the north who wanted to escape from their imprisonment in a regional coast of South India.

Considered as a flying conveyance, the *Valāhassa* of the Buddhist Birth-story has a special historical importance of its own. In the cycle of folk-tales in the *Arabian Nights* there is a very well-known anecdote in which the court of king *Harun-al-Rasid* is said to have been visited by a merchant from India who wanted to sell at a high price a flying mechanism which was but a wooden horse fitted with an apparatus inside. It could be easily set to flight by working at the apparatus which the merchant successfully demonstrated to the astonishment of all in the royal court. This foreign story is here important as suggesting that there was a widespread tradition that some kind of extraordinary flying invention was made in this country.

To sum up: We have placed above the two lines of evidence before the reader, one scientific and the other poetical. In connection

¹ *Vanaparva*, Chaps. 18-19.

² *Valāhassa-Jātaka*, Fausbøll, No. 196.

with the first line of evidence we have been concerned to discuss the historical importance of a remarkable Pāli story of the 4th or the 5th Century A.D. presenting a highly realistic account of the invention of flying machines in ancient India by a talented head of an institute of carpenters and wood-carvers. The importance of this particular account is really twofold: (1) that, it at once dispels all doubts about the authenticity of the ślokas occurring in a later scientific treatise, the *Samarāṅgana-sūtradhāra*, and (2) that it ranks among a few other accounts of interesting scientific discoveries and inventions met with in early Buddhist anecdotes.

As for the second point, we may consider, for instance, the vivid account in the *Vaṇṇupatha-Jātaka* (Fausböll, No. 2) of the circumstances that led to the discovery of an artesian well. The main points in this account are: (1) that the discovery was a feat on the part of a great leader of a caravan in distress for want of water while crossing a desert somewhere in Rajputana; (2) that the sight of a solitary clump of living grass on a spot in a dreary region (*marukantāra*) struck the talented leader who began at once to reason that there must somehow be water underneath to nourish it, (3) that in all confidence he forthwith began, with the help of an assistant, to dig the spot till he got down to a rocky layer, (4) that failing to detect water even at this depth he tried to feel with his organ of hearing the mystery that lay hidden beneath the rocky cover, (5) that hearing the murmur of flowing water he began to strike hard the rocky bed to cut a hole through it, and (6) that no sooner a part of it was broken through than water gushed forth in a stream through the boring. These are the various steps which are said to have ultimately led to the discovery and construction of artesian wells in India. After reading this anecdote we naturally expect to come across a scientific treatise dealing with some definite rules to be followed in trying to locate the under-soil veins of water and to construct wells for the utilisation of the natural water-supply. A scientific treatise like Varāhamihira's *Vṛihatsamhitā* devoting a whole chapter (Ch. 53) to these rules does not, therefore, come to us as a surprise.

Although needles were in use among the people of India as early as the age of the Vedas, if not earlier, no sample of the sewing instrument used by the people of antiquity has yet been discovered. That some of the Indian artisans excelled in the art of manufacturing various kinds of needle work can, by no means be

doubted. So, if we chance upon, even though in a popular anecdote, a realistic account of the improved art of needle-making, it cannot strike as something unexpected or impossible. The *Sūchi-Jātaka*, for instance, distinctly associates the professional art of needle-making with a special section of smiths (*kammāras*) forming a guild of their own, just as the flying story associates the invention and the art of construction of flying machines with a particular school of trained workers in wood. The interest of the needle story lies in the narration of certain circumstances which led a talented young smith to be seriously engaged in inventing the art of manufacturing a finer kind of needles that could float in water.

In tracing the course of scientific and artistic developments in Ancient India we find that progress advanced to certain points and followed certain directions, and that Indian talents and technical skill could not forestall and achieve other inventions made now, or made in other countries in the past. For instance, the art of well construction progressed as far as artesian wells and did not proceed as far as the tube-wells. The workers in clay were capable of manufacturing various earthen pots, glasses, mirrors and even crystals, but there is no evidence to show that they succeeded in making China wares. Confining ourselves to evidences, both scientific and poetical, bearing upon our subject, we may similarly observe that the flying mechanism did not advance even in imagination so far as to think of applying the shooting or bullet principle as in modern rockets.

These are all that we have to say by way of guidance to the reader in adjudicating upon the evidence or set of evidences, produced without any prejudice to other evidences that may be forthcoming. In drawing a legitimate inference in each case, especially in pronouncing the historical verdict upon the genius, the talent and different achievements of an ancient civilized people like the Indians, each account is to be tested in the light of (1) the circumstances creating the necessity, (2) the nature of the talent and the technical skill employed, (3) the amount of perseverance required, (4) the materials available, (5) the directions followed, and (6) the purpose or purposes served.

In connection with the details of flying mechanism in the *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* our position is that the ślokas containing them are not interpolations, particularly as they occur as explanatory to a simpler and earlier incidental description in the Pāli story of the 4th or 5th

century A.D. Whether they relate or not to any actual machine in use at any period of our past history, even as a play of imagination, the idea of working a flying apparatus by means of mercury energy heated in a jar-shaped boiler does not appear impossible in view of the fact that the whole field of medical science of the past was revolutionised by a new school of chemists (*Rāsāyanikasa*) experimenting with mercury and achieving wonderful results thereby.

This paper is not to be judged as a dissertation on the range of actual Indian achievements in the various branches of science and art.¹

¹ The article is based upon two papers written independently on the same subject : (1) "A Flying Story in a Pāli Commentary" read by Barua at the Science Section of the Second Oriental Conference held in Calcutta, and (2) "Aviation in Ancient India" prepared by Majumdar for the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

YOUNG BENGAL'S PLEA FOR SCIENCE EDUCATION EIGHTY YEARS AGO

[On the 11th day of November 1852 Babu Prasannocoomar Surbadhicary—later on Professor and Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Principal of the Berhampur College and Professor of the Presidency College—read a paper at a meeting of the Bethune Society which is published below. In the Calcutta Review of July, 1917, was published a paper of Babu Prasannocoomar Surbadhicary on "The Influence of Climate on National Character." As a foreword to the article the then Editor of the Calcutta Review observed :

It is not often that a contribution to a Review takes seventy years to reach its destination, but the following short article written in 1847 reached us only the other day. The writer of this article, Prasannocoomar Surbadhicary, was a boy in the Hindu College at the time. He afterwards became prominent in the sphere of education and members of his family are today amongst the best known and influential citizens of Calcutta. The ideas in the article have been frequently set forth, but we sometimes wonder whether they are given their full value either as palliatives of external criticism or as incentives to action amongst those who are criticised... ..

Babu Prasannakumar Sarvadhikari was born at Radhanagore in the District of Hoogly in December, 1825 and died in November, 1886. He was a distinguished student of Mathematics and the author of pioneer and model Bengali works, Arithmetic and Algebra with their notable newly improvised Mathematical Vocabulary. Of him Vice-Chancellor Sir W. W. Hunter said in his Convocation Address of 1886-87 : "But chiefly we mourn the loss of Babu Prasannakumar Sarvadhikari, the gentle principal of the Presidency College and the conscientious custodian and spirited defender of its precious manuscripts and the ingenious Mathematician who transplanted the Arithmetic and Algebra of Europe into the Vernacular of Bengal "

Among the fellow students of Babu Prasannakumar Sarvadhikari were epoch-making men like the Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerji, Babus Bhudebchandra Mukherji, Ramgopal Ghose, Ramtanu Lahiri, Rasikkrishna Mallick, Pearycharan Sarkar, Uneshchandra Dutt of Krishnagore, Srinath Das and Radhanath Sikdar. The last two, like Babu Prasannakumar, were students of Mathematics and Science. They were all pupils of David Hare, D. L. Richardson and De'Rozeo, all beautifully innocent of Science and Mathematics. Deeply versed as Babu Prasannakumar was in English and Sanskrit literature his forte was the Positive Sciences and Mathematics, and as a student he had the successful temerity on one occasion of setting right "eclipse prediction" made according to Nautical Almanac calculations. Eighty years ago, he felt and pleaded for need of Science education in Bengal without which he saw no prospect of national salvation.

His plea is of peculiar interest and importance at a time when the country is fittingly celebrating the centenary of the birth of Bengal's Pioneer Scientist, Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar. Babu Prasannakumar's plea for Science in the theatre of the Medical College at which meetings of the Bethune Society were held, was put forward in 1852 and young Mahendralal Sarkar, a fellow student and friend of his brother Rai Bahadur Dr. Suryyakumar Sarvadhikari, took his admission in the Medical College in 1854. Mahendralal Sarkar was born in the village of Paikpara in the District of Hoogly (now Howrah), a village opposite the village of Bamanpara—across the rivulet Kananadi. Suryyakumar Sarvadhikari was married to the daughter of the zemindar of Bamanpara and there was early intimacy between him and Mahendralal Sarkar who came from the opposite village of Paikpara (not the Paikpara in the suburbs of Calcutta as is popularly mistaken). Prasannakumar, Suryyakumar and Mahendralal became close neighbours in the vicinity of Bowbazar and were mutually helpful in their Science studies, which Rajendralal Dutt of Ankur Dutt Lane much encouraged. Prasannakumar and Suryyakumar were ardent and generous supporters of the Indian Association for the Advancement of Science founded by Mahendralal Sarkar who found encouragement and support from another neighbour, Dr. Gangaprasad Mookerjee of Balagore in Hoogly, who lived and practised in Malanga till he removed to Bhawanipur. This support was multiplied by Dr. Gangaprasad's great son Asutosh. There was thus an interlink of events and interests in connection with advancement of Science studies in Bengal by the inhabitants of the District of Hoogly that is more striking.

Earlier in the century Raja Rammohan Roy strongly pleaded for Science education and strongly objected to the establishment of the Sanskrit College. The balanced view however prevailed but Science education was neglected long. The centenary of the Raja's death will be celebrated this month at among other places in his native village of Radhanagar.

DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY]

(Read by the late PROSANNOCOMAR SARVADHIKARY before the Bethune Society, on Thursday, the 11th November, 1852.)

THE potent agency of education in the formation and moulding of human character has been admitted in every quarter. The phrenologist as well as the metaphysician has acknowledged and commented upon its mighty importance. The statesman and the politician are no longer its avowed enemies, but are its warm advocates. Ministers of religion have ceased to look upon it with an evil eye and have made themselves its persevering and zealous friends. There is scarcely a nation on the face of the earth, which has made any progress in civilization, that has not begun to think of plans for the universal diffusion of education. Even ordinary common sense is not blind to its advantages. If we contemplate on what our superiority over the brute creation consists, we shall see that it is only in the possession of our intellectual powers and moral faculties. Any thing that tends to the strengthening and enlargement of them contributes to the increase of our power and happiness. The office of education is to do all this. The patrimony of intellect which we have received from our ancestors and the possessions that have been left us by a Homer and a Kalidasa, by a Shakespeare and a Milton, by a Newton and a Laplace, are brought to their use by the aid of education. When rightly conducted, education lays the foundation of our future happiness, and the usefulness of ourselves to the race we belong to.

Society is at present so constituted that years, if not centuries, must pass away before we can hope for the universal diffusion of knowledge in all its completeness. A graduated scale of education must of necessity be in force till circumstances are ripened to admit of plans and methods for the thorough education of all human beings. The education which is to be received in a College should be of the highest possible order. Its nature should be such, as to enable its recipients when they enter life to take the lead of the nation to which they belong and to make that nation inferior to none in the world. The educated youths should receive that degree of mental culture when within College walls as will enable them to put their shoulders to the advancement of their national prosperity, to be active agents in the assimilation of their uneducated countrymen to their own body, to develop the resources of their country, to ward off thereby all sorts of misery from their native land, to create within themselves a resource which will make them happy independently of all external circumstances, and to appreciate if not to share the conquests of mind over matter.

The two main channels into which knowledge divides itself are science and literature distinctively so called. We are to see the relative and absolute importance of each in a collegiate education.

Whatever thoughts have been recorded, whatever events have been commemorated, whatever doctrines have been handed down, whatever production of fancy or imagination have been in store to beguile our troubled hours, whatever scientific truths have been discovered and preserved to make us the "lords of the creation" (in which, independent of our moral and intellectual existence, we are but insignificant atoms) and to ennoble our nature and bring it nearer to the Divine original from which it emanated, have been through the medium of language. A familiar acquaintance with and an analytical study of the language in which are to be found the productions of master minds are therefore absolutely required on the part of those who wish to place themselves on a firm footing as rational beings. But to have this familiar acquaintance and to prosecute this analytical study, a familiarity with the classic authors

of the language must be cultivated. Canons of criticisms are but secondary aids to the thorough appreciation of the beauties of a language. The authors themselves must be our study. The life-like truth of Shakespeare's descriptions enrobed in fairy colours, the sublime flights of Milton's genius, the manly dignity of Dryden's muse, the easy and resplendent flow of Pope's versification, the indolent sweetness of Thomson, the sweet but sad colouring of Gray's poetry, the exuberant beauties and voluptuous sweetness of Moore's *Lallah Rookh* and his *Irish Melodies*, the sublime glow and energetic beauty of Byron, the soul-dissolving strains of Shelley, and the mild but delicious effusions of Rogers, Campbell and Wordsworth have to their admirers and students direct advantages besides the collateral. In common with other intellectual pursuits, the study of those authors and their like make us happy in defiance of all the frowns of fortune. When we are perusing the production of these mighty intellects, we seem to be in communion with beings raised far above the dissensions and grovelling desires of the world. The daring imagination of Shakespeare moving with lightning-like rapidity touches our heart with a more than electric influence. A single sentence from him has the mighty power of changing what is gloomy and overcast into cheerfulness and mental sunshine. When the spirit and soul of poetry have entered into us and have been absorbed into our spiritual nature, truly are we then "lapped in Elysium." In whatever locality we may happen to be, whether in the midst of the howls of jackals and tigers in the Soonderbuns, or gliding in a boat under the effulgence of the moon along the alabaster bosom of the Pudma in the vernal month of March or April, poetry is ever delightful. When a doctrine of morality is taught by a poet, it reaches our heart with such impressive eloquence, that it never loses its place there. In addition to all this, familiar acquaintance with great poets, as has been mentioned before, greatly facilitates the study of the moral, the political and the natural sciences. Hence the necessity of attending to poetic literature in a collegiate education.

Essay writers, when they happen to be men of a high order of merit, contribute a great deal to the sharpening of our judgment and to the strengthening of our morals. The truths they teach being in less recondite forms than are to be found in philosophical works, are learnt with little effort and treasured up in our minds, to fructify at every step of our progress in the pursuit of knowledge. They prepare the ground for the reception of philosophical ideas. There is a wholesome effect, therefore, in their forming a part of college studies.

There is another department of polite literature whose importance in a collegiate education we have yet to see. Though mentioned last its uses and advantages are not the least. History by making us familiar with past events and past deeds introduces us into the great laboratory of social experiments. To know what has been the success of particular trains of conduct in particular states of society is doing away with many of the obstacles in our own way. We profit by the experience of the past ages. Were we not to be benefited by the folly and wisdom of our ancestors we would always remain in primitive barbarity. When we compare the histories of different nations, many a prejudice, contracted from narrowness of observation, leaves us altogether. Example being always better than precept, we are benefited a great deal by the study of history. Whatever profession we adopt we find history always pleasing to us. We find there pictures of all descriptions of men. After we have made ourselves familiar with history, a vast store of facts is brought to our keeping, to reason upon all social affairs. What an amount of pleasure again in the study of history! When we are perusing the pages of a master historian what an amount of interest

do we feel in the narrative! Does not even the most phlegmatic, a native of whatever country he may be, feel some sparks of patriotism when he reads that portion of English history where the virtues of a Pym and a Hampden shine with brilliant lustre? Do we not find in Washington the realization of the half fabulous Cincinnatus, and do we not feel ourselves transported in thinking that we have to boast of such a being belonging to our species? Do we not sympathize with our own agricultural population when we are reading the history of the Plebians of republican Rome, and thus dispose ourselves, though unconscious we may be at the moment, to the cause of humanity? Do we not find our pride humbled when we read the history of Hannibal or Napoleon? Do we not in the frequently recurring French Revolutions, with all our admiration for the master intellects who took the lead in them, learn a lesson of patient perseverance on constitutional matters? Do we not feel an indescribable pleasure when we are told by the historian that the same age which witnessed the victories of Napoleon and Wellington had also a Laplace to boast of? When we are reading the history of Mohamedan India, do we not feel pity for our poor distressed country and thus make it dearer to us by every wrong she has suffered? Do we not again in reading the history of India under Akbar feel a degree of elasticity and cheerfulness in finding amongst foreign rulers a benefactor to our country? And does not that again endear our country to us? Is not political philosophy based on history? Last of all, do we not learn weighty lessons of morality from the perusal of history? Isn't there something intellectualizing and moralizing even in the bare narration of historic facts? Do we not find an invaluable treasure of sweets in the pages of literary historians? Isn't there much improving matter in every one of their sentences? Isn't there something more than material, something spiritual altogether, breathing through their volumes? Are we not convinced of the high dignity of human nature when we are studying the history of literature? Do we not feel ourselves more than human, more than those sordid beings who lay waste their spiritual nature for the acquisition of precious nothings? Are there not a thousand enjoyments when we are going over the periods of the towering intellects? Are there not a thousand hopes to cheer us on when we are reading of the progress of the human mind?

The study of history, therefore, should form an important part of a collegiate education. But the range of historical literature is too wide to be mastered in a college course of studies. There are advantages, however, in laying during the college career the foundation of historical knowledge. When once properly initiated, we cannot but cultivate with it a familiar acquaintance in after life.

Biography is an important branch of history. What a world of sweets is embosomed in its domain! What an intensity of interest in its volumes! What the state of the mind, when we hear from biographers of the modest reluctance of Newton to publish his *Principia* and *Optics*! What an elevation of spirit when we read of the martyrdom of Galileo on the altar of Science! What lesson of perseverance in the life of Kepler! What a beautiful enjoyment to observe the gradual transformation of Sir William Herschel from a musician's boy to one of the greatest astronomers of his age! What pleasure to trace the career of William Roscoe from the time when he carried on his head baskets of potatoes to sell in the market to his becoming "one of the first literary characters of his day" and being "courted as a companion and correspondent by the nobles of the land and associated on equal terms with the Wilberforces and the Romillys and others who stood first in the intellectual ranks of

society ?" ¹ What an awful lesson unfolded in the glorious but chequered life of Bacon ! How interesting and instructive to read the lives of the wild Rousseau, of the meek and philosophic Hume, of the versatile Voltaire, and of the poetically misanthropic but really philanthropic Byron ! Read the life of Cavendish and see what a beautiful picture is presented before the eye !

"He was a duke's grandson ; he possessed a princely fortune ; his whole expenditure was on philosophical pursuits ; his whole existence was in his laboratory or his library." "He was thoroughly educated in all branches of mathematics and natural philosophy, he studied each systematically ; he lived retired from the world among his books and instruments, never meddling with the affairs of active life ; he passed his whole time in storing his mind with the knowledge imparted by former inquirers and in extending its bounds." ²

There is indeed something altogether captivating in the life of a great intellect. What a sumptuous banquet of reason and imagination in the life of him who was emphatically "nature's darling" or of him "who rode on the seraph wings of ecstasy." What pleasure again to see in the pages of biography examples of moral greatness ! When we read of a Fenelon or of a Howard, what an enjoyment of bliss ! If there be one whose parental solicitude for the welfare of the youths of Bengal has been unequalled and who has spent the whole of a competent fortune for the education of Hindu youths ; if there be one again who is the benefactor of our country, who came down from his high position amongst the rulers to mix with the poor and the lowly, and to be concerned in their welfare, whose secret charities have enabled many a helpless youth to prosecute his collegiate studies, and who tried heart and soul to elevate our daughters from intellectual degradation, if there be such noble beings, who is there that will not feel interested in the study of their lives ? What educated native's heart does not thrill with both sorrow and joy when he comes to know the particulars of the lives of David Hare and John Elliott Drinkwater Bethune ? Many circumstances conspire to make biography an interesting walk of literature. Its bearings to the philosophy of mind are many. The time is not far distant when the true theory of the constitution of mind shall have to be confirmed by an appeal to the facts recorded in the pages of biographers, just as the theory of universal gravitation is confirmed by all previous astronomical observations. But the utility of biography and the fascinating beauties are so easily appreciated that it requires not the protection of the college authorities. It introduces of itself into the closet of the student. It has charms for him that novels have to light readers.

This last description of literary productions has not been mentioned, as they are not fit subjects of the collegiate studies or of the private reading of those that are still in the college. Whatever effects they may have in improving the style of the youthful writer or of cultivating the romantic in his bosom, or of beguiling the troubled hours of a man of active life, they have something injurious in them to the mental habits of him who has not his intellect yet quite formed. If he falls once in love with them, he becomes quite unfit for severe studies. There is a seducing spirit in them that turns his head and would not allow him to be in graver company. He would be under the influence of that spirit, even if novels of inoffensive character and moral tendency were in his hands—even if they were from the pen of Scott or Warren.

¹ Life of Roscoe, prefixed to his Lorenzo de Medici.

² Lord Brougham's Literary Men of the time of George III.

It remains now to see the advantages of the study of science in a collegiate education.

It has been stated above that a collegiate education should be of the highest possible order. Whatever studies have a disciplinary effect on the mind, whatever pursuits have in their rear national prosperity and national advancement, whatever studies ennoble human nature, in short, whatever studies have a tendency to make us happy, should have a place within the range of such an education. Scientific studies have all these characteristics in a pre-eminently distinguished form. Of all the sciences, mathematics should have the first place in a college education. It sharpens the intellectual powers and impresses on them a precision which they can derive from no other source, except, perhaps, from logic. The closeness of reasoning with which we become familiar in the course of our mathematical studies gives a peculiar mould to our reasoning powers, and cultivates within us a principle which forms the safeguard against intrusions of fallacy in all our researches. Mathematical reasoning being perfection itself, a familiarity with its nature enables us to adapt all other reasoning to its as near proximity as possible. Physical truths, especially those of the dynamical and optical sciences, are not understood and appreciated to their full extent and worth without a knowledge of mathematics. It seems to be the corner-stone of all those sciences which deal of matter as occupying space and having its phenomena occurring in time. Its applications to so many departments of physical science being of so intimate a nature, a writer of first-rate ability has in full fervour of admiration for mathematics stated that "it seems to be the instrument by which we can share the counsels of the Almighty." In fact it seems to be such an instrument. By its aid have Leverier and Adams—worthy disciples in the school of the more than human Newton and Laplace—been enabled to assign a definite place in illimitable space to a planet, as if saying in an humble but confident tone: "Here shalt thou Almighty Father place a planet, to preserve the harmony and regularity of the solar system, or what thy favourite Newton has said shall come to nothing or shall receive modifications." Since mathematics can do this all, it should have a place in the education of youths, even if it had not other uses. But by a singular ordination of Providence, whatever is beautiful, sublime and soul-ennobling is not wanting in utility in the sense the term is understood in the world. To mention a few homely examples. The carpenter, the mason and the superintendent of embankments do their work in a much better style when they are grounded in mathematics than when they ignore it altogether. High authorities in all learned professions advise their pursuers to receive mathematical training if they wish to have success in the profession they wish to enter. Warren the celebrated author of the immensely interesting works of fiction, the *Diary of a late Physician* and *Now and Then*, occupying a high place among the Lawyers of England, has in his *Introduction to Law Studies* quoted a passage from Bacon to shew the importance of mathematics to the mental discipline of students of law. But independent of the uses of mathematics in its application to astronomy and other departments of physical science, independent of its disciplinary effect on the mind, it has some thing within it, which renders its study positively pleasing. Any one who has overcome its first difficulties can bear testimony to the fact that it has an inexhaustible treasure to bestow. Isn't here something exceedingly beautiful in the properties of the Conic sections in the nature of the vanishing fractions, in the solution of the maxima and minima questions, in the tracing of curves, and, in the finding of the unknown constant? So, from whatever light we view, we cannot but see the paramount importance of mathematics in a collegiate

education. The period of youth is the most susceptible period. Whatever mental habits are then neglected are perhaps neglected for ever.

Akin to mathematics is logic. It has as good a disciplinary effect on the mind as mathematics itself. As mathematics makes herself a helping instrument in many departments of physical science, so logic is the only guide, acknowledge we its importance or not, in all the moral sciences and in most of the physical. Being the science of reasoning, we do not see why it should not be of so universal an application. If we would not make blunders in reasoning, if we would wish to be sure in every chain of reasoning that we employ, we should cultivate a familiar acquaintance with logic, not the logic of the scholastic ages but the logic of modern Europe; for notwithstanding the former may have paved the way for the latter, the latter is by far the superior. In a collegiate scheme of education, logic as it has come out from the pen of John Stuart Mill, or as it might come out from the pen of Sir John Herschel, should be included, the more so as those that have an inaptitude for mathematics may find in logic a worthy substitute. If testimony from high quarters on a subject so clear like the present were required that would not be wanting. Liebig, standing high among the philosophers of the present age, is an enthusiastic admirer of logic. What Bacon, Locke or Reid, has said in disparagement of this science is quite unworthy their names. Their sarcasms were directed against the noble study from their observing, perhaps, to what an extent it had been abused by the scholastic writers. They might as well have proscribed iron from man's use, for from it daggers and other offensive weapons are prepared. Our distance from the scholastic age has kept us clear of all such prejudices. We feel the paramount importance of "ratiocinative and inductive logic," we feel its necessity, disguised under whatever name it may be, to the advancement of science.

We have now to see the importance of natural sciences in a collegiate education.

The universe, in which our lot has been cast and in which we are no unconcerned beings, is governed by a system of laws unvarying and open to the inspection of all who come with a devout heart and with the necessary preparations to know them. The explanation and expounding of these laws constitute natural science. As "nature is subdued by submission" if we would keep our place as "lords of the creation" we must cultivate a familiar acquaintance with the physical sciences. The lofty position, to which civilized man has been raised, has been through the almighty work of science. The loftier station, which his present position promises to raise him to, shall be through the aid of science. It is science, that enabled the powerful genius of Archimedes to defend his country against the overwhelming force of the Romans. It is through the aid of physical science, that we are enabled to travel hundreds of miles in a day, and to perforate the Alps, the crossing of which required the mighty genius of a Hannibal or of a Napoleon to accomplish in bygone days. It is physical science that enables us, with a small quantity of water, to have works done which would have required the labours at least of a hundred Hercules of the fabulous ages. Science has enabled the sailor to ply his vessel across the wide expanse of the ocean with that degree of exactitude and certainty with which he would have been moving from one room to another in his own apartments. By science have we been able to catch hold of the fleeting shade and to give it a permanent existence. By science have we been able to convert the most noxious weed and vegetable to the most nutritious food¹ and to transform the most worthless objects into the most useful. By science have we been

¹ Lindley's Botany.

able to make water and wind subserve many of our purposes and be obedient to our will. Science has made provision for our walking with light in perfect safety while we are in the midst of the most inflammable and explosive atmosphere of the subterranean regions. It is science that has provided us with a medium "to waft a sigh from Indus to the pole" with a velocity surprisingly great. If we look with an observing eye at the social condition of the civilized nations, we shall see how much physical science has done for its bettering. We shall then feel the truth of the statement that by the aid of science "the condition of a European Prince is now as far superior in the command of real comforts and conveniences to that of one in the middle ages as that to the condition of one of his own dependents." ¹ All our arts are either derived from, or perfected by, science. Anything that is detrimental to the interests of the latter is also detrimental to the interests of the former. But even putting aside all interested motives, what an amount of enjoyment in the study of the sciences! When we are told by the scientific enquirer, that the fall of the apple and the motion of the planet as well of the wandering comet and of the seemingly irregularly falling aerolite, is guided by the same laws; when we are told by him that the law of gravitation holds true in the most distant stellar system; when he describes Saturn's Ring with a minute accuracy, as if it was one shining with brilliant lustre on his own little finger; when he is giving us a chart of the moon, as if it was one of his own native district; when he informs us that there is an ebb and flow in the aerial ocean as in the aqueous; when he tells us what the state of the world was before the family of man was in existence; when he tells us that "linen rags being immersed in sulphuric acid produce a greater quantity of sugar than their original weight;" "that a gnat's wing in its ordinary flight beats many hundred times in a second," "that in acquiring the sensation of redness our eyes are affected four hundred and eighty-two millions of millions of times" ² do we not feel ourselves lost in wonders? Do we not feel the importance of those branches of learning which teach us these miraculous truths? What an exquisite pleasure then in the study of the natural sciences! Look again at their subserviency to Natural Theology. The sublime truths of that sublime science are but imperfectly understood without a familiarity with Natural Philosophy. The stability of the solar system, the nature of the resisting medium, the beautiful provision of the harvest moon, the relationship between the eye and the light, the equilibrium of effects between the animal and the vegetable creations, the provision for the sustenance and production of the human frame, and the sixfold utility of the atmosphere, are a few of the many truths which we cannot understand and therefore cannot appreciate unless we have made ourselves familiar with physical science. Many of us do think that we may take them for granted and have thus the obstacles to the study of Natural Theology at once overcome. But we should then bear in mind that "traditional prejudice" ³ is far different from the "rational conviction." ⁴ From these considerations, we feel not the least doubt that physical science should occupy the most prominent place in the collegiate education. If the aim of all our attempts be to make ourselves and the human family at large happy, we should not deny ourselves the benefit of a scientific education. Any thing substantial that we can do for the good of our country or for the good of our race shall be through the aid of science. Even if physical science were wanting in all physical utility, its study would be necessary for

¹ Sir John Herschel's *Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*.

² *Ibid.*

³ Whewell's *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

its moral advantages. Familiar contact with the operations of nature in her immensely large scale, and the observing of harmony in every department of nature's works, have a peculiarly soothing effect on the mind. In the language of him whose name graces that of our society and whose soul was imbued with the purest and the most profound doctrines of philosophy, "knowledge of physical science is not only power, but it's humility and it's piety also." When we are in pursuit of science, we seem to be in communion with our Creator. If we have any regard for truth and abhorrence for falsehood, if the "ideas of the divine mind" be worthy of greater respect than the "idols of the human mind," we should include physical science in the course of a college education, if for nothing else. Our moral constitutions are well adapted for appreciation of truth, and so much is our admiration for discoverers of scientific truth that the mere mention of the names of Galileo, Newton, Clairaut, D'Alembert, Euler, Franklin, Herschel, Cuvier, Lagrange and Laplace makes a passage far more eloquent than if its periods had received the brightest polish from the pen of the most eloquent writer.

The study of the moral sciences is no less useful and pleasing than the physical. No education may be said to be complete in which they are neglected. The constitution of the human mind and the constitution of human society form the two principal subjects of these sciences. To be familiar with the analysis of our moral and mental nature, is going a great way in the improvement of our moral and mental constitution. To know the details of the structure of society, how its operations are going on, how its affairs are to be improved, how governments are to be conducted with the least inconvenience to the governed, is certainly very interesting. The wonderful machinery by which we perceive, remember, imagine, associate, reason or love, so far as it is open to our observation, cannot but be observed with an intensity of interest. The laws of social relations are of too great an importance to neglect their study with impunity. Hence the necessity of the study of moral and mental philosophy and of political philosophy, especially one of its departments political economy. But how far they should be included in a college education is still a matter of doubt. Many departments of moral inquiry have still the inductive method to be applied to them to raise them on a solid basis. Till they may properly be classed amongst the inductive sciences, they are not fit subjects of study for unripe intellects. They may form subjects of discussion among philosophers and of observation to scientific inquirers. But those portions of moral science which have assumed a demonstrative appearance and which have received the approbation of all philosophical inquirers, political economy for instance, should be included in the course of a college education. The substratum of everything that is to be learnt in after life should be laid during our collegiate existence, as any department of knowledge then neglected is most likely in the majority of cases to be neglected all the while. What is of more universal application in social affairs than the truths of political economy! From the highest statesman to the everyday labourer, from the princely duke to the humblest tenant on other's lands, from her gracious Majesty Queen Victoria down to her poorest ragged subject starving in an obscure nook of the 24-Pargunnahs or the Hooghly district, every one has an interest, whether he would be wise enough to know it or not, in the science of political economy. In its true appreciation, endowed as we are by our all-benevolent Creator with natural powers to carry into effect its precepts and doctrines, depends the welfare of individuals as well of nations. In this complex state of society in its present advanced condition, many a time mere common sense is not sufficient to make us understand what our interests are. Many a time we see a distorted picture, and, many a

time a false one altogether. Political economy being the science of society, if we would not resign our place there we must make ourselves familiar with its truths. On social matters if we are wise without it, our wisdom is based on empirical knowledge. And it remains to determine whether science or empiricism is to be preferred. Certainly no one in his senses can recommend the latter. Political economy then should form a portion, and an important portion, of college studies. Select portions of moral philosophy, including within that term intellectual philosophy as well as ethics, may be taught with advantage. I say select portions, because all portions have not shared equal scientific investigation. Many portions again are still under discussion amongst scientific inquirers. Those portions of the philosophy of mind which will remain unaffected by any discoveries that are made with regard to its nature are of too important a character to be neglected in a college education. They touch our dearest and noblest concerns. That the ultimate laws of mental and moral phenomena, even in those portions, have not yet been discovered, or those that are said to be discoveries are not acknowledged as such by scientific inquirers, is most true. But should we, therefore, leave our hold of them altogether? Should we not rather take a resting place in the derivative laws of unquestionable validity and push forward thence our inquiries? Would it have been wise on the part of Kepler to abandon his elliptic theory only because there may possibly be some ultimate law of planetary motion? Certainly not. But at the same time, it may be said with a great deal of truth, that this sort of duty falls on the philosopher only and not on the student. On the other hand it may be said also that the youth who is receiving the highest order of education should at least have his soul imbued with the constant portions of philosophy. He should feel to some extent with the poet

"How charming is divine philosophy !
Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets,
Where no crude surfeit reigns." ¹

Natural theology holds a prominent place among the moral sciences. But after a scientific education, its study may be omitted in the college course. The study of the sciences will keep us prepared to enter on its study when we have finished our collegiate course of education. No new initiation shall be required to appreciate its worth. The immensity of interest that is attached to its study, and the sublime grandeur that pervades its whole domain, are of themselves sufficiently inducing motives to the prosecution of its study. All that we have to do in the college is to give the proper bent to the mind.

After all that has been said before, it appears that science and literature are the two necessary ingredients in a liberal education. Neglect any one of them, and the education is incomplete. Your so-called educated youths would then receive but half their education. We connect ourselves in feelings and thoughts with the remotest antiquity by the study of literature. We establish our supremacy in this sublunary world by the study of science. Literature, besides its direct uses, has an important share in enabling us to prosecute scientific studies. In neglecting it then, we neglect all our dearest concerns. We are at one and the same time deprived of the treasures and delights kept in store by the sweetest bard and by the most profound philosopher. So, in a college

¹ Milton's *Comus*.

course of education, the study of literature in itself and in its relation to scientific studies and pursuits is highly advantageous. But to pay exclusive attention to mere literary studies is resigning more than half of our privileges and rights. The power and happiness that science confers are altogether lost. We reduce ourselves to a state very near to that of mere sentimental beings. To confine ourselves all the while, to a literature because it is preparatory to our being able to study science is the same kind of policy which would make us learn the alphabet all our boyhood because without them it is impossible to read. In fact, that training, which would give us no scientific education, which would provide us with no instrument to claim our birth-right to the lordship of this universe, is but a very poor training. In this age of social reforms, in this age of brilliant discoveries, when new sciences are starting into existence, when the whole field of nature is ransacked for the increase of our scientific knowledge, when steam navigation is an ordinary occurrence, when railroads are traversing almost every region of the habitable globe, when a network of electric telegraphs is spreading over the whole of the civilized world tendering forth its services to carry our thoughts from its one extremity to the other in the course of a few hours, when attempts are being made to bind "wandering winds in the magic of numbers," and the still more fluctuating oscillations of the deep are about to be brought under the pale of the self-same charm, a person without a scientific education is far behind the age. In this age of Humboldts and Herschels, Airys and Aragos, Whewells and Brewsters, Lardners and Babbages, Bucklands and Lyells, Liebig's and Jussieu's, Gausses and Mitscherlich's, any system of collegiate education that would omit the teaching of physical and natural sciences would be radically faulty. The functions of education shall be but imperfectly done. The present age is emphatically an age of progress and of scientific enterprise. Volunteers for the reconnoitring of science have come down from the highest rank of scientific merit. Why did Herschel bid farewell for some years to the most intellectual regions of the north, and take his residence in the southern part of the continent of negroes but for the advancement of science! Why was Ross sent to the Antarctic regions but for the advancement of science! Why was Humboldt in the midst of Tartary but for the advancement of science! To whatever country of Europe we direct our attention, we see brilliant clusters of scientific men making the most strenuous exertions for the increase of the domain of human knowledge, and of necessity the increase of human happiness. In an age like the present, to remain in youthful age uninitiated in science and to be not allowed to enter the precincts of the "sanctuary of scientific truth" is a singular misfortune. Certainly he who comes out of his college without a stock of scientific acquirements, and purposes to take a share in the world in the middle of the nineteenth century, comes very ill-provided. If the youths who are educated in colleges be designed to take the lead of the nation to which they belong, they must receive a high scientific education. Without that they can do almost nothing for their country, since, in the words of Sir David Brewster, "science in these days constitutes the power and wealth of nations." A leading philosopher of the age, the venerable Baron Humboldt, who may be styled the Nestor of the present age, and to whom all science and all knowledge are as familiar as household affairs, in his introduction to the *Cosmos* has a passage somewhat bearing on the subject and confirming the proposition. "An equal appreciation," says he, "of all the branches of mathematical, physical and natural sciences is a special requirement of the present age in which the material wealth and the growing prosperity of nations are principally based upon a more enlightened employment of the products and forces of nature. The most superficial glance at the present condition of Europe shows that a diminu-

tion, or even a total annihilation of national prosperity, must be the award of those states who shrink with slothful indifference from the great struggle of rival nations in the career of industrial arts." Since such is the case, the importance of science in a collegiate education is paramount. The condition of India is to be improved by the aid of science and by no other means. The starving population of a more than hundred millions has to look up to no other resource but the almighty agency of science. Scientific methods of agriculture shall have to be introduced before we can hope to be out of the grasp of penury and famine. Botany, chemistry and geology, when called to the farmer's assistance, shall spread plenty all around, and infuse a new vigour into the Indian soil. They have transformed arid tracts and marshy bogs into smiling cornfields. What prospect, then is not there of the enriching of India, when along with mechanics and engineering they shall operate on the already fertile plains of Bengal, of the Doab and of the Dekkan? What task again remains for Physiology to do! Sanatory reforms on any large scale cannot take place until the people, or, at least those that move in the higher circles of society, have made themselves familiar with the truths of the physiological science. Physiology has to remove from amongst the educated natives and by their example, from amongst the uneducated vulgar, that superstition with her inaudible feeble voice has not been able to displace. I mean that poisonous liquor of which

" Soon as the potion works, their human countenance
The express resemblance of the gods, is changed
Into some brutish form of wolf or bear,
Or ounce or tiger, hog or bearded goat,
All other parts remaining as they were,
And they so perfect is their misery
Not once perceive their foul disfigurement
But boast themselves more comely than before. " 1

Political economy has to teach the poor, and physiology has to teach both the poor and the rich, what innumerable evils are ensuing from early marriage. What social misery and intellectual prostration from that single source! In short, if we wish to be our own farmers, if we wish to be our own manufacturers, if we wish to beautify our country and increase its resources without foreign aid, and if we wish to keep our body and soul in health and harmony, we must cultivate science and include it in the college curriculum of studies: otherwise, we shall be doing injustice to ourselves and to our posterity; we will be able to talk much but to do little. Again, in a country like ours where an immense structure of superstition has been raising in the minds of the inhabitants for more than three thousand years, the including of science in the scheme of a college education is absolutely necessary. Every thing Hindu is subject to the thralldom of superstition. Superstition interweaves itself with all the affairs of Hindu life. Every sort of improvement is retarded in its progress by the all-spoiling powers of superstition. The Hindu mind has been pulled down to a low level by the oppressive load of superstition. No other study is so sure to destroy this giant fabric as the study of science. Science being the embodiment of truth, it is from its very nature opposed to superstition and bigotry. In the course of a scientific study, nothing is taken on trust. Every proposition has its proof. The absurdities of superstition appear glaring by the light of science. Let it not be understood, however, that all that has been said above is with a view to undervalue literature. Science and literature go hand in hand. They both aim at human happiness. The one is as much necessary as the other to make us great.

¹ Milton's *Comus*.

THE ISLAND HOME OF RĀVANA

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The abode of the famous *Rākshasa* king is the subject of much keen controversy.

In *JRAS* 1915, p. 318f., Professor Keith contributed a note on the date of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the course of which he observed that "the evidence that *Laṅkā* (Rāvaṇa's Island home) was Ceylon is weak." Similar views have been expressed by many scholars in India¹ as well as in Europe. A summary of some of these views is given in *IHQ*, 1928, p. 695.

Those who doubt the identity of Rāvaṇa's Island with Ceylon take it for granted that *Laṅkā*, the name given to the Island by Vālmiki, was the exclusive designation of one particular territory, and that territory, it is argued, could not have been *Sinhala* or Ceylon as the names *Laṅkā* and *Sinhala* find separate mention in several Sanskrit texts. But separate mention in these texts is no sure proof of complete dissociation in all ages. In the *Sabhā-parva* of the *Mahābhārata*,² for instance, *Vaṅga*, *Tāmlīpti* and *Suhma* are clearly distinguished from one another. The *Daśakumāra Charita*, however, includes *Dāmalīpta* or *Tāmlīpti* within *Suhma*,³ while the Jaina *Upāṅga*, styled the *Prajñāpanā* includes it within *Vaṅga*.⁴ In the records of Fa Hien and Yuan Chwang *Gandhāra* is distinguished from *Takshaśilā*,⁵ but in several *Jātakas* *Takshaśilā* appears as the name of the capital of *Gandhāra*.⁶ The *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*,⁷ which makes separate mention of *Laṅkā* and *Sinhala*, likewise distinguishes *Māthuraka* from *Sūrasena*, *Kuru* from *Gajāhvaya*, *Giri-nagara* from *Surāshṭra*, *Koṅkana* from *Aparāntaka*, *Takshaśilā*-*Pushkalāvata* from *Gandhāra*, *Madra* (XIV, 22) from *Madraka* (XIV, 27). *Kulūta* is placed in Western India (XIV, 22) as well as in the North-East (XIV, 29). We need not multiply instances. Separate mention in each of these cases does not necessarily mean separate existence as absolutely distinct entities.

There is another fact which should not be lost sight of. The name *Laṅkā* was not the exclusive designation of one particular island. Sylvain Lévi⁸ refers to "alluvial islands lying within the banks of the *Godāvari* river, called *laṅkā*s, which are flooded every year." A deed of gift, which comes from the state of *Sonpur* and is published by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, makes mention of a local Chief under the title of *Pāschima-Laṅkādhīpati*.⁹ The author of *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* makes mention of a territory called *Māvilangai* or North *Laṅkā* lying to the south of *Nellore*.¹⁰ These *Laṅkā*s were undoubtedly quite distinct from Ceylon. But the *Laṅkā par excellence* could not have been any other territory but Ceylon. This is made clear by the evidence of Buddhist literature. The

¹ *Bhārata-varsha*, Paush, 1336, 67; *IHQ*, 1926, 315; 1928, 339, 691; 1929, 355; *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, XVIII.

² Ch. 30 (*Bhīma-digvijaya*).

³ *Suhmesu Dāmlīptāhvayasya nagarasya vāhyodyāna* (*Uchchhāsa* 6).

⁴ *Tāmlīpti Vahgāya* (*Indian Antiquary*, 1891, 375).

⁵ *Legge*, 31-32; *Watters*, I, 198, 240.

⁶ E.g. in the *Nandivāsāla Jātaka* (No. 28).

⁷ XIV, verses 11, 15; 8; 4; 11, 19; 12, 20; 26, 28.

⁸ *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* (Trans. by Bagchi, 102).

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, XII, 287.

¹⁰ P. 37.

Buddhist Chroniclers of Ceylon refer to their country as "our island of Laṅkā"¹ which they identify with "the region called Tambapaṇṇi." The *Mahāvamsa*² makes clear mention of *Laṅkāsaṅkhātā* *Tambapaṇṇidīpam*.

In the *Mahāvamsa*³ we have the statement that 'Vijaya, son of King Sihabāhu, is come to Laṅkā.' He 'landed in Laṅkā, in the region called Tambapaṇṇi.' "The King Sihabāhu, since he had slain the lion (was called) Sihala and, by reason of the ties between him and them, all those (followers of Vijaya) were also (called) Sihala (Siṃhala)."

Was Siṃhala (Ceylon), the Laṅkā of Vijaya, also the Laṅkā of Rāvaṇa? In this connection it is interesting to note that the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (Ch. 70)⁴ refers to a river called "Rāvaṇagaṅgā" named apparently after the King of Laṅkā, which is described as

Siṃhali cārunitambabimba vikshobhitāgādha mahāhradā

This passage certainly establishes a connection between Rāvaṇa, lord of Laṅkā, and Siṃhala. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁵ the country (*deśa*) of Rāvaṇa the lord of *Rākshasas*, is thus described, (the *Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, 41. 14-25:—

"You will see the Kāverī, abounding in sporting bands of *Apsarasas*. On the summit of the Malaya mountain, endowed with exceeding splendour, you will behold Agastya, foremost of saints, like unto the Sun. The high-souled one being pleased, you will be permitted to cross the *Tāmraparṇī*, a great river infested by crocodiles. Decked with covered islets, picturesque with sandalwoods, the river, like a youthful lass, embraces her lover, the sea. Marching onward, Monkeys! you will next behold the *Kapāṭa* of the Pāṇḍyas, made of gold and adorned with pearls and gems. Then having reached the sea you will consider the possibility or otherwise of crossing it. There in the Ocean Agastya has placed the most excellent mountain—the glorious Mahendra, charming with its picturesque ridges, golden, majestic, plunged in the bosom of the great deep. To this lovely mountain, decked with various trees and blossoming creepers, hallowed by the foremost of gods, sages, *Yakshas* and *Apsarasas* and thronged with multitudes of *siddhas* and *chāraṇas*, comes, at *parvas*, the thousand-eyed (Indra). On its other side is a luminous island stretching over a hundred *Yojanas*, inaccessible to men. Explore it all round and make a thorough search for Sītā, particularly in this place. That is the country of the wicked Rāvaṇa—the abode of the lord of *Rākshasas*, like unto the thousand-eyed (Indra) in lustre." Rāvaṇa's Island is in this passage placed beyond the Kāverī, the Malaya Mountain, the *Tāmraparṇī*, the Pāṇḍya country (Madura and Tinnevely Districts), and the Sea. To reach the shore opposite Laṅkā Rāma had to cross the *Sahya*, *Malaya* and *Mahendra* Mountains, *i.e.*, the Ghats and the Travancore Hills⁶ Any one who reads the splendid description of the surging mass of water⁷ separating Rāma's camp on the mainland from Rāvaṇa's island home need not be told that it can hardly be

¹ The *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger's translation), pp. 54, 61, 62.

² Ed. by S. Arthur Strong, p. 113.

³ Geiger's Translation, pp. 54, 55, 58.

⁴ Verse 8.

⁵ *Rām.*, IV, 41, 14f.

⁶ *Rām.*, VI, 4, 92f.; cf. *Mahābhārata*, III, 281, 44f.

⁷ *Hasantamiva phenaughair nṛityantamiva chormibhiḥ chandrodaye samuddhūtam pratichandrasamakulam*

identified '(as is done by some Indian writers) with some obscure sheet of water near the Amarakaṇṭaka range. Trikūṭa, the name of the mountain on the top of which stood the proud city of the Rakabasha king, cannot be exclusively appropriated to a particular region of Central India, as the name is found in other parts of the Indian sub-Continent.¹

Some scholars object to the identification of Rāvaṇa's Lankā with Ceylon on the ground that the dimensions of Lankā given in the *Rāmāyaṇa*² far exceed those of Ceylon. It is forgotten that poets are not scientific geographers and even the classical writers give exaggerated accounts of the size of 'Taprobane' or Ceylon,³

chandrānila mahāgrāhaḥ kīrṇaṁ timitimigilaḥ
dipta bhogairivākīrṇaṁ bhujāṅgair Varuṇālayam

sāgaraṁ chāmbara prakhyam ambaraṁ sāgaropanam
sāgarāṁchāmbaraṁcheti nirviśeshamadrīśyata

anyonyairāhatāḥ saktāḥ sasvanubhīmaniḥsavanāḥ
ūrmayaḥ sindhu-rājasya mahābherya ivāhave

tato vismayamāpanā harayo dadṛśuḥ sthitāḥ
bhrāntormijāla sannādaṁ pralolauiva sāgaram

Rāmāyaṇa, VI, 4, 110-121.

¹ *Raghuvamśam*, IV. 58-59; Carmichael Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, 252.

² IV. 41. 23f., etc.

³ Cf. McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (Ed. by S. Majumdar Śāstri), p. 255.

Miscellany

EVERYDAY SCIENCE IN THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

The *Cambridge University Reporter* published the new schedule for Part I of the General Examination for the ordinary Bachelor of Arts Degree. For the first time in the history of Cambridge University Everyday Science is included in the syllabus of studies. It is a varied syllabus, ranging from gravitation, capillary phenomena, X-ray and other invisible radiations, human and other mammalian anatomy, the importance of vitamins in foods, epidemic and their causes and the general control of diseases.

The Syndics of the Cambridge University thought fit that their literary *alumni* should not go out into the world without even the elementary conception of the ordinary life and its surroundings. For some years Everyday Science has been a subject for candidates in several examinations conducted by the Civil Service Commission. There are people who hold the view: (1) that Everyday Science is very suitable for young children from 10 to 13 years of age, (2) it is less adapted to the mental state of boys and girls from 13 to 16, (3) it is extremely valuable for those above that age who are not specialising in science but who must get to play active parts in a world very largely moulded by scientific thought and controlled by scientific invention.

Among the older schools there are many teachers who consider Everyday Science as a mere pretender, a back-boneless weakling putting a sham show in the strength of veneer of science. It may easily become invertebrate, few will deny, but that it is always so, is a serious error of opinion. If a study of literature may foster that love of beauty, truth and goodness, the study of science will lead to application of beauty in nature, truth in observation and deduction, goodness in the service performed by science and in the light it throws on human motives, ideas and emotions. It is true that formal science lays the greatest emphasis on truth as appreciated by human sense and human reasonings and thus counterbalances the greater emphasis laid on other values by other subjects; it prepares the mind for a critical examination of the diversity of facts presented before us. It is due to these reasons that those who decry Everyday Science as a school subject are among the staunchest supporters of formal science; in other words, they attach primary importance to the "Truth" value, so characteristic of science and are apt to forget or belittle its content of beauty and goodness. There are now numerous books on general elementary science, but however accurate in detail or immaculate in style, such books cannot be regarded as successful books on Everyday Science if they merely contain abridgements of various science courses. To fulfil its purpose its whole outlook must be planned on a different basis. It is no doubt partly from these causes that writing of such a book appears to offer exceptional difficulties. And the teachers are reluctant to undertake this owing to lack of suitable books and are sceptic regarding its utility.

Here one would like to see less prominence awarded to scientific theories and necessities of contemporary scientific work and more to the history of science and to the contacts of science with everyday life.

This bold step of the Cambridge University will lead others to think seriously. It is high time that the Indian Universities should consider whether there is need of such a scientific background for their Art students.

P. N. GHOSH

MANCHUKUO VS. CHINA

The people of Manchukuo stand firmly on their inalienable right to rebel against oppression, misrule and injustice; to exercise right of self-determination and to secede from the rule of a bandit despotism; to declare their independence and to set up their own government. It was their right and duty to throw off the yoke of their oppressors and provide new guards for their future security when the opportunity presented itself. The Government and people of Manchukuo accept full responsibility for their actions and are prepared to maintain and defend their freedom by every means within their power. Invoking the fundamentals of civilization and the rights of man which today represent the most advanced policies of the more enlightened European states, the Government and the people of Manchukuo appeal to the world to cast aside the legalities and petty international politics and to consider their case from the broader aspects of justice, humanity and world peace. Principles that apply in Europe must apply with equal force in Asia.

The supreme concern and duty of the League of Nations is the Preservation of world peace. The dispute between China and Japan simmers down to whether or not Japan was justified in resorting to self-defence on the night of September 18, 1931. If Japan was justified it follows that the independence and status of Manchukuo is outside the jurisdiction of the League and becomes a purely domestic question between Manchukuo and Nanking, in which war against the Central Government is not an act of rebellion but a test of supremacy between two independent factions. And as Nanking imposed its rule over the whole of China Proper with the aid of the Soviet, so will Manchukuo defend its independence with the aid of Japan.

Although the League decided against Japan, it could not undo the independence of Manchukuo. That, as pointed out, remains a purely domestic issue that concerns the people of Manchukuo and a government which sits at Nanking and derives its right to rule from the recognition of the Powers and the weight of its armies. If the League is to use its powers to preserve world peace, the only fair position for it to take in this dispute is to recognize the right of the people of Manchukuo to determine for themselves what government they desire to live under.

The independence of Manchukuo bears no relation to the dispute between China and Japan. Had the incident of September 18, 1931, not created the opportunity for the people of Manchuria to throw off the yoke of Chang Hsueh-liang it was only a question of time when some other combination of circumstances would have precipitated a more serious revolution. Basing their right to self-determination on a nationalism that has endured for centuries, the legitimate sons of the soil revolted against the oppressive rule of an alien regime and set up their own government. These people challenge the findings of the League that the land belongs to the Chinese immigrants.—George Rea in the *Far Eastern Review* (Shanghai, China).

B. K. SARKAR

ORPHANHOOD DIMINISHING

The sorriest victims of the premature death of adults are the children who thereby become orphaned of father or mother or both. And, conversely, one of the greatest boons resulting from the modern improvement in mortality is the saving of innumerable children from the fate of orphanhood. Just what this means to the present and future generations can best be realized by a computation which contrasts the number of orphans that result from the mortality prevailing at the present time, with the corresponding number that would have resulted under the mortality conditions at the beginning of the present century.

The conclusions from such computations are striking. The mortality rates prevailing in 1930, if applied to the parents of children living in that year, would have produced, among the white population of the United States about 3,085,000 children under age seventeen who had lost one or both parents. Of these, about 1,739,000 would have been fatherless, about 1,168,000 would have been motherless and about 178,000 would have been completely orphaned of both parents. If, on the contrary, we apply to this population of 1930 the old mortality rates of 1901, we find that these would have produced, in the white population of 1930, about 5,202,000 orphans under age seventeen. Of these, about 2,726,000 would have been fatherless, about 1,931,000 would have been motherless, and about 545,000 would have been completely orphaned of both parents. Thus the improvement in mortality in the first thirty years of the current century would correspond to a total saving in 1930 of about 2,117,000 children under seventeen years of age from orphanhood, in the white population of the United States.

The social implications of this changing aspect of the orphanhood situation can hardly be rated too highly. The children are the first and direct gainers, in being preserved from the physical and spiritual handicap of a youth deprived of parental affection and guidance. But society as a whole also reaps an important and sure gain. Not only is it relieved of the economic burden of caring for children whose natural support has been removed by death, but, without reflecting in any way upon the excellent institutional or private care that is now-a-days bestowed upon many orphans, it can surely be said, without fear of contradiction, that this can never fully replace the influence for good of a well-ordered home life. Problems of delinquency, or at least of indifferent citizenship, will surely be reduced as the proportion of orphans in the community decreases.

As mortality has improved almost continuously in past years, we may reasonably hope that the present very favourable condition may continue or even can be surpassed in years to come. Children of the present and and future generations will then reap the full benefit of the lower death-rates of their parents and the community will profit in lowered costs of custodial care and in a better trained and equipped group of citizens. —*Statistical Bulletin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. (New York).*

B. K. SARKAR

DEBTS PAID IN PAPER DOLLARS

The vast bulk of fixed debt incurred in the United States, whether by Americans or foreigners, was expressed in gold dollars. Principal and interests were to be paid in dollars having a prescribed gold content, or in other forms of dollars taken at their gold valuation. The insertion of this provision had become habitual since the experiences arising from the Civil War in the sixties of last century.

The recent separation of the dollar from gold, along with the withdrawal of gold from circulation, raised, therefore, in an acute form the question whether dollar payments due in respect of such debts should be increased, and if so by how much (no easy question this), to allow for the depreciation of the dollar in relation to gold. In order to clarify and regularize the position the Government has taken the equitable course of declaring all such clauses void. This was done by a joint resolution of both Houses of Congress on June 5, 1933, nullifying the "gold clause" in all existing and future contracts, and approving payments in United States legal tender as full discharge of interest and principal obligations.

In consequence, with the exception of a few foreign loans containing the gold clause, the debtors on which have elected of their own free will to observe it, all debts on which payments are being made are now served in "paper" dollars. Before the joint resolution some authorities doubted the power of Congress to sweep away the gold clause, for the terms of the constitution of the United States were held to render any such act unconstitutional.

The President, however, had already taken opinions on the question, and had evidently satisfied himself as to the validity of the proposed course of action. Still, the matter cannot be regarded as finally settled, for, although two favourable judgments have been given in minor courts the final authority, the Supreme Court of the United States, has not yet had an opportunity of giving a decision. It may in fact never have that opportunity, and in any event the occasion cannot arise until the wheels of American justice grind slowly to that point.—*Monthly Review of the Midland Bank* (London).

B. K. SARKAR

STEEL-PIPING IN MINING DISTRICTS

Of all the big tasks which the developments after the War assigned to the designer of pipe systems in the industrial and mining districts of America and Europe the most important were dictated by hygienic and economic considerations. On the one hand, the rather unsatisfactory conditions obtaining in those districts with regard to drinking water made a speedy and systematic improvement of the water-supply imperative, while often perfectly good and pure drinking-water could be procured only by erecting extensive pipe lines, which conveyed good water from mountainous regions over great distances to the consumer. On the other hand, the demand for improving the economy of the large steel works, etc., was instrumental in bringing about the utilization, previously not heeded, of the waste gases, and of natural gas, for industrial and town supply, and for this purpose also, extensive pipe-line systems had to be created.

Common to both types of systems was the relatively high working pressure required for overcoming the great distances. This fact by itself

was not of great moment, in as much as pipe lines for far higher pressures had been in use for a considerable time, especially for water-supply and turbine plants, but now an aggravating moment came in. For reasons of economy, socket connections had to be employed exclusively, whereas in most of the high-pressure water pipe lines referred to, flanged or riveted joints have been used; moreover, the fact had to be taken into account that the unstable conditions of the ground in the mining districts are liable to cause displacements of the lines and therewith high bending and buckling stresses in the pipes.

Although these facts were well known when the first long-distance lines were designed, protective measures were not applied to the requisite extent. While in the construction of the long-distance water and gas lines, the use of cast-iron pipes had been abandoned from the beginning on account of the high working pressures, and cases of burst pipes, therefore, did not occur anywhere, yet subsidences of the soil, which are sometimes very extensive and can never be avoided in mining districts, in many instances caused leakages in the joints, and in some cases cracks at the welds of welded joints. In the case of gas mains, this has led to a number of deaths from gas-poisoning and to serious damage through explosions, apart from the direct losses through the gas escaping.

The safety measures now devised for the prevention of similar catastrophes, and which in part go far beyond the mark, have been in operation now for a long enough period to permit of passing a final judgment on the value of the various constructions and their importance for future pipe-laying practice.

In this connection, the fact must not be overlooked that in Europe, due perhaps to the more unified and much more stringent police regulations, any construction, if it is to be passed by the authorities, must be absolutely safe and capable of resisting all loads that may under any possible combination of circumstances come upon them. In the United States, on the other hand, the general practice is to suit the safety measures to the normal working conditions and to dispense with precautionary measures for special contingencies if their cost exceeds that which would be occasioned by an interruption of service caused by abnormal occurrences. In other words, the construction of pipe-line systems in Europe is largely influenced by the requirements of absolute safety of operation, in the United States by purely economic considerations. —Diederich in *Engineering Progress* (Berlin).

B. K. SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

[*Rabindranath Tagore: His Religious, Social and Political Ideals* by Taraknath Das, M.A., Ph.D. (J. T. SUNDERLAND)—*The Reserve Bank of India and its Functions* by Sheokissen Bhatler and Dr. L. Neményi (J. P. SIKDOL)—*India: the Landscape, the Monuments and the People* by Dr. Martin Härtli-mann (N. RAY)—*Modern Movements in Islam* by Julius Germanus, Ph.D. (N. RAY)—*India House Library: A Short Catalogue* (PRIYARANJAN SEN)—*Modern Russia—the Land of Planning* by Dr. Louis Segal, M.A., Ph.D. (PULIN BHABH SEN)—*Banks and the Money Market* by Dr. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., Ph.D. (A. K. SUB)]

Rabindranath Tagore: His Religious, Social and Political Ideals by Taraknath Das, M.A., Ph.D. Saraswati Library, Calcutta, India. Pp. 56, 1932. Re. 1.

Here is an unusually valuable little book. In its half a hundred pages, it gives the clearest portrayal we have ever found anywhere, of the exact ideals and aims of India's great poet and philosopher.

The book is needed. For, as a matter of fact, there is in the public mind not only much vagueness of thought but much actual misunderstanding regarding Tagore.

Is he not a mere dreamer, or is he a real thinker? Is his poetry great, or only new and queer? What are his relations to Mahatma Gandhi? Does he work with him or oppose him? Is he really, actively, earnestly in sympathy with his country's struggle for freedom, or only nominally and half-heartedly so? Is he a real social reformer, working earnestly to lift up India's "untouchables," and to cure her other grave social evils? or is he only a dilettante reformer? What is his religion? Is it Hindu superstition? or something high, rational, worth of attention? Is he friendly to western civilization? or opposed to it?

These are important questions. Dr. Das throws clear light upon them all, and others, showing in the most convincing and authoritative way, not only that Rabindranath Tagore is a real poet of the first order, and a profound and fertile thinker, but also that he is a warm friend of Gandhi, an earnest, effective and courageous worker (in his own way) for India's freedom, a sincere and effective social reformer, a teacher of a singularly intelligent and pure religious faith, a man of the highest, noblest and finest character.

Dr. Das's little book is one of praise; but its praise is careful, candid, well-considered, based on ample knowledge. As has been said, the work is needed, and should be widely read.

J. T. SUNDERLAND

The Reserve Bank of India and its Functions by Sheokissen Bhatler, Managing Partner of Sir Sarupchand Hukumchand and Co. (Calcutta) and Dr. L. Neményi (Budapest), pp. 176+xxxv. The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta.

The volume under review gives a straightforward and at the same time a fairly comprehensive presentation of the facts and arguments connected with the Reserve Bank problem in India. Its publication is specially opportune at the present moment when the Indian public is eagerly watching the progress of the Reserve Bank Bill in the Legislature.

A brief account of the working of the gold standard and of the rôle of the bank money in the modern economic structure provides the necessary background for an examination of the issues involved in the establishment of a Reserve Bank in India. The Reserve Bank Bill now before the Legislature is analysed, clause by clause, and in the course of this examination a number of important suggestions are made. It is in this part of the book that the most valuable work of the author has been done.

Special mention must be made of the very pertinent criticism made by the author that the Bill under consideration makes no attempt to link

up the indigenous bankers with the proposed Reserve Bank. It is universally acknowledged that this link would have gone far in creating that "bill habit" of which we have heard so much in recent years. It is worth recalling in this connection that the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee recommended that approved indigenous bankers should be required to keep a proportion of their deposits with the Reserve Bank and that they should be given the same facilities of rediscounting commercial paper as the joint-stock banks. The authors have also pointed out the rather anomalous provision in the Bill [Section 17 (4) b] which allows the proposed Reserve Bank to compete with the joint-stock banks in respect of certain types of business, *e.g.*, the grant of loans and advances against gold and securities. The approved member banks will be required to keep a percentage of their time and demand liabilities with the Reserve Bank and it is only fair that the latter should be prevented from doing ordinary banking business with funds partially provided by the member banks.

A separate chapter is devoted to the controversial question of State Bank *vs.* Shareholders' Bank. The authors come to the conclusion that "only a shareholders' bank can safeguard the national interests if the shareholders will take an active interest, whereas a State Bank will solely be in the hands of the executive." One would have wished for a more detailed analysis of the question, particularly on the basis of the experience of some of the existing State Banks, *e.g.*, the Commonwealth Bank of Australia. Ever since 1924 the Australian Commonwealth Bank has been organised as a full-fledged State Bank and it would have been interesting to examine the career of this Bank in the light of India's requirements.

J. P. NIXON

India: the Landscape, the Monuments and the People by Dr. Martin Hürlimann, DR. PHIL. D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., "Kitab Mahal," Hornby Road, Bombay Over 300 full plates in photogravure with an introductory letter-press of xxi pages, and xi pages of explanatory notes on illustrations and a short index of proper names. Rs. 20.

The Taraporevalas of Bombay are reputed to be very enterprising publishers and they have lived up to their reputation in this work which is really a delight, a feast, to the eye and the mind. It is a sumptuous volume containing over 300 full plates in photogravure, artistically printed, depicting the landscape, the monuments and the people of this vast sub-continent of ours. Eminently suited to be an album for presentation on ceremonial occasions, the book has at the same time a great cultural value and will be of real service to those foreigners and also our countrymen who have neither the time nor the opportunity to go all over this picturesque and bewildering land with her diverse races, languages and landscapes and know her soul.

The arrangement of the illustrations correspond to several journeys Dr. Hürlimann, the author of the book, took throughout the length and breadth of India, beginning at the extreme south, on Adam's Bridge, and ending with Kashmir. In the first journey through Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Chidambaram and Conjeeveram some of the most important places of Dravidian civilisation and architecture were visited. Once again starting from the extreme south, along the south-east coast from Trivandrum through Malabar he visited Telicherry, Mysore and Hyderabad where at Golconda and Bijapur some of the imposing monuments of Mahomedan princely power met his eyes. In the western side of the Peninsula he led his footsteps to Bombay and then turned to those temples, cave temples and monasteries at Karli, Elephanta, Aurangabad,

Nasik, and above all, at Ellora and Ajanta, "whose caves are the most magnificent monuments of Indian art and of human culture itself." In the north-east were visited the temple cities of Orissa—Puri, Bhuvaneswar and Konarak,—while next he passed through Bengal, "one of the most active of provinces in cultural things," and then up the Brahmaputra to Gauhati in Assam, and along the powerful mountain frontiers to Darjeeling. In the plain of the Ganges he saw Patna, Buddhagaya, Benares, and then Allahabad, Lucknow, and the "romantic" Bundelkhand. Thence he was led to Agra and Delhi, "the classical localities" of Mahomedan rule, and next to the sacred localities of Rajputana, "full of colour and proud shapes." Further to the west he visited Kathiawar, Ahmedabad, and Karachi, but he did not forget the former territory of the Gandhara kingdom, in the extreme north-west, above all the Punjab and its old cities of Lahore and Amritsar, the ruins at Taxila, the Khyber Pass, and "the Caravan city" of Peshawar. Lastly he visited Kashmir, "which in addition to the beauty of its magnificent mountain scenery and variegated vegetation, possesses interesting architectural monuments, and the life and doings of a peculiar mixed people." During all these journeys, a pageant of scenes and sceneries, of art and life, of light and colour passed before his eyes which he caught in his camera. When taking the photos, he has endeavoured, it seems, to keep the directness of personal impressions, and at the same time to avoid photographic arbitrariness, letting the beauty of the country and of its monuments speak for itself. "At the same time that I was trying to capture the beauty of India," the author says, "I wished, likewise, to illustrate her soul. For, in the beauty of a civilisation and in the greatness of its accomplishments there lies a mightier truth than in the thousand and one details of a transitory and often ugly work-a-day world." That is certainly a most correct attitude for a foreign visitor—trying to know the soul of a civilisation that once was great and glorious.

N. RAY

Modern Movements in Islam by Julius Germanus, PH. D. Visva-Bharati Book-Shop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Rs. 4.

This is the fifth book of the Visva-Bharati Studies, a series embodying the results of advanced studies and research carried out at the Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, under the inspiring guidance of Dr Rabindranath Tagore; and one is pleased to record at once that the book keeps up to the high standard of merit the series aspires to maintain. Coming from Dr. Julius Germanus, the first Nizam Professor of Islamic Studies at the Visva-Bharati, and a leading European expert on Islamic history and civilisation, one can hardly expect anything less.

The book is a collection of three of Dr. Germanus's learned lectures on modern cultural movements in Arabia, Turkey and Persia, before the teachers and advanced students at the Visva-Bharati. They are all very able and scholarly dissertations on the recent developments in the Islamic world characterised by a sincere sympathy, a broad vision, and a deep knowledge of the past history and culture of the respective countries. He has, moreover, a refreshing way to present his subject, and an introspective mind that knows how to interpret the inner spirit that moves the outer facts of life and history. His reading of Turkish history and the modern social, religious and cultural movements with which the new régime in Turkey is associated, is of special interest. The book will be of interest not only to those who are interested in Islamic history and civilisation but to all general readers as well who care to know anything about cultural understanding between peoples and nations.

N. RAY

India House Library: A Short Catalogue. Office of the High Commissioner for India. London, 1933. 5s.

This is an abridged catalogue of the library, attached to the office of the High Commissioner for India, and dating from 1920. From a collection of official books it has developed into a full-fledged library, as it was found early that the staff as well as the general public required unofficial books to supplement their knowledge of India, and sums of money are now allotted each year for buying books which may help the understanding of Indian problems. When in 1930 the office moved to India House, the library was in a better position to realise its aim of being "the Mecca of all persons who are interested in the economic and commercial problems of India and Indian culture generally," without being ambitious at the same time of competing with the India Office Library or with the British Museum.

The catalogue contains the names of all the publications in the library on the 31st December, 1932, and the books have been arranged according to subjects, in conformity with the Dewey decimal scheme of classification. In looking over the names we find that social sciences have come in for more attention than any other department, and this is but reasonable.

The catalogue is a handy publication and will guide students of Indian culture to the selection of books in their respective subjects. We wish the library a useful, successful and long life.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Modern Russia—the Land of Planning by Dr. Louis Segal, M.A., PH.D., Industrial Credits & Services Ltd., London, pp. 169. 5s.

During recent years many books have come to be written on Russia and her notorious experiments, but few of them would allow the reader to form any opinion for himself; while some of them overstate the case for Russia, others would have us believe that Russia is out for disaster and is well on the way. The present book by the author of the *Soviet Union Year Book*, one of the latest (June, 1933) on Russia, is also one of the best, in the sense that the author does not take sides, but contents himself with a review, which is clear, comprehensive and endorsed by figures, past and present, of the immense strides that Russia has taken during the working of the much-abused Five-Year Plan, in all branches of social and economic life—Agriculture, Industry, Transport, Town-planning and building, Public Health, Education for the people, Position of working men and the rest. And we begin to suspect that the cry that Russia is on the way to ruin may not be quite disinterested; on the contrary, she has made an outstanding performance, remarkable equally for its scope and achievements—rarely having a parallel in history when the heavy odds and the brief period of time taken are considered.

There seems to be an increasing interest in India about Russian affairs, particularly since Rabindranath Tagore's visit to that country in 1930 and his memorable letters—the poet was all but converted—where he so often remembered how socio-economic conditions in India are in many vital respects similar to those prevailing in Russia previous to the inauguration of the Plan. Russia too was in a backward agricultural state as is India, her children illiterate, starved, indolent and fatalistic; but while the face of Russia is changed beyond recognition, we in India are told of the "enormous difficulties" and insurmountable obstacles in the way of education and progress. This interest, however, is not always supported by a clear knowledge of the aims of the Plan and details of its progress.

To that purpose, this seems to be an excellent book, well-arranged and comprehensive; it contains all that is worth knowing about the Great Experiment.

PULINBIHARI SEN

Banks and the Money Market by Dr. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., PH.D., L.T., F.R.E.S. (London), Lecturer in the Departments of Economics and Commerce, Calcutta University, Hon. Lecturer in Economics, Indian Institute of Bankers. Lal Chand & Sons, Calcutta, 1933. Rs. 2.

Books on the Indian Money Market and its operations are few and far between. Dr. Rau's monograph on the subject would, therefore, be welcomed by one and all interested in this intricate subject. It contains a collection of four lectures delivered by the learned author to the Institute of Bankers at Calcutta during the winter session of 1930-31, supplemented with eight appendices which cover 152 of 257 pages.

The lay public has a very obscure idea of the organization and function of the money market. Its intricate nature will be followed from the fact that the money market is a place "where the idle or surplus funds or the floating cash of the important financial institutions of the nation seek temporary employment in buying such short-dated securities as bills, treasury obligations and other safe and liquid short-term obligations such as commercial paper or are lent to the stock-brokers on an average for a long period of seven days as money at short notice or on day to day basis as call money." It is indeed more than that. It is the bedrock on which the country's national finance rests, and a broad and appropriate treatment of the subject would require the inclusion within its ambit the whole theory of banking and currency, and also mention of the measures adopted in other ends of the world for the perfect and satisfactory working of the money market. It is obvious from this that it is quite impossible for anyone to deal with all these matters in the course of four popular lectures on the subject. Nevertheless, our author has not failed to call attention to almost all the major aspects of the subject. And the exposition has been designed to be so simple and lucid that it can be understood even by the layman without any difficulty. Experienced businessmen and trained practical students of the subject will also appreciate the volume inasmuch as it contains many suggestions for removing the existing deficiencies of the Indian money market.

Lecture I is devoted to a thorough and careful analysis of the Indian money market. Here he presents thumb-nail sketches of the constituent members of the Indian money market such as the banks, stock exchange, bill brokers, acceptance houses, trust and finance companies and other specialising credit agencies whose main task is to supply the needed stock of money, be it State or Commodity Money, or substitutes for the legal tender State Money known as representative money or Bank Money. His clever analysis brings home to us the present very weak correlation between the operations of the different credit agencies in this country. In conclusion the author offers some suggestions for a compact and satisfactory organization of the money market.

In Lecture II the author gives a description of the present-day Indian currency system so far as it influences the working of the money market. The account presented here although very brief is not too schematic to bring out the salient features of the system. Defects of the existing system are pointed out, and remedies for the eradication of the same suggested. Methods to secure inflation and deflation of currency receive special treatment in this lecture.

In the earlier part of Lecture III the author takes up the study of the Foreign Exchange market. The relationship between the foreign exchange market and the money market is very clearly described. The latter part of the Lecture is devoted to a study of the Investment Market. A brief resumé is given of the various means of investment. Investment is a science. It is not well-understood in this country. Educating the investors in the principles of right investment is an urgent desideratum in this country. It requires specialisation. The author here suggests once more the creation in this country on English lines of specialising institutions of the nature of Investment Trusts, as he has also suggested it in his well-known work entitled, *Present Day Banking in India*. The author also calls attention to the necessity of perfecting the existing Stock Exchanges, and suggests the establishment of more stock exchanges in important trading centres, for example, at Cawnpore.

The final Lecture which deals with the ideal monetary and banking system, contains the author's conclusions on the subject. It is impossible in a brief review to examine all the suggestions and new views he offers for the evolution of a co-ordinated, compact and cohesive money market in this country. Although it is likely that some would take exception to some of the statements of the author, yet, I think, there would be general agreement on his observation that "the Indian monetary and banking system should be based on modern central reserve banking practice and the independent gold rupee standard ought to be worked in such a way as to free it from undesirable influences, such as a fall in the price of silver or a threatened shortage of gold." Those who are interested in the present controversial discussions regarding the Reserve Bank and the Rupee Ratio problems would find this chapter as well as the appendices of great interest and profit to them.

It remains to point out that despite sundry omissions and commissions, the volume as a whole is an excellent piece of work. A vigorous and realistic approach, with which has gone much sound analysis makes Dr. Rau's study a contribution of great value to the literature of this little understood subject.

A. K. SUR

The following books were also received for review :

1. *Ancient Solutions of Modern Problems* by Sri Bhagawan Das, M.A., D.L., Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India, 1933. As. 8.
2. *Tarikh-i-Ilahi* by V. S. Bendrey. Published by G. B. Nare, B.A., Gaikwadwada, 568 Narayan, Poota, India, 1933.
3. *Srimad Brahma-Vijnan* (in Bengali) by Sibendrakisore Ray Chaudhury, Masua, P. O., Mymensingh, 1933. Re. 1.
4. *One God, One Empire, One Mankind* by Uma Maheswar, College of Arts, Trivandrum.
5. *First Four Califs* by Ahmed Safi. G. A. Natesan, Madras. Re. 1.
6. *The Work of Theosophists* by the Rt. Rev. C. W. Leadbeater, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.
7. *The Will and the Plan in Science* by V. Appa Row, M.A., Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.
8. *Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1931-32*, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Calcutta. Re. 1-7.

Gleanings

WHERE HINDUISM AND ISLAM MEET.

Hinduism and Islam, to all appearance, are poles asunder, and any meeting-ground of the two, it is commonly believed, there rarely can be. Dr. Md. Shahidullah in the latest issue of the *Prabuddha Bharat* does rare service when he brings his deep knowledge of both Hindu and Islamic religious literature to discover points of agreement and similarity which they yet have, inspite of real and pointed differences. Go deeper into the thing, says the doctor, and the fundamental unity of the two—Hinduism and Islam—will strike you at once. He shows that both preach toleration—a toleration arising not out of indifference but out of mutual appreciation adding proper quotations and ample references which will go far to remove much common misunderstanding and misinterpretation of Islam, and proceeds to point out how in many basic religious forms and beliefs—conceptions of Godhead, of Heaven and Hell, Prophets and Angels, belief in rituals, for example—Hinduism and Islam bear close resemblance.

The Holy Quoran preaches the fundamental unity of the great religions of the world. It does not say that Muhammad is the only Prophet and the religion preached by him the only true religion. The Quoran says. "And certainly We raised in every nation an apostle, saying: Serve God and shun the devil" (chapter 16, verse 36). Again it says, "And certainly We send apostles before you: There are some of them that We have mentioned to you and there are others whom We have not mentioned to you" (chapter 40, verse 78).

Muslim saints and poets preached "toleration."

The Urdu Poet Zafar sings :

"Whether angels or men, whether Hindus or Musalmans, Thou hast created them as Thou liked. Whatever there is, it is Thee. Whether in the Kaaba or in the temple, Thy worship is performed everywhere Before Thee everybody bends his head. Whatever there is, it is Thee."

As practical advice also the Quoran preaches; "There is no compulsion in religion" (chapter 2, verse 256). Again, "And if your Lord had pleased surely all those who are in the earth would have believed, all of them; will you then force men till they become believers?" (chapter 10, verse 99). It may be a surprise to many that the Quoran has no equivalent word for conversion. A Muslim is by faith and action, and not by birth or formal conversion.

The Quoran even forbids speaking ill of others' objects of worship. "And do not abuse those whom they call upon, beside Allah, lest exceeding the limits they should abuse Allah out of ignorance" (chapter 6, verse 109).

Both the religions teach that God is the only object of worship. The Upanishads teach, "One should worship the Soul always. The wise should not worship anything else."

The Gita says :

" Be thy mind fixed on Me, be thou devoted to Me, be thou sacrificing to Me, bow down to Me. Thou wilt find Me truly, I promise thee; thou art My beloved " (chapter 18, verse 65).

The Quoran says :

" Your God is one God; there is no god but He, the God of mercy, the Merciful " (chapter 2, verse 163).

Again, " Oh men, serve your God who created you and those before you.....therefore, do not set up rivals to God, when you know " (chapter 2, verses 21, 22).

The Unity of Godhead is equally preached by Hinduism and Islam. Some of the passages in the Hindu and Muslim scriptures are strikingly similar.

" Eye cannot go there (in God) neither word nor mind " (*Kena Upanishad* 1. 3).

" Vision comprehends Him not, but He comprehends vision and He is the subtle, the aware " (Quoran, 6, 104).

" He knows every one who stands or walks or glides along secretly or withdraws into his house or into any lurking place; whatever two persons sitting together devise, Varuna, the King, knows it, He being the third " (*Atharva Veda*, 4. 16. 2).

" Do you not see that Allah knows whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth? Nowhere is there a secret counsel between three persons but He is the fourth of them, nor between five but He is the sixth of them, nor less than that nor more but He is with them wherever they are " (Quoran, 58, 7).

" Were ink like the Black Mountain in a pot like the sea; were the branches of the best trees of heaven the pen, and were the earth paper and were the Goddess of Learning to write all times taking (all the materials), even then, O Lord, she cannot come to the end of Thy praises " (*Mahimna Stava*).

" What is in the heaven and the earth is Allah's ; surely Allah is the Independent, the Praised. And were every tree that is in the earth pen, and the sea (ink), with seven more seas to add to it, the words of Allah would not come to an end; surely Allah is mighty, wise " (Quoran, 31, 26, 27).

WHAT INDIA NEEDS

Visva-bharati News in its October-November issue restores a letter written by Rabindranath Tagore, in his early fifties, to an American friend of his. Its value in indicating the lines that efforts at India's regeneration should take survive the passing of years.

In every age the spiritual ideal has found its highest expression in a few specially gifted individuals. Such are to be found in India even to-day, often in the most unlikely places—among the apparently sophisticated, as well as among the unlettered and outwardly uncultured—startling us with the wonderful depth of their spiritual perception and insight. I do not feel that India has lost her spiritual heritage, for it is clear to me that her highest thought and activity is still spiritual. In the old days, however, the simpler environment—the comparative freedom from so many diverse and conflicting interests—permitted of the easy permeation of this ideal, emanate though it did from a few isolated

altitudes, through and through the lower strata—with the result that Truth was recognised and realised not only intellectually but also in the details of everyday life.

A distinguishing characteristic of this spiritual civilization was its inclusiveness, its all-comprehensiveness. Aliens were assimilated into the synthesis; their widely differing modes of thought and life and worship being given their due places in the scheme by a marvellous interpretative process. But while the evolution of the spirit thus proceeded upon highly complex lines, the growth of the material body went on in a simple unorganised fashion, so that the time arrived when the messages of the spirit could no longer find their way unimpeded through-out, resulting in differences of spiritual intensity, and consequent compromises and aberrations in the character of its manifestations. That is why high thinking and degenerate living are seen side by side; ideals are converted into superstitions; and the finest of inspirations reduced to grossness in action, wherever the vitalising spiritual stream is deprived of its freedom of onward movement.

The problem of India therefore does not seem to be that of re-establishing its lost ideals, but rather of reforming its overgrown body so as to harmonise with and give free and fitting expression to its ever-living soul. In other words our problem is not spiritual but social—that of reviving by organising and adapting to its more complex environment, our fast disintegrating social system. It is our disorganised society which prevents our ideas and activities from being broad, the narrower self from being merged into or sacrificed for the sake of the greater—and our national experiences are being dissipated and wasted for want of a storing and co-ordinating centre. The workings of the spirit are seen as flashes but cannot be utilised as a steady flame.

In the West the situation seems to be just the opposite. There we see a highly organised body, as it were, of which the soul is dormant, or at least, not fully conscious. While our soul is in search of an adequate body for want of which it cannot give its inspirations effective shape, and succeeds only in displaying to the outside world various incongruities clothed in phantastic forms, we find the West deploring its lack of spirituality. But surely spirituality cannot be lacking where the larger self is finding such noble expression in comfort-scorning striving, in death-defying heroism. On what can this living for ideas be based if not on spirituality? As for the want of consciousness, does not that tend more to be remedied by the very activities to which so efficient an organism finds itself increasingly impelled?

It is only where life is petty and scattered, and society partitioned into mutually exclusive sects that the vision of the Great is lost—it is only there that the mental horizon becomes narrow, aspirations fail to soar high, and the spirit remains steeped in a perpetual despondency. Here and there some greater soul may succeed, like a cloud-topping peak, in rising into the serene atmosphere above; but the multitudes wallowing in the slough below are as devoid of material consolations as of clarity of spiritual perception, and an unmeaning repetition of ritual is the only lifelike response of which they seem capable.

If the spiritual genius of India is not to prove futile for the purposes of humanity then it needs must seek to acquire the art of body-building. May it not be possible, in that quest, to avail ourselves of the assistance of the West without treading that slippery path of imitation which leads only to self-destruction?

ANTI-SEMITISM IN GERMANY

Dr. J. M. Kumarappa, writing in the *Modern Review* for November, shows how the Jews come into the picture of the Hitler's programme of action. He writes:

"To understand the Nazi German mind and what is happening now in Germany, it may be worth while to ponder over the following observations which William James considered the most philosophical remark he had ever heard: 'There is precious little difference between man and man, but what little there is, is of tremendous importance.' If now we substitute 'race' for 'man' and then examine the assumptions which underlie the Nazi programme, then we will be in a position to understand the present German mind. 'Between us and the others (non-Nazis),' declares Gottfred Feder, a spiritual father of Hitler and author of the Nazi platform, 'stands this unbridgeable flaming sword of our WELTANSCHUUNG (or general point of view).' The German people, maintains Herr Rosenberg, form a race of peculiar energy and purity with a remarkable spiritual heritage of purely German character. The great empire, which they formed and which for four long years defied the world, was vanquished because it was weakened by spiritual poisons. These poisons, such as belief in human civilization (as opposed to German), internationalism, pacifism and parliamentarism, were mixed up with the pure socialism (which the Nazis champion) into a devil's brew called Marxianism. Through this subtle weapon, which it has devised, the international Jewish capitalism which rules the world has blinded the German working class and led it astray. Labour's best efforts to destroy international capitalism are thus paralysed.

The Nazis see in Marxianism a class materialism which denies the creative individual and exalts the mass; so they attack every form of the doctrine of Marx, from extreme left communism to mild revisionism. But this alone will be fruitless, they maintain, until the 'bacillus' which poisons the German blood and devitalizes the German spirit has been destroyed; and so a pitiless war, they believe, must be waged on Jews and their influence. These once removed, Herr Rosenberg declares, it will be possible to unite the working classes with the middle classes into a glorious whole from which the spirit of materialism and gain has been uprooted. German workers are never again to make the mistake of feeling more closely akin to the workers of other nations than to their own employers. It is on the foundation of a purified racial and national outlook that the structure of German culture and national life is to be rebuilt."

Dr. Kumarappa proceeds:

"The whole racial problem in Germany seems to centre round the fact that the German Jews have not become assimilated in Germany as they have, for instance, in England;.....they always remain as an alien substance in the life of the nation. Though the Eastern Jews speak the language and adopt the customs and habits of the German people, they seldom imbibe the German spirit and culture. Therefore, Jews, not being of the German people, easily carry on, so the Germans say, propaganda against the nation.....These un-German tendencies on the part of Jews have naturally aroused bitter feelings against them, and the government has only sought to direct this feeling into legal and properly regulated channels.....If the government had not stepped in and taken the situation in hand at the critical moment, legalised

the boycott and steered it into organised channels, this feeling, the Germans say, would have broken out among the nation at large and might have caused immeasurable damage. The Government control of the boycott helped to carry it through with unparalleled discipline.

The other side of the medal is shown in the same journal by Mr. Wilfred Welcock, who considers the underlying purpose of the Nazi move to be "the subjugation and dragooning of the workers in the interest of the Middle classes" and affirms that "this policy of revolution by racial hatred," unless abandoned, "will sooner or later light fires which will burn to the ground the entire fabric of modern civilization." Says he:

"From first to last the Nazis have appealed to the lowest elements in human nature, having sought to gain their chief support from intensive hatreds, which have been stimulated by terrific engines of propaganda. In this endeavour they have fallen on what is the recognised sheet-anchor of all hatred-mongers, viz., race hatred. Working-class emancipation from economic domination was the central fear of the German Middle classes, which was symbolised in Marxism, Communism and Internationalism. But it was not enough to attack these in a straightforward way. They must be converted into monsters and hatred to which end the element of race was brought in. The Jewish question served this purpose admirably. So the Jews were laid on the altar of Fascism, and hatred of Jews being hitched to the fear and hatred of communism, an ideal weapon for carrying through a reactionary revolution was secured."

AFGHANISTAN UNDER NADIR SHAH

High tributes are paid to the abilities of Nadir Shah as a king and statesman by Mr. Vasudeo B. Mehta, writing under the above caption in the *Indian Review*, November, 1933, and a review of Afghanistan's progress under his rule is also given which will be read with peculiar interest in view of the recent assassination of a King Nadir.

During the last three years and nine months that Nadir Shah has been on the throne, he has restored law, order, prosperity and progress to the country. He has been able to do this without risking the loss of his kingdom, because he understands the mentality of his people better than did Amanullah.

Nadir Shah does nothing that is likely to hurt the susceptibilities of any section of his people. Amanullah tried to persecute the *mullahs*, secularize the laws, force the members of his parliament to shave off their beards and wear European dress and the women to cast off their veil. He was, therefore, hated by his people and banded out of the country. But Nadir Shah is tolerant, and acts according to the teachings of the Koran and so he is greatly loved by the Afghans.

Nadir Shah is not an autocrat of the old type. He governs his country with the help of a Cabinet and Parliament. The members of the Cabinet are nominated by him from amongst his trusted officials. The Afghan Parliament consists of two Chambers—the upper being called the Chamber of Nobles, the lower the Council of State. Members of the former are appointed by the king, while those of the latter are elected by the people. The Upper Chamber deals with matters referred to it by the Cabinet, and its recommendations pass to the Council of State. In case of difference of opinion between the two Chambers, the matter is referred

to a Conference Committee of at least twenty persons, half selected from the two houses. The recommendations of this Committee are then sent to the Council of State. In the event of the Council's refusal to act according to the Committee's recommendations, the matter is submitted to the king for decision. The king can pass an emergency measure, but that measure must be approved at the next session of the Parliament. The Afghan Parliament is fully qualified to pass any laws it likes. Its members have the right of free speech, the Prime Minister and his Cabinet are responsible to it, and the press and the public are admitted to its sessions. The number of newspapers in Kabul has almost doubled since the days of Amanullah.

Individual liberty is guaranteed by law in Afghanistan. Nor can private property be confiscated by the State without good reasons. The judicial system has been reorganized.

Education is now compulsory in the country. It is the first item on the budget, and one-third of the land revenue has been set aside to meet the grant. A number of primary, middle and night schools have been opened during the last three years. There are three big schools in Kabul and eight months ago a university was opened there. As at present there is not a sufficient number of school buildings in the country, some of the old royal palaces are being used for the purpose. The three high schools at the capital—Habibieh, Amanieh and Amani—are staffed by Europeans and besides other subjects, English, French, and German respectively are taught there. Promising students from the middle schools are sent to these high schools, and then to the university. The institution of travelling teachers have also been introduced. Lecturers and demonstrators are sent on instruction tours to the remotest villages. Text-books on various subjects are distributed gratis among village boys, and after a month or six weeks an examiner goes to the villages to test the boys. Courses in agricultural improvement are also given by these itinerant teachers.

The old roads have been improved and new roads built. Motor-lorries are increasingly used in place of donkeys for transportation purposes. At present there is only one railway in the country, that between Kabul and Dar-ul-Aman, the new capital which Amanullah started to build and which the present king is graciously finishing without wishing to alter its name to Dar-ul-Nadir. But projects for building more railways are being considered. And when these materialize—which will be before long—Afghanistan will be linked up with India on the one hand and with Russia on the other. The Junkers have been given the right to build airways to connect the country with the outside world.

Trade, industries and agriculture are encouraged. The old industries of the country, such as silk, felts, carpets and articles of goats' and camels' hair are encouraged, and factories for new industries, such as matches, buttons, and leather goods have been established. Coal and other minerals are being worked, and it is hoped to exploit before long the oil-fields near Herat. New agricultural machinery is introduced and a model farm has been started near Kabul.

King Nadir Shah's great object is to have peace, internal and external. He has secured it internally by good and yet strong government, and externally by concluding friendly or commercial treaties with England, Russia, France, Germany, Italy and Turkey.

At Home and Abroad

Two New Oriental Journals In Calcutta

Indological studies in Calcutta have been given a fillip by the publication of yet another journal devoted to Sanskritic studies. *The Calcutta Oriental Journal*, so the new publication has been named, is a monthly journal edited by Mr. Kshitischandra Chatterjee, Lecturer, Calcutta University, and a Sanskrit scholar of repute. That he is making a sincere and energetic attempt to make his laudable venture a success will be evident from the very first two numbers that have been published. He has already been able to enlist the support of a small but devoted and worthy band of contributors, mainly from our University, and the sympathy of a large number of scholars besides. The annual subscription of the Journal is Rs. 6 only inclusive of postage, and the office is located at 61-A, Ramkanta Bose Street, Baghbazar, Calcutta.

It is understood that the Greater India Society of Calcutta is also going to have its own Journal soon. The first number is proposed to be published in January, and there will ordinarily be two issues in the year.

All-India Educational Conference

Sir Ross Masood, Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, will preside over the 9th All-India Educational Conference to be held at Karachi between December 27 and 30. In conjunction with the Conference the Reception Committee have arranged an educational exhibition, an All-India singles tennis-tournament for which all *bona-fide* educationists are eligible, a Scout-rally, a physical training display and several excursions to places of local interest. It is also proposed that a special excursion be made to the ruins at Mohenjo-Daro and to the Sukkur Barrage.

Proposal for a new University

Peer Bakhsh Khan has given notice of a resolution to be moved in the forthcoming session of the North-western Frontier Province Legislative Council recommending the Governor-in Council to move the Government of India to take steps for early establishment of Khyber University.

Benares Hindu University

The Sixteenth Convocation of the Benares Hindu University for the purpose of conferring degrees will be held on Monday, December 11, 1933, at 2-30 P.M. His Highness Maharaja Sir Aditya Narain Singh, K.C.S.I., Pro-Chancellor of the University, will preside. An important feature of the Convocation will be the conferment of the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters on Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, Kt., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., the Second Vice-Chancellor of the University.

U. P. University Students' Conference

It is understood that attempts are being made to convene a joint U.P. University Students' Conference at Lucknow on the first three days of December. A strong reception committee has been formed with Dr. V. S. Ram as Chairman, Mr. D. E. Asirvatham as Treasurer and Messrs. J. P. Bhatnagar and B. P. Sinha as Joint Secretaries. The object of the conference is said to be to promote educational and social activities among the university students of these provinces through educational tours and summer camps. A quarterly journal will also be run to assist in these activities and may serve as a nucleus for an all-India Students' Federation formed on the lines of the National Federation of Students in Great Britain, Germany and the U. S. A. Some important Indian educationists will, it is hoped, preside over the December session.

Delhi University

His Excellency the Chancellor of the Delhi University has re-appointed Sir Fazli Hussain to be the Pro-Chancellor of that University for a further period of three years.

New Building for Agra University

His Excellency the Governor of the U. P. laid on November 4 last the foundation-stone of the Agra University in the Hewett Park, in the presence of a large number of educationists and leading citizens. Before requesting His Excellency to lay the foundation-stone, the Vice-Chancellor pointed out the various difficulties which the University has been facing for want of a building of her own.

The Convocation of the Agra University was held this year the day following in the Meston Hall of the Agra College. His Excellency the Chancellor graced the occasion by his presence. There was a huge gathering of educationists and distinguished citizens. The Convocation address was delivered by Lala Diwanchand, the Vice-Chancellor.

Andhra University

On being invited by the Andhra University, Rabindranath is going to Waltair to deliver a series of three lectures at the University there. The series is entitled "Man" and the lectures will be given on 8th, 9th and 10th December next.

Mass Education for Girls

At a meeting recently held of the Calcutta Constituency of the All-India Women's Conference at the Y.W.C.A. Hall, Calcutta, resolutions were passed urging the necessity for an intensive campaign of mass education for girls; requesting the Calcutta University, in view of the increasing number of girl students who come to Calcutta yearly for their studies, to create a post for a qualified woman to supervise all recognized hostels for girls and emphasizing that physical culture should be made compulsory for girls in schools.

An Endowment for Dacca University

It is understood that the Dacca University authorities have accepted the endowment offered by Dr. K. S. Krishnan, Reader in Physics at that University and now Secretary, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. Dr. Krishnan's endowment for Rs. 3,000 will take the shape of three prizes annually in such form as the University thinks fit to be given away to the University student for the best research work in the year in the field of Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, respectively. With a view to commemorate their respective services in their cause, the prizes will be called after the names of Mr. S. Ramanujam (deceased), Sir C. V. Raman and Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray.

Aligarh Convocation Address

In delivering his Convocation Address at the Aligarh Moslem University, Sir George Anderson, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, dealt with a very pertinent question that deserves to be seriously considered. One of the dangers to the well-being of a university, said Sir George, "is the practice of premature specialisation which is now so prevalent in Indian Universities. Taking into account the handicaps resulting from imperfect schooling and from the use of a foreign medium, it is surely premature for a student to confine himself very largely to a single object after having passed the intermediate at the age of seventeen or eighteen. Is there not also a danger that the bulk of the teaching and financial resources tends to be diverted to finance this specialised study to the detriment of those who desire a more general form of education ?

Good training in college should be preceded by good training in school. Training in a university, however efficient it may be, cannot be regarded as a satisfactory substitute for school training for a boy up to the age of seventeen or eighteen. The period of school training in India is too short for those who aspire to a university course ; it is too long for those whose bent lies in other directions. The various stages of education, primary, secondary, and higher secondary, are too intermingled one with another and pupils are often led on to a higher stage, merely because they have been unable to attain the objective of a lower stage. In consequence, the intermediate and higher classes of schools are closed by large numbers of boys who are prolonging unduly their literary studies and are thereby wasting their own time and other people's money. But a boy should not be denied education merely because he has no aptitude for literary education. My own feeling is that the stage of secondary education should be terminated at an earlier age than at present, and that many boys should then be diverted to practical pursuits or to vocational training given in purely vocational institutions. The way would then be clear for a higher secondary course, which would provide for those boys who are fitted for it a thorough grounding for university studies."

Education in Bengal

Unfavourable conditions, political and financial, checked the progress and expansion of educational activities in Bengal during the years 1927 to 1932, states a Government resolution in reviewing the progress of education in the province.

Primary Education.—The outstanding feature of the period was the enactment in 1930 of the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act, which provides for the establishment of District School Boards as the central authority for primary education in each district, and affords the machinery for the eventual development of free and compulsory primary education throughout the province. For its financing the scheme depends in the main upon the imposition of a primary education cess, and it is regretted that, owing to the prevailing depression, it has not been found possible to impose additional taxation on the rural population.

While the Rural Primary Education Act has been placed on the Statute Book, no further progress has been made with the proposed Bills for the reorganization of Calcutta University and the establishment of a Board to control Secondary Education.

In all directions, and particularly in the sphere of primary education, unmistakable evidence is forthcoming that the quality of the work done and the results achieved do not repay the expenditure of money and effort. Better trained and better paid teachers are essential.

The spread of primary education, however, was not as satisfactory as the figures would imply: the wastage was very great and the number of those who read up to class IV was comparatively small; in fact, according to the census figures of 1921 and 1931 the percentage of literacy actually fell during that period.

University Education.—No further progress was made during the quinquennium in the reconstruction of Calcutta University on the lines laid down by the Sadler Commission or in the development of the Secondary Education Board. The outstanding feature of the period, so far as Calcutta was concerned, was the appointment of the University Organization Committee. Their report formed the basis of the financial settlement, which was eventually reached between the Government and the University and which, on certain conditions, assured the University of an annual recurring grant of Rs. 3,60,000. This has enabled the University to balance its budget and to make its plans for the future with some degree of stability.

The resolution issued in 1928 commented upon the marked fall in the number of students in the post-graduate classes of Calcutta University. The number increased from 989 in 1926-27 to 1,483 in 1929-30, but fell again to 1,144 in 1931-32, the decrease corresponding to the period of economic and political troubles.

There was a gratifying increase in the number of women students in the post-graduate classes.

No new college was opened during the period, but four Anglo-Indian schools adopted the University course and there are now 33 first-grade and 16 second-grade or Intermediate Arts Colleges, of which four are for women. The total number of students decreased from 22,420 to 19,744.

Secondary Education.—The number of high schools increased from 185 in 1926-27 to 1,076 in 1931-32 and that of middle English schools from 1,616 to 1,845, while the number of middle vernacular schools fell from 74 to 54. The number of pupils increased from 233,343 to 256,524 in high schools and from 142,684 to 177,102 in middle English schools, and it decreased from 4,802 to 3,966 in middle vernacular schools.

Education of Girls.—The number of girls' schools increased by 19 per cent. and their enrolment by 28 per cent. during the quinquennium. There were 770 girls in colleges in 1931-32 against 364 in 1926-27, 10,655 in high schools against 4,801, 9,506 in middle schools against 8,269 and 518, 644 against 396,056 in primary schools. The increase was again most pronounced in the college and high school stages. There are four colleges for women and in addition several men's colleges have classes for women.

students. The number of women candidates, who passed University examinations, doubled itself at every stage. In 1931-32 there was 808,880 Moslem girls in public institutions, forming 56 per cent. of the whole as against 54 per cent. five years previously.

The percentage of passes in the Intermediate and Degree Examinations again increased. There was a more general recognition of the value of games and physical exercise, and more intensive tutorial work was done in some of the colleges.

Education Conference

Under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, Bengal, a conference was held at Government House, Calcutta, on 23rd November last, to consider the future lines of educational development in all its branches.

His Excellency Sir John Anderson opened the proceedings which was attended by representatives of the Government, the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca, and several prominent educationists.

Allahabad University Convocation

The Convocation of Allahabad University, fixed for November 25, has been postponed to December 16 to enable Sir Malcolm Hailey to preside as Chancellor and to receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws conferred by the University.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru will deliver the Convocation address.

Andhra University Convocation

Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore has intimated acceptance of the invitation to deliver the convocation address at the Andhra University some time during the first week of December next. Exact date of the convocation ceremony will be fixed later on to suit Dr. Tagore's engagements in Bombay and other places.

Sir P. C. Ray

The Senate of the Deutsche Akademie, Munich, Germany, in its 7th General meeting held on 13th and 14th October in Munich, decided unanimously to appoint Sir P. C. Ray an honorary correspondence member of the Akademie in view of his scientific services to the development of Chemistry in India. The Akademie hopes that his nomination to this Akademie will further contribute to the strengthening of the intellectual bonds between Germany and India, which the Deutsche Akademie sincerely strives after.

Ourselfes

[The Educational Conference—Indian Economic Conference—A New Ph.D.—Appointment of Fellows—Tagore Professor—Prof. Suhrawardy—Training Class for Librarians—Bankura College—Regulations for London M.B.B.S.—Dacca Secondary Board—A Gift for Female Education—An Endowment—New Centres for University Examination—Sir Taraknath Palit Foreign Scholars—The Indian Medical Council—The Prabāsi Baṅga Sāhitya Sammilan—Progress of researches—Visit of the British Universities' Debating Team to the Calcutta University—Among our Latest Publications—Appendix]

I. THE EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

An Educational Conference was held at Government House on the 23rd, 24th and 25th November. The Conference was attended by representatives of the Government of Bengal, the Government of Assam, Calcutta University, Dacca University, All-Bengal Teachers' Association and several other members who were specially invited by Government. The Conference was opened by His Excellency the Chancellor. In his opening speech His Excellency stated that the object of the Conference was to make an attempt to arrive at some degree of unanimity as to what should be the aims and ideals of the educational policy in Bengal. A summary of its proceedings has appeared in some of the local papers. It is however difficult to express an opinion on the resolutions unless we have an opportunity of examining them in detail, particularly in relation to the discussions which took place at the sittings of the Conference. We may, however, deal with some of the questions, so far as available materials will permit us to do so.

It appears that the Conference was mainly occupied with a discussion of the present system of secondary education in Bengal. There is no question that one of the most pressing educational problems of the day is the reorganisation of secondary education in the province. We find that the Conference was asked to express its opinion on the question of future control of secondary education. On this matter the University has expressed its opinion on more than one occasion. The University is not against the establishment of a Board, provided certain essential conditions are fulfilled. The Board must be statutory and constituted on academic principles; it must be autonomous, that is, it must be given real powers to shape the educational policy of the province; it must also be provided with adequate funds. In 1929, when the matter came before the Senate, the view-point of the University was embodied in a report which was duly forwarded to Government. For the last four years Government have not dealt with this question and if there has been delay in the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education in Bengal, the blame does not lie with the University. In that report the opinion was expressed that

the conduct of the Matriculation Examination should be left to the University. The chief reason why this was recommended was that there was no possibility of Government making good the financial loss which the University would suffer if the control for the Matriculation Examination were withdrawn from it. It may be recalled that the teaching activities of the University are partially financed by examination fees; if the fee-income is reduced and the University is to continue its activities, financial readjustment must be made. We were glad to note that the Conference recognised the validity of the position taken up by the University in this connection. Before we leave this topic we would like to make it quite clear that public opinion in Bengal will not view with favour any proposal to transfer the control of Secondary Education to Government either directly or indirectly.

One distressing feature of the proceedings of the Conference was that the Minister for Education was unable to give any assurance of the nature and extent of financial assistance which Government would be in a position to render for the future educational expansion of the province. It is our deliberate opinion that the chief reason why education has suffered in this province is that Government, whatever the reasons may be, have not found it possible to lend adequate financial support to the institutions where education is now imparted to the youths of the province.

One of the important questions raised was the number of high schools in Bengal. We all know that the condition of the majority of the high schools is not what it should be. But we refuse to believe that it is due to any deliberate lack of effort on the part of the organisers of the schools. The enthusiasm is there, the spirit of sacrifice is there, but there is a chronic want of funds. We do not regard 1,200 High Schools as too many for Bengal. Neither do we think that a reduction in their number will be in the best interests of the province. The remedy lies not in providing for greater control, not in reducing the number of schools, but in helping with grants-in-aid the struggling institutions which cannot now make both ends meet. The rules of grants-in-aid must be formulated in such a way as to secure academic efficiency and also protect the independence of the schools.

A proposal has been accepted that there should be a survey of secondary schools in the province. We desire to emphasise that this survey should be undertaken with an open mind, with a genuine anxiety to do something of a constructive nature, with a real desire to further the cause of education in the province.

If the survey is undertaken with the preconceived notion of curtailing the number of schools, with the idea of mere faultfinding, it is doomed to failure.

We regret that sufficient importance was not attached to the immediate necessity of overhauling the present system of education. The new Matriculation Regulations are pending before Government for more than a year. They were first formulated nearly 12 years ago and we are anxious that they should be brought into force without any further delay. This, at any rate, is an instance of constructive work on the part of the University which deserves the support of every well-wisher of the province. We were glad to note that the Minister for Education announced his general approval of the scheme of studies proposed in the new Regulations, although he indicated that there was room for difference of opinion with regard to questions of detail. He further stated that in the course of the next two or three months the Regulations were expected to be sanctioned by Government. In the meantime the University would be informed on what points Government are unable to agree with the recommendations made by the University.

We find ourselves in complete agreement with the decision of the Conference against the proposal of dividing the classes of a high school into three sections,—primary classes, middle-English classes and high school classes. There is no reason why the present continuation—schools should be broken into three as proposed by the Department; the Conference has acted wisely in not accepting any rigid principle to that effect.

We find a resolution has been adopted urging Government to provide for a more adequate supply of trained teachers. The two Teachers' Training Colleges can barely accommodate 180 students each year, while the number of applicants every year is about 1,000. This is a matter which deserves the immediate attention of Government.

We are also in agreement with the proposal that there should be no age-limit for admission to the Matriculation Examination. This is in accordance with the new Matriculation Regulations.

With regard to collegiate education we find a draft scheme was submitted to the Conference for discussion. According to it a policy of deprovincialisation was to be partially introduced, and some of the Colleges in the *mofussil* were to be amalgamated. We are glad that this scheme did not find general support from the members of the Conference. The figures given in the scheme were misleading, taken as they were from the figures of 1928 and the basic principles were also of doubtful value. The Conference also expressed its unanimous opinion

that in view of the present economic condition of the province, there could not be any general increase of fee-rates.

The two detailed schemes with regard to the secondary and collegiate education are separately printed at the end of these notes.

There were several other questions relating to academic reorganisation which were referred to a committee consisting of three representatives to be elected by Calcutta University, three by Dacca University and two nominated by Government. The questions referred to the Committee are the following :

1. Length of Honours Course.
2. Possibility of restriction of courses of study at the two Universities more particularly in the Post-graduate Departments to avoid duplication of work and waste of resources.
3. Combination of Law Studies with other Post-graduate Studies.
4. Comparative failure in recent years of Bengali students in All-India Service Examinations.

We express our whole-hearted approval of the resolution passed towards the end of the Conference requesting Government to take immediate steps for the restoration of the grant of Rs. 1,29,000, which was formerly distributed to the non-Government colleges of Bengal through the agency of the University of Calcutta. It was pointed out at the Conference that this grant enabled the struggling colleges to improve their laboratories, to better equip their libraries and to provide for increased facilities for the physical welfare of the students. The withdrawal of the grant has placed the colleges in a difficult position and if the Hon'ble Minister for Education can secure the restoration of the grant during the current session, he will earn the gratitude of his countrymen.

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II. INDIAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Professor Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., has been appointed representative of the University in connection with the forthcoming Indian Economic Conference to be held at Annamalai University in the first week of January, 1934.

III. A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Jibankrishna Sarkar, M. A., has just been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He submitted a thesis entitled *A New*

Theory of Perception which was examined by a Board consisting of Prof. F. W. Thomas of Oxford, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Prof. Adityanath Mukherjee. Mr. Sarkar is serving as Professor of Philosophy at Muzaffarpur. We offer him our congratulations on his doctorate.

IV. APPOINTMENT OF FELLOWS

Khan Bahadur Abdulla Abu Sayied, M.A., I.E.S., has been nominated a Fellow in place of Dr. D. Thompson who resigned his Fellowship on the eve of his departure for England. The Khan Bahadur is now acting as Principal of Murarichand College, Sylhet.

Mr. W. C. Wordsworth has just been re-appointed a Member of the Senate.

V. TAGORE PROFESSOR

Dr. James Mackintosh, K.C., LL.D., Tagore Professor of Law for 1933, is coming to Calcutta early in December to deliver his Tagore Lectures. We extend to Dr. Mackintosh our hearty welcome and we trust that the advanced students of Law of this University will profit by coming into contact with the distinguished professor from Edinburgh.

VI. PROF. SUHRAWARDY

We extend a cordial welcome to Prof. Saheed Suhrawardy who returned from England early in November and took over the duties of the Bagiswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts on the reopening of the Post-Graduate classes after the Puja vacation. Mr. Suhrawardy has commenced his work in right earnest and we have every reason to believe that by dint of his culture and scholarship he will soon establish himself in the front rank of teachers of this province.

VII. TRAINING CLASS FOR LIBRARIANS

The University has recently received a communication from the Government of Bengal on the subject of organising a training class for librarians in Calcutta. The Librarian of the Imperial

Library forwarded to the Government of India sometime ago a scheme for opening such a class in the Imperial Library. The Government of India have addressed the Government of Bengal on the subject pointing out that in Madras and in the Punjab such classes are held under the auspices of the Universities of those provinces and they have enquired whether similar provision can be made in Calcutta. The Syndicate has referred this question to a representative committee for enquiry and report. It is generally admitted that there is a dearth of trained librarians in this province. If some suitable scheme is drawn up for the purpose of providing necessary training to competent graduates, it will not only open a fresh avenue for employment but will also strengthen academic efficiency.

VIII. BANKURA COLLEGE

The Principal of Wesleyan College, Bankura, has informed the University of the decision of its authorities to drop "Wesleyan" from the name of the College so that in future it will be known simply as Bankura College. The reason for this change is that last year the three branches of the Methodist Church of the British Isle were reunited as the Methodist Church, the title Wesleyan having been dropped from the name of the Church and the Missionary Society. The Society is now described as the Methodist Missionary Society.

* * *

IX. REGULATIONS FOR LONDON M.B.B.S.

The Academic Registrar of the University of London has invited the attention of the University to certain new requirements for the M.B.B.S. examination of that University. The Registrar points out that doubts have arisen as to the period from which these new Regulations are to be applied. It is stated that they do not apply to any student who sat for the M.B.B.S. examination of the London University before November, 1933, but will apply to any candidate who sits for the examination for the first time in November 1933 and subsequently. The changes are noted below :

'Candidates who pass in one Group only of the M.B.B.S. Examination will be required to enter for the whole examination again if they fail to pass the other Group within a period of nineteen months. Registered Medical Practitioners who fail, or have failed, in either Group may be re-examined in that Group at any subsequent examination on payment of the proper fee.

A candidate (other than a Registered Medical Practitioner) who fails in Group I of the M.B.B.S. Examination will be required on re-entry for that group to produce evidence of having attended for a further period of three months the medical practice of a recognised hospital. Similarly, a candidate (other than a Registered Medical Practitioner) who has failed in Group II of the M.B.B.S. Examination will be required on re-entry for that group to produce evidence of having attended for a further period of three months the surgical and obstetric practice of a recognised hospital.

X. DACCA SECONDARY BOARD

It appears from a communication recently received by the Registrar from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Department of Education, that in view of the present financial stringency, Government propose to discontinue the post of a whole-time Chairman for the Dacca Secondary and Intermediate Board and to have the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University as its Honorary Chairman. One of the characteristics of the University of Dacca has been that it has had no control over Secondary and Intermediate Education. It is for consideration whether this feature of the organisation of the University will be disturbed by making the head of the University the *ex officio* Chairman of the Board which will control secondary and intermediate education within the area. It is also for consideration whether the Vice-Chancellor will have sufficient time at his disposal to give that personal attention to the various problems arising out of the administration of the Board's affairs which a whole-time Chairman can legitimately be expected to do.

XI. A GIFT FOR FEMALE EDUCATION

Mr. Haridas Majumdar, Advocate of the High Court, has addressed a letter to the Registrar in which he states that he is prepared to place at the disposal of the University 50 *bighas* of land situated in the north-eastern side of the Dum Dum Aerodrome for the purpose of founding an institution for the spread of female education. Mr. Majumdar suggests that this may be utilised in connection with the bequest made to the University under the Will of the late Rai Bahadur Viharilal Mitra. The Syndicate has informed Mr. Majumdar that no definite decision has yet been reached regarding the manner in which the endowment created by the late Rai Bahadur will be utilised. But the University, it has been stated, will thankfully accept Mr.

Majumdar's offer and will utilise it for some object connected with the spread of female education in the province. We desire to associate ourselves with the Syndicate in thanking Mr. Majumdar for his generous gift.

XII. AN ENDOWMENT

Sin. Kusunkumari Das has forwarded to the Registrar, Government promissory notes to the value of Rs. 1,000 for the creation of an endowment for the annual award of a gold-rimmed silver medal in memory of her daughter. The medal will be awarded to the girl graduate in Science who will obtain the highest number of marks with first class honours in any subject. In the absence of any such candidate the medal will be awarded to the girl graduate who will obtain the highest number of marks in any scientific subject.

XIII. NEW CENTRES FOR UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS

The following new centres have been opened for the University Examinations in 1934 :—

For Matriculation Examination, 1934 :—

Bhola, Kalna, Karimganj, Narail and Tamluk.

For I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations, 1934 :—

Habiganj.

XIV. SIR TARAKNATH PALIT FOREIGN SCHOLARS

Mr. Chittarajan Barat, M.Sc., is at present working with Prof. Dr. Hans Fischer on his Doctor's dissertation on Dipyrrolyethanones, at Munich, and Mr. Subodhkumar Majumdar, M.Sc., is prosecuting higher studies in Physical Chemistry at the same University, both as Sir Taraknath Palit Scholars of the University.

On the recommendation of the Governing Body of the Sir Taraknath Palit Trusts, Messrs. Barat and Majumdar have been awarded fresh loans of Rs. 2,500 and Rs. 1,500, respectively. The

Professors under whom the scholars are working have forwarded favourable reports on their work and it is expected that the extension of facilities now granted by the University will enable them to complete their studies.

XV. THE INDIAN MEDICAL COUNCIL

Under the provisions of the Indian Medical Council Act recently passed by the Legislative Assembly, the Senate is entitled to elect one member of the Council. The representative will be elected by the Senate and he must belong to the Faculty of Medicine. The Syndicate has directed that the election should take place at the next meeting of the Senate which will be held on the 16th December, 1933.

XVI. THE PRABĀSĪ BAṄGA SĀHITYA SAMMILAN

The Prabāsi Baṅga Sāhitya Sammilan will be held this year at Gorakhpur on 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1933. Mr. Atulprasad Sen, Bar.-at-Law, of Lucknow will preside over the Conference. We have watched with considerable interest the progress achieved by the organisers of this Conference from year to year. The Conference has always succeeded in gathering within its fold distinguished Bengali scholars and men of letters, who, though away from the province of their birth, yield to none in their devotion to the cause of progress of Bengali literature. From the list of sections attached to the Conference it appears that the organisers intend to pay due attention to all branches of learning and neglect none. The sections include Literature, Philosophy, Science, Greater Bengal, History, Economics, Sociology, Fine Arts, Music, Journalism, Education, Agriculture, Commerce and Industries. We wish the Conference every success.

Detailed information of the activities of the Conference are available from Mr. Kshītishchandra Chatterjee, M.Sc., Secretary of the Reception Committee, who is now on the staff of St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur.

XVII. PROGRESS OF RESEARCHES

Department of Comparative Philology.

Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji is now engaged in bringing out, in collaboration with Pandit Harekrishna Mukherji Sāhityaratna, a critical edition of the *padas* of Chāṇḍīdāsa. A definitive text is being prepared, with elaborate critical and other materials, and some remarkable results in Early Bengali literary and linguistic history are being arrived at in the course of this edition. This work will be published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad. In collaboration with Pandit Babua Misra, Prof. Chatterji has prepared an edition of the Maithili *Varṇaratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara Thakkura, the oldest text in the language hitherto discovered. Besides he has in hand a historical grammar of Hindi, one of Persian and a study of the non-Aryan elements in Indo-Aryan. Within the last few months he has published some papers in connexion with the above subjects and among them his study of the *Calcutta Hindustani* (published in the 'Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India') and the *Two New Indo-Aryan Etymologies* (published in the 'Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik,' Vol. 9, Part I.) deserve specially to be mentioned. Besides this, Prof. Chatterji has completed a full Grammar of Bengali in Bengali language for popularising the contents of his bigger work on the subject in English. He is also the Editor of the Journal of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad, and has been made the Philological Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Mr. Kshitish Chandra Chatterji is engaged in original research on the history of Sanskrit Grammar and has published within the last few months no less than nine papers in that connexion. Among them his discussions about Nyāsa (IHQ.), Kāśakṛtsna (IHQ.), Śivasūtras (Journal of the Department of Letters, C. U.), may be specially mentioned. Besides this Mr. Chatterji is preparing critical editions of Sāyana's introduction to the four Vedas and of the *Sisūpālavadha* with the *ṭīkā* of Mallinātha. Mr. Chatterji is also the Editor of the Journal of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad and of the Calcutta Oriental Journal.

Mr. Sukumar Sen is now working chiefly in Bengali Literature and Vaishnavism, in addition to the subject he has specialised in previously, viz., Indo-Aryan Syntax. He is now seeing through the press a history of Brajabuli and Bengali Vaishnava Lyric Poetry and a grammar of the Brajabuli dialect. Besides this he is preparing a complete work on the origin and development of literary Prose in

Bengali and the historical syntax of Indo-Aryan. A critical edition of the Govinda-ratimāñjarī as undertaken by him may also be mentioned.

The work of Mr. Manomohan Ghosh, whose research fellowship has been extended for one year, has been quite good. He has critically edited for the first time the Prakrit verses of the Nāṭyaśāstra and given an estimate of the age of the work on the linguistic basis. This edition of the Pkt. verses has been published as the supplement of the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII, 1932, No. 4. And in a second paper he has discussed the geographical affinity of the Mahārāṣṭrī Pkt. and this has been published in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. XXIII, under the title, Mahārāṣṭrī, a later phase of Śaurasenī. Besides this Mr. Ghosh is working on the history of ancient Indian drama and theatrical art. He is now seeing through the press his critical edition of Nandikeśvara's *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, a work on gestures in drama and dance. Among the number of articles published by him the Hindu Theatre (published in IHQ, Vol. IX, No. 2) and the Age of Nāṭyaśāstra, some conventions of the ancient Indian Stage, and the Adhūata and the Nāṭyasarvasva-dīpikā¹ may be mentioned.

In addition to the above activities the staff of the Comparative Philology Department have formed themselves into a "Philological Society of the University of Calcutta" for mutual assistance and other help in research work. Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture took a leading part in the formation of the Society. Since its establishment some noteworthy papers have been read, and it will be a good thing if the Calcutta University, as the Society is founded under the auspices of the Department of Comparative Philology, can publish these papers in the form of occasional bulletins.

XVIII. VISIT OF THE BRITISH UNIVERSITIES' DEBATING TEAM TO THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

It was a great pity that the British Universities' Debating Team had to visit Calcutta at a time when the University and most of the

¹ The last three papers have been accepted for publication in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, the Indian Historical Quarterly and the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, respectively.

Colleges were still closed. This made it difficult to organise the team representing the University, and what is more to be regretted, prevented the visitors from seeing the normal functioning of student life in the biggest educational centre of India. If the purpose of these visits is, as it ought to be, the establishment of social and personal contacts rather than the promotion of arid intellectual contests, the time chosen for the visit was most inopportune.

In spite of this unhappy choice of time, the visit however proved to be a great success. An afternoon party was arranged where the visitors met some of the students who happened to be in town. Only students were present at the function, which gave the visitors an opportunity to exchange ideas and form friendships with the students here.

The debate also succeeded beyond all expectations. The Asutosh Hall of the University was packed to its utmost capacity and many had to go back disappointed through lack of space. The University team was chosen entirely from among the students, and was, on the average, distinctly younger than the visiting team.

The debate was opened by Mr. McGilvray, one of the visitors. It seems, on the whole, a better procedure to let one of the members of the home team to open the debate, since it affords the hosts a chance to welcome their visitors at the very start. The order of speaking settled by the Inter-Universities' Board was adhered to, except in the case of Mr. Greenwood, who at his own request was called upon to speak last. The speeches of the visitors were highly appreciated and the audience enjoyed immensely the contrast in style and manner of the different speakers. Mr. McGilvray was solid and slightly argumentative, and surprisingly un-Scotch in eschewing all humour. Mr. Jones was suave and persuasive and had a charming smile, while Mr. Greenwood gave an excellent exhibition of vigorous parliamentary abuse, combining powerful invective with polished speech.

One of the speakers of the Calcutta Team was well up to the standard of the visitors while another was hardly, if at all inferior. Only one member did not come up to expectations, but he was not a member of the team originally selected and was called upon at the last moment to fill in the vacancy caused by the absence of one of the men. Under the circumstances, his performance was quite creditable.

The visitors left Calcutta with pleasant memories and left pleasant memories behind. The debate was both an enjoyment and an education to the students here, and it is to be hoped that from now on,

visits of debating teams to and from the British Universities will occur with periodic regularity in the life of the students of Indian Universities.

XIX. AMONG OUR LATEST PUBLICATIONS

Among our latest publications, *Juristic Personality of Hindu Deities* by Dr. S. C. Bagchi, LL.D., Principal, University Law College, Calcutta, is an important one. The book contains Dr. Bagchi's lectures on the subject as Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Lecturer for the year 1931. The theme of Juristic Personality is a topic that Dr. Bagchi has been studying for several years past in its historical and analytical aspects ; in the year 1915 he sketched the important theories on the subject briefly in his Tagore Law Lectures on the Principles of the Law of Corporations. The theories have been succinctly presented in this small volume which makes the views of Sir Asutosh on the subject known to the general public.

Ranjit Singh by Mr. Narendra Krishna Sinha, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University, is a notable contribution by one of our former students and now a teacher in the University. He has scrupulously avoided all personal details about Ranjit. It has been mainly his aim to elucidate in the light of new evidence the relations of Ranjit Singh with the Afghans on the one hand, and his Indian and British neighbours on the other. A graphic account of Ranji's Civil Administration and an estimate of the Sikh military system have also been attempted.

APPENDIX

The two following Notes were discussed at the Educational Conference. They were prepared by Government as a basis for discussion and did not represent any accepted policy of Government.

I.

WEAKNESS OF PRESENT SYSTEM.

The weakness of the present system may be judged by the difficulties experienced in removing admitted defects. Many of these defects are directly due to the system itself. The main points calling for discussion are :—

- (1) (a) University standards.
(b) More effective co-operation between the different institutions responsible for University teaching.
(c) Financial instability of colleges.
- (2) (a) More effective control of secondary education.
(b) Domination of secondary education by Matriculation Examination.
(c) Low standard of teaching and work in secondary schools.
(d) Financial instability of schools.
- (3) Inefficiency of primary school work and teaching due to (a) inability to obtain satisfactory teachers, and (b) unsatisfactory scheme of studies.

The following facts have to be borne in mind :—

(a) It is impossible to effect satisfactory improvement in university work until the student on admission to the university is better trained in methods of study and logical thinking and has a sounder foundation of knowledge, i.e., no real improvement can be ensured in university work until the secondary system is made much more effective.

(b) Radical improvement in the secondary system is not possible while the present dual control remains. The university is not constituted for and does not, in practice, effectively supervise the high schools in the province. Government has no control over the majority of the schools (the unaided ones) and its influence over the aided schools is restricted.

(c) Effective control and work in middle schools and primary schools is complicated by the existence in high schools of middle and

primary sections. Particularly in the case of the primary classes, the work is not under the supervision of the normal primary education authorities and the policy followed in such classes, *e.g.*, the teaching of English, makes difficult any improvement in normal primary schools.

II.

A POSSIBLE GENERAL EDUCATIONAL POLICY.

The following scheme for general educational reform is put forward for consideration as a type of plan which, if carried into effect, would make easier the removal of the present admitted defects. The scheme is given in broad outline and details need not, at this stage, be considered. In proposing any variations, it should be borne in mind that it is essential to consider the system as an organic whole rather than as a series of disconnected parts and to take into account the effect of any variation upon all sections. Any system to be effective must—

- (1) Definitely link up primary, secondary and university education.
- (2) Prevent unnecessary overlapping in the different stages.
- (3) Allow of effective control and development within each stage.
- (4) Allow of the most economic use of whatever money is available from public and private funds.

As the proposals are considered, it will be clear that before definite decisions are reached, an accurate and detailed survey in the districts with regard to the distribution of schools and colleges will be necessary. Any scheme must guarantee that there are no considerable areas in which reasonable facilities are lacking and any scheme must be sufficiently elastic to allow of exceptional treatment under conditions which call for deviation from the normal plan.

(a) *General scheme.*—The scheme envisaged is one in which there are primary schools distributed throughout the province in such a way as to place every child (except in very sparsely populated areas) within reasonable walking distance of a primary school. Children between the ages of 6 and 9 (inclusive, *i.e.*, 4 years' attendance at school) would attend these primary schools in which instruction would be given in three classes, namely, infant and classes I and II. The curriculum would be a common one for all communities with definite facilities for religious teaching. These primary schools would act as feeders to middle schools which would of course be fewer in number and so distributed as to serve most economically the whole province:

The middle schools would consist essentially of four classes, namely, classes III, IV, V and VI and would enrol children normally from the ages of 9 to 13. These schools would serve children of all communities and it would be necessary to provide teachers of both major communities so that special teaching, if necessary, could be given. The middle schools would serve as feeders to high schools. High schools would be situated only in the more important centres and would be so geographically distributed as to cover the whole province without overlapping. Hostel accommodation would be necessary in practically all these schools in order to provide for the residence of scholars whose homes are not within easy reach of high schools. In high schools the essential classes would be classes VII, VIII, IX and X, covering normally the ages from 13 to 17. Similarly, the high schools would serve as feeders to colleges still more thinly distributed, but again situated throughout the province in such a way as to provide reasonable facilities for all, having due regard to the conditions necessary for ensuring economic stability of the colleges.

(b) *Educational finance*.—Financial stability of colleges and schools must be ensured by (a) fee income, (b) endowment, and (c) grants from public funds.

Unless the second of these, namely, endowments, provides considerable income, it is clear that there can be no satisfactory stability unless the fee income is as high as possible, considering economic conditions, and assistance from public funds is forthcoming. Unfortunately, excepting in the case of the University of Calcutta, endowments are not in existence to any considerable extent and it follows, therefore, that the other two sources of income must be relied upon to ensure freedom from financial anxiety in educational institutions. The question as to what fee rates it is possible to levy is intimately bound up with the question of the facilities that exist by way of scholarships for poor and able students. It is suggested that in all schools and colleges, definite rates of fees should be established, possibly a little higher than those now in existence and that an organised scholarship system should provide for free tuition and possibly residence, for able students in colleges and high middle schools. The question of Government grants necessary for efficient working of the schools is one that is bound up with the size of the schools, their number and their fee income. The financial problem of the schools and colleges, as will be shown later, if the system is organised in such a way as to guarantee that all schools and colleges have a reasonable

roll strength, is not one that is probably beyond solution in the near future.

(c) *Control*.—Although it is not essential or even desirable that the controlling authority in the three sections, namely, college, secondary and primary, should be the same, it is essential that such co-operation in working and co-ordination of policy should be guaranteed as will allow of effective control in the different sections. Primary education will presumably be controlled according to the Bengal Primary Education Act of 1930 in which definite responsibility is thrown upon local authorities, namely, District School Boards, with supervision and co-ordination of purpose in the different districts effected by Government and a Central Advisory Committee. The Act does not prevent, however, the establishment of unauthorised schools or classes following schemes of work and policies which may be contrary to those desired by the controlling authorities under the Act. It is suggested, therefore, that admissions to classes in secondary schools should, in all cases, be subject to the proviso that the boy or girl has satisfactorily passed through the primary classes in a recognised school or is exempt on certain definite and approved conditions. So far as secondary schools are concerned, it is essential that there should be one controlling authority working upon a definite plan which is co-ordinated on the one hand with the primary work and on the other hand with the university work as approved by the university authorities. Whether this controlling authority should be Government, the university, a special statutory body having full authority or an advisory body subject to the control of Government, is a matter to be decided as a separate and major issue. What is essential, however, is that there should be no laxity of control allowing a continuation of the present unsatisfactory conditions. In addition to ensuring that admission to secondary (middle schools) is only possible upon specific conditions, it would be necessary also to guarantee that admission to recognised high schools is only possible from recognised middle schools except under approved circumstances. The question of curriculum and standards of work in the different types of institutions, namely, madrasas (if continued), high schools middle schools, and any other types of special schools would be one of the functions of these controlling authorities. So far as colleges are concerned, the question of control need not here be considered in detail. Both Government and the university must exercise their influence, the latter in the immediate technical and

academic administration, the former in so far as it must ultimately be responsible and must be satisfied that efficient work is being done.

MORE DETAILED PROPOSALS WITH REGARD TO REORGANISATION IN THE
DIFFERENT SECTIONS

(1) *College education*.—Apart from the question of a possible reorganisation of internal control within the University of Calcutta, the outstanding problem in college education is that of the financial stability of the private colleges. Recent co-operation between Government and the university has given a temporarily more or less satisfactory solution of the university's own financial problems, but the condition of many of the private colleges is very precarious. For many years now many of them have been carrying on from hand to mouth, unable to pay satisfactory salaries to their professorial staff and unable to provide facilities for non-academic activities. It is clear that if there is to be any real improvement in efficient working of the colleges, the question of the mufassal colleges, in particular, must be taken seriously. There are at present, as most people will admit, certain colleges whose existence is questionably justifiable. They merely serve to lower the general standard of attainments and act prejudicially upon the whole system. Government cannot be expected to assist colleges the justification for whose existence is doubtful. On the other hand, the policy followed in allocating grants to private colleges probably needs revision. The following table shows a possible scheme which, by amalgamation of certain colleges, limitation of the size of others and a definite policy of Government contribution together with slightly increased fee rates, would guarantee financial stability together with adequately paid staffs. It is probably not immediately possible of application and is put forward as illustrating a possible line of advance. It would be of definite advantage to know whether the university authorities are in sympathy with such a reorganisation.

College.	Present roll strength.	Proposed roll strength.	Present total income.	Probable total income: 33½ per cent. Government grant basis.	Present Government grant.		Government grant: basis 33½ per cent.
					Expenditure.	Receipts.	
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Presidency	1,083	1,250	2,35,000	2,50,000	5,35,000	1,75,000 *	83,333
2. Scottish	1,163	1,250	2,15,000	2,50,000	27,000	...	83,333
3. Ripon	876	1,250	88,000	2,50,000	..	...	83,333
4. City	1,500	1,250	1,50,000	2,50,000	..	...	83,333
5. Vidyasagar	1,848	1,250	1,50,000	2,51,000	...	...	83,333
6. Bangabasi	1,350	1,250	1,55,000	2,50,000	...	...	83,333
7. Asutosh	776	800	90,000	1,50,000	...	...	83,333
8. St. Xavier's	765	800	1,11,000	1,50,000	21,000	...	60,000
9. St. Paul's	381	400	1,04,000	1,04,000	17,000	...	60,000
10. Ishlahi	850	900	2,35,000	1,75,000	2,35,000	62,000 *	34,666
11. Comilla	948	948	1,04,000	1,80,000	6,000	...	58,333
12. Barisal	1,226	1,226	1,15,000	2,25,000	16,000	...	60,000
13. Rangpur	546	546	70,000	1,00,000	12,000	...	75,000
14. Berhampur	750	750	1,10,000	1,50,000	2,000	...	23,333
15. Mymensingh	877	1,000	1,00,000	2,00,000	12,000	...	60,000
16. Karatiya	157	..	26,000	..	..	..	66,666
16. Bagerhat	231	..	28,000	..	7,000	..	..
16. Daulatpur	551	900	68,000	1,75,000	11,000	..	58,333
16. Narail	125	..	15,000	..	3,000	..	..
17. Chittagong	603	950	1,42,000	1,80,000	1,42,000	52,000 *	60,000
17. Feni	350	..	24,000	..	5,000	..	..
18. Pabna	248	532	42,000	1,00,000	12,000	..	38,333
18. Faridpur	284	..	..	..	24,000	..	..
19. Hooghly	276	..	1,47,000	1,20,000	1,47,000	24,000 *	40,000
19. Serampur	260	636	78,000	..	16,000	..	..
19. Uttarpara	100	..	10,000	..	..	..	..
20. Krishnagar	260	..	1,25,000	..	..	..	..
20. Burdwan	266	625	30,000	1,20,000	1,25,000	19,000 *	40,000
20. Hetaampur	99	..	14,000	..	..	..	..

21. Midnapur Bankura	...	221 494	715	30,000 81,000	1,40,000	10,000 14,000	...	46,666
Howrah (to be absorbed)	he	65	...	14,600	...	...	...	...
Contai	...	56	...	15,000	...	...	...	...
(Future?).								
Total		19,565	19,228	32,17,200	37,69,000	13,99,000 1,29,000 (Imperial grant given through University.)	3,32,000	12,56,333
Total grant	...					15,28,000		
Less	...					3,32,000 Fee receipts.		
Net Government grant ..						11,96,000		

The figures refer to conditions with regard to number and fee income, etc., in 1928. Increased Government grant required = Rs. 60,000.

* Fee receipts.

(2) *High school education.*—There are at present in the province approximately 1,200 high schools distributed haphazardly. The existence of many is precarious ; their value doubtful. The mistaken policy of multiplying institutions, without ensuring their academic efficiency or their financial stability, has been disastrous. It is clear that to attempt to provide facilities for high school education in every village is an impracticable ideal which even the richest countries in the world do not attempt to carry out.* Whatever may be said for the placing of primary schools within walking distance of every child, financial considerations should undoubtedly prohibit any attempt to provide high school education on a similar plan.

It will have to be realised, and the realisation implemented in practice, that in order to provide facilities for the child who chooses to continue his studies beyond the middle stage and who resides in an out-of-the-way place, the practice of attaching hostels to high schools must be extended. Boys must be prepared to reside away from home.

There are at present in high school classes in Bengal approximately one hundred and four thousand students. In all probability 400 schools, properly organised and controlled, would ensure far more efficient education than is at present possible. The following is the type of high school which is envisaged.

Number of pupils in schools, 260, distributed as follows:—

Class X	...	...	...	...	60
Class IX	...	...	...	...	60
Class VIII	...	...	...	...	70
Class VII	...	...	...	...	70

There would be two sections in each class and the school would, therefore, consist essentially of eight classes. These two sections might correspond to the classical and modern sides of English secondary schools. This would allow of the introduction of teaching in Science as well as of the provision of teaching for Arabic or Sanskrit, etc. Such a school would have hostel accommodation for not less than 100 boys, a science laboratory and a staff of ten teachers.

It is probably not desirable to allow high schools to conduct middle or primary school classes. The high school stage is not an altogether artificially created division. It corresponds to certain definite physical and psychological changes in a boy. In England, young boys, even when admitted to a secondary school, are entered into a preparatory

department almost invariably separately administered and controlled. There is little to gain and much to lose by extending a high school downwards. Where high schools at present have middle and primary classes, these latter are only too often regarded as financial feeders to the matriculation and other upper classes, and insufficient attention is paid to the welfare of the younger children. If there is to be extension, it should be upwards by the provision of classes as alternatives to university careers. One such class might be a preparation course for primary school teachers. Business and commercial classes and other vocational courses could be added.

The scales of pay suggested are as follows:—

			Rs.
Head Masters	...	...	100—5—150
Assistant Head Masters	...	...	75—5/2—90
Ten teachers	...	...	50—5/2—75

Average salary bill, Rs. 875. The current expenditure budget of such a school would be as follows:—

			Rs.
Salaries	...	...	875
Provident Fund	...	...	55
Apparatus	...	...	25
Library	...	...	15
Servants	...	...	30
Games	...	...	10
Contingencies	...	...	10
Repairs and Reserve Fund	...	...	25
Boarding Stipends	...	...	130
Total	...	...	1,175
			a month.

The income for such a school would consist essentially of fee income together with Government grant. Many schools would have certain local sources of income. This should not normally be taken into account but, where available, will be used for increasing facilities for such items as laboratory, library, playing field, games, etc. It is suggested that fee rates normally to be charged should be Rs. 4 in classes X and IX, Rs. 3 in classes VIII and VII. The present system of free seats should be abolished and there should be a definite scholarship examination at the end of the middle stage upon the results of which scholarships to the extent of 25 per cent. of the number of students reading in the high school should be allowed. In addition 10 per cent. of the students in any high school should be given boarding stipends of Rs. 5 a month to

enable them to pay their hostel dues. The fee income on such a system from the school contemplated would amount to Rs. 675. It would be seen, therefore, that for such a school a grant of Rs. 500 per month would be necessary from Government.

The total grant required from Government, therefore, for high school education would be Rs. $500 \times 400 \times 12 = 24$ lakhs per annum. The present expenditure of Government upon high school education is—

(1) Non-Government schools	8,91,117
(2) Government schools	6,83,907
Total	<hr/> 15,75,024

This is the amount budgetted for the current year and is considerably less than what was previously spent.

Assuming that under any reorganised scheme Government wished to maintain a number of model schools in which higher paid teachers were employed and better facilities were provided, we might anticipate an annual expenditure in higher education of Rs. 27 lakhs; this would allow of the retention of 20 Government or special schools at an annual net cost of Rs. 21,000 each. The carrying out of such a policy would have to take place over a number of years, as in a large number of cases hostels and better school buildings would have to be provided and the economic position will not probably allow of its immediate fulfilment.

This is one of the matters in which careful and detailed survey of existing facilities will be necessary. Of the annual allotment, Rs. 1 lakh per year might be set apart for capital expenditure on buildings. The following shows the type of expenditure programme which might be adopted:—

Government grants required.

						Rs. (Lakhs.)
1935	...	...	...	...	...	16
1936	...	...	...	...	...	17
1937	...	...	...	...	...	18
1938	...	...	...	...	...	19
1939	...	...	...	...	...	21
1940	...	...	...	...	...	23
1941	...	...	...	...	...	25
1942	...	...	...	...	...	26
1943	...	...	...	...	...	27
1944	...	...	...	...	...	28

Thus in ten years' time the realisation of the scheme would be financially possible at an increased cost to Government of approximately Rs. 13 lakhs.

(3) *Middle school education.*—There are at present about 2,50,000 children attending middle schools. These schools only carry on the education of a boy until he is 13 years old and are thus really—in terms of western education—primary schools. As the knowledge that they impart is elementary—in spite of their being classed as secondary institutions—they should be satisfactorily distributed and large in number. The normal number of classes would be four, namely, the present classes III, IV, V, and VI and the scheme is to be economically organised; the normal size will be a school of 125, *i.e.*, one section to each class. This means with the present population 2,000 schools, but it is probably certain that with any improved primary school scheme in operation the demand for middle school education will increase. We should plan, therefore, for 2,500 schools. There are at present 1,700 middle schools and, if the high school reorganisation scheme is carried out, 800 high school buildings will be available for middle schools. The building problem would not, therefore, be an urgent one, but as many of the present buildings are unsatisfactory, certain expenditure under this head would have to be incurred. The details of such a school are now given:—

Class	III	IV	V	VI
Numbers	35	35	30	25
Fee rates	Re. 1-8	Re. 1-8	Rs. 2	Rs. 2-8

A considerable number of scholarships covering fees would have to be awarded, and it is suggested that 33½ per cent. of the average roll strength of middle schools in any district should be the number of scholarships available for that district.

The fee income for such a school would, therefore, be Rs. 151. The staff would consist of a headmaster and three teachers, their rates of pay being as follows:—

			Average.
		Rs.	Rs.
(1) Head Master	...	40—1—60	55
Three teachers	...	30—½—35	100

A normal budget of expenditure would then be as follows:—

					Rs.
Salaries	...	...	...	...	155
Provident Fund	...	...	...	...	10
Library	...	..	...	...	5
Servants	...	...	...	...	10
Contingencies including games			...	...	11
Buildings	...	...	...	...	10
					<hr/>
			TOTAL	..	201

In order to balance the budget, therefore, a Government grant of Rs. 50 per month would be required. Any available local contributions would be utilised for improving facilities.

The total Government grant required would be $50 \times 12 \times 2,500 =$ Rs. 15,00,000, i.e., Rs. 15 lakhs per year. To this should be added one lakh for building requirements.

In a selected number of these schools continuation classes might be established where agricultural or other vocational instruction could be imparted. These would absorb many of those who did not proceed to high schools. Their creation would of course impose an additional financial burden the amount of which would depend upon the nature and extent of the scheme adopted. It is probably not advisable to allow the addition of any normal high school classes to middle schools. As with high schools, the economic position will probably not allow of immediate fulfilment of this plan, but it is put forward as a possible progressive scheme developed over a number of years.

(4) *Salaries of professors and teachers.*—The question of adequate payments to professors and teachers in educational institutions is an important one. The present situation is that in few cases can salaries be considered adequate. So far as colleges are concerned, it is difficult to generalise, as conditions vary very much in the different colleges. There are undoubtedly, however, many college professors and teachers whose salaries are incommensurate with the work they have to perform. Reorganisation and guaranteed college income, such as has been suggested, would enable a very considerable improvement to be made and ensure the removal of the defects. So far as middle schools and primary schools are concerned, the situation is as follows:—

In actual practice, there are many teachers in high schools who are receiving salaries of Rs. 25 per month and even less. These

salaries are often irregularly paid and in not a few cases they are further diminished by so-called voluntary contributions by the teachers to the school funds. In middle schools, Rs. 20 per month is a high salary while, as is well known, there are many teachers in primary schools receiving salaries of less than ten rupees. Reorganisation as above suggested would give the following salaries:—

High schools—

				Rs.
Head Masters	...	...	...	100—5—150
Assistant Head Masters	...	...	...	75—5-2—90
Teachers	...	...	...	50—5-2—75

Middle schools—

Head Masters	...	...	...	40—1—60
Teachers	...	...	...	30—½—35

It is hoped that on a similar scheme of reorganisation in primary schools it might be possible to pay—

				Rs.
Head Masters	...	...	...	25—½—30
Trained teachers	..	...	...	20—½—25

There is no doubt that, if it were possible to introduce the above rates of salaries for teachers, then teaching as a profession would become a much more attractive career for our graduates and educated youths. Particularly, if the above salaries could be paid in primary schools, this reorganisation would go a long way towards removing the present economic distress in the educated community. The right type of man will be attracted to all institutions and from every point of view the achievement of such a result will be a very considerable step forward.

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RADHA AND KRISHNA
By Sumati Sunavani Devi

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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THE JAIN CANON AND EARLY INDIAN COURT LIFE

By CHARLOTTE KRAUSE, PH.D.

Leipzig

FROM the canonical writings of a religion one is prepared to gain insight into its dogma, ethics, philosophical ideas, and the history of its propagation and propagators. The last topic may allow glances at its historical and cultural background. Scarcely however should one expect to glean from them a harvest of the most vivid descriptions of ancient Indian court life. Still this is one of the pleasant surprises with which the student of the Jain Agamas is rewarded for the pains it cost him to work through the difficulties of their strange medium, the old Ardha-Magadhi tongue.

All the great Jain sages were scions of illustrious Kshatriya clans, and all of them were prompted by the voice of religious intuition to leave the vain splendours of a royal court for the loneliness of Sannyasa. This has given the chroniclers ample opportunity of enlivening their narrative by dwelling on the contrast between both aspects of the lives of their saints.

So they allow us glimpses of the palace of an ancient king with its sweet-scented, gem-inlaid apartments. We are allowed to peep right into the gaily-painted, mosaic-floored, jewel-lit bed-room of the

queen, with its curious toilet requisites. There she reclines on a couch that is smooth like Ganges sand, soft like flakes of cotton-wool, covered with cushions and with coverlets of red silk, perfumed with frankincense and olibanum, and strewn with fragrant flowers. Auspicious dreams descend and awake her long before dawn, and we see her rise and leave the room to narrate them to her royal husband, while they are fresh in her memory.

Another time we are permitted to watch the king with his gaudy train of followers moving in stately procession through the bazars to the quiet temple garden which the spiritual teacher has chosen for his abode. There we see him dismount from his elephant, leave his retinue behind, as well as sword, parasol, diadem, shoes and chowries, the five emblems of dignity and power, to greet the Guru in all humility. We see him take his seat in the assembly and attentively listen to the sermon, till its last words have died away. Then he draws nearer and engages the Guru in an animated discussion regarding the secrets of life and death, heaven and hell.

At another occasion, the chronicler invites us to watch the queen at her preparations for Puja. Workmen are sent to the temple to erect a flower-shamiana, and decorate it with gay patterns representing swans and peacocks, koyals and cranes, gazelles and horses, bears and wolves, and other birds and beasts, all beautifully inlaid in flower-mosaic. Water is sprinkled on the streets leading to the temple, and the bazaars are swept and tidied by her orders. At last, she leaves her apartments, refreshed from her bath, sumptuously dressed and adorned, mounts her chariot, and drives to the lotus-lake. There she wades into the water, has another ablution, gathers the most perfect of the lotus-flowers with her own hand, and takes them with her to the temple, followed by crowds of slave-girls, who carry flower-baskets and censers. With her own hand too she washes, decorates, and worships the idol, as it is customary with her family, and then waits for the arrival of the king.

Another time, the princess may be watched celebrating some auspicious festival. On a little stool she sits, under a specially erected shamiana of the loveliest flowers, in the very centre of a skilful design of the town with all its streets and lanes, outlined on the floor in grains of multi-coloured rice. Presently, she has to submit to a shower-bath poured over her by slave-girls from pitchers of silver and gold. Then she is dressed and decked and led to her royal father, at whose feet she bows, and who places her in his lap, asking the

prime-minister with paternal pride whether he ever saw such a beauty of a little princess before.

With even greater pride may he be seen some other time, listening to the announcement of the birth of a son, and distributing gifts with lavish liberality. We hear him order his officials to release all prisoners, to sprinkle the whole town with scented water, sweep and plaster the streets, and decorate them with arches and banners, to erect shamianas so that the populace may watch the joyous celebrations, to whitewash all the buildings, cover their walls with auspicious hand-prints of sandal-paste, garland them with flowers, strew flowers everywhere, and perfume the air with frankincense and olibanum. Then musicians and singers, dancers and acrobats, wrestlers and jesters, all are ordered to display their art, the populace is to be free from taxes, and there is to be rejoicing and happiness everywhere. Thus he celebrates the event for ten days, and goes about wearing his costliest robes and most precious ornaments.

Again, a royal person may be watched negotiating with the masters of the guild of goldsmiths, who receive orders of the strangest import. Painters are instructed to decorate the walls of some private room with representations of dallying beauties and love-scenes. Wealthy merchants, coming from far over the sea, full of accounts of strange adventures, are received in audience, and curious and valuable gifts graciously accepted. More than once may we see the skilful and successful lavishly rewarded, the unskilled scorned and punished with exile at the hands of a discriminating and high-spirited ruler, the sphere of whose interests seems to have no bournes. On the battle-field too we may watch him, clearly distinguish his curiously equipped army, gaze on old-fashioned weapons, that might well have served as models to the painters of Ajanta, and wonder at the stratagems of ancient warfare.

Apart from all such occasional glimpses, we even learn in detail how a king of antiquity begins his day and starts the series of his various activities. The small hours of the morning find him on his bed, peacefully slumbering. Only when the sun comes forth, red like the Asoka blossom, he rises and straight away begins a good round of hearty bodily gymnastics. He repairs to his gymnasium, and engages, in several bouts of wrestling and boxing, followed by massage, till he feels pleasantly exhausted, and expert masseurs have to dispel his fatigue by rubbing him with refreshing, fragrant ointments, skilfully concocted from innumerable costly ingredients.

Then he enters the bagnio. Under the bath pavilion, the floor of which is a many-coloured mosaic of gems, and the window-grating set with glimmering pearls, stands the jewel-decorated bath-stool. There he takes his seat, to enjoy a hot shower-bath of fragrant, crystal-clear water, goes through a series of auspicious rites, dries his body with a beautiful, soft towel, and dresses in the typical two-piece garment of purest archaic style, made of richest material. Delightful sandal-paste covers his limbs, a garland of sweet-scented flowers in all the five colours adorns his breast, and the resplendent ornaments that deck him all over, glistening on his neck and chest, on his waist, his arms, his wrists and fingers, his ears and forehead, so that he looks like a walking wish-tree,—are of so many shapes and varieties that their names and descriptions fill more than a page of the narrative. Thus adorned, he leaves his apartments moving under an amaranth-garlanded parasol, fanned with white chowries, hailed by victory-greetings, and accompanied by his splendid court, from the wise prime minister and his proud Sardars down to the dwarf and jester.

The procession moves to the Darbar hall, where the king holds his levee. On this particular occasion, he intends to consult with the astrologers of the town.

Sitting down on the throne, he orders eight seats of honour to be arranged, spread with white cloth, and strewn with auspicious white rape-seed and Durva grass. Then he remembers that his consort will probably be interested in the proceedings, and arranges for her accommodation too. Part of the room is cut off from the public gaze by a gem-embroidered, gorgeous curtain of exquisite material, that falls in heavy folds to the ground, and shows hundreds of patterns representing wolves, steers, horses, crocodiles, birds, snakes, men, kinnaras, insects, cows, elephants, woodland creepers and lotus-plants. Behind this delightful curtain, a jewel-inlaid seat is placed, and covered with a soft mattress, over which a white cloth is spread.

After having supervised these preparations with his own eyes, the king sends for the eight chief astrologers, each of whom represents a different branch of the complicated and advanced art of ancient astrology. Having taken their bath and performed their morning rites, dressed in plain, but spotlessly clean garments, adorned with a few good ornaments of value, and carrying with them as purifiers and emblems of good augury, white rape-seed and Durva grass, they appear in the Darbar hall, and hail the king with the greeting of

victory. The king receives them with great respect, and they take their seats on the eight places of honour.

Only after all these preliminaries are gone through, and the whole scene has arranged itself, gay with colours, graceful, and yet solemn, like an Ajanta fresco, the king sends word to the queen, inviting her to witness the consultation. She responds at once, quietly takes her place behind the curtain, and listens to the eager questions of the king and the assured answers of the wise men, till at the end they are reverentially dismissed with gifts of all varieties of eatables, flowers, garments, perfumes, ornaments and means of sustenance that will last them all their lives.

Then the king shows himself behind the *Purdah* to talk the event over with his consort, till she finds it the proper moment to take her leave, and retires, walking with the dignified and graceful gait of the *Rajahansa*, to her own apartments.

The canonical writings of the *Shvetambar Jainas*, from which the above gleanings have been taken, are said to go back, in their original shape, to the apostles of *Vardhamana Mahavira*, whose *Nirwana* took place in 527 B.C. Still, *Jaina* tradition itself admits that they have undergone various transformations, and that the definite form in which they are extant to-day, was fixed at the synod of *Valabhi* in 980 after *Vira*, that means 453 A.D. Therefore the bulk of this literature is at least about 1500 years old. This fact renders the interesting information it supplies concerning obsolete customs and institutions, so valuable and important.

So it is well worth noting that it contains, amongst other invaluable material, the above instance of a pre-Mohammadan *Purdah* scene, proving that *Purdah* was a well-established custom with the gallant *Kshatriya* clans of the *Bharata Varsha* of that time.

It is surprising that this literature should not have been turned to better account by historians and other students of Indian culture in tracing back and explaining many of the astonishing institutions of this unique country, that has rightly been called a museum of the most fascinating antiquities

ASIATIC EMIGRATION IN THE LIGHT OF WORLD ECONOMY

By Dr. RADHAKAMAL MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D.

Lucknow

THE problem of Asiatic migration challenges the idealism and sagacity of the world's statesmen who have to reckon with blind racial prejudice on the one hand and the compelling drive of economic forces on the other. The enormous outward thrust of the Asiatic peoples from the overpopulated regions in south-east Asia now receives a rebuff from sparsely peopled or empty regions, and the policy of exclusion is sought to be grounded on the theory of the intrinsic superiority of white blood and white culture.

Nordic Superiority : A Myth

Few modern sociologists accept the doctrine of Nordic superiority. The eminent sociologist, Sorokin, has recently reviewed modern statistics on the point.¹ The majority of Terman's gifted children were of a mesocephalic type ; Dr. Parson's study shows the cranial indices of high social groups and of criminals in England about the same ; A. Macdonald finds that "longheadedness increased in children as ability decreases." The measurements of children of Liverpool by Muffang ; of the skulls of Polish nobility, educated groups and common peoples by Talko-Hryniewicz ; of Spanish students and people by Cloriz ; of the Belgian murderers by Hegor and Dallemagne ; of various classes in Italy by Livi ; and other similar measurements do not show any evidence of this alleged dolichocephaly of the upper classes in Europe. The researches of modern psychologists indicate that differences between various European stocks are contradictory and do not show evidence of Nordic superiority. Yet it is this myth of Nordic superiority which, even more than the economic standard of living, has dictated the racial discrimination in the American exclusion policy. During the last two decades a considerable number of individual and group intelligence tests have also been applied to the Orientals. It is true that the measuring devices are not perfect and that it is not

¹ *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, pp. 266-276 ; L. D. Zeleny, *Race and Culture in Sociology and Social Research*, May-June, 1930 ; also Wallis, *Introduction to the Study of Anthropology*.

² Yet when the Great War in Europe caused a great scarcity of labour, race prejudice did not stand in the way of invitation of the Chinese and Indians, who were employed by Great Britain and France ; 140,000 Chinese being employed in France alone for industrial and agricultural labour.

appropriate to apply the white-man's intelligence tests to peoples speaking in a foreign tongue and having different customs, unless exact equivalents can be devised for them. But the results clearly indicate that there are little, if any, racial differences in intelligence between the Eur-Americans and Orientals:

	Intelligence Quotient
White Man	100
Chinese	98 and 99
Japanese	98
Hindus	98

Such differences will no doubt be found among different social strata in the same people. It is Nordic enthusiasm which is more responsible for creating a race situation than any alleged superiority of one race over another in intellectual attainments which are in large measure governed by cultural and economic factors. Indian labour did not create a race problem in the United States as Chinese and Japanese labour did, and if the United States accepted Indian emigrants on the same quota basis which has been adopted for the European nations, India would not be sending new emigrants in larger numbers than she did in the years of unrestricted migration. In South Africa the same hypothesis stands behind the slow pressure which the British Colonists are exerting to push the Indians out of the region with the minimum of loss to themselves, and in Australia, this has taken the *camouflage* of a dictation test to exclude all Orientals.

Standard of Living a Matter of Race and Region

Nor is the economic standard of living a dogma, an unvarying principle by following which people living within a certain range of latitudes and longitudes could be excluded for ever from any country or region. In the first place, the standard of living is a matter of adjustment of race and region. The Oriental's frugal living is an outcome of his smaller needs to maintain body heat, his lower nitrogenous equilibrium, his slower metabolism which are, however, not inconsistent with a capacity for prolonged strenuous toil. With leisurely disengagement at intervals, the Oriental may succeed

better as an agriculturist, a trader and even as a miner than the European. This explains to some extent the success of the Chinese, Japanese, and Indians in small trade and retail business, in agriculture, in mining, lumbering, and fishing enterprises in foreign countries. Secondly, the standard of living of a race bears, or ought to bear, some relation to the resources of the region. No doubt Europe and America have been maintaining since the middle of the last century a highly artificial, social and industrial standard of living which rests on the free exploitation of resources, natural and human, of the tropical and sub-tropical worlds. The rapid and phenomenal economic development of Java and the Hawaiian islands, under the direction of the Dutch and the Americans is a testimony to the enormous pressure of industrialised populations reacting favourably on tropical lands. On the other hand, the history of the Congo and of the more recent Putumayo atrocities in South America, the decimation of the native population in German S. W. Africa, and the cruelties of slavery and indenture in the first half of the 19th century, are unmistakable evidences of the seamy side of the white industrialism in the tropics. The improvement in methods of recruitment, encouragement of contract labourers to settle in tropical lands by means of advances, etc., and amelioration of their social conditions, are indirect results of the shortage of tropical labour which jeopardised the production of high-value tropical materials. As the torrid world becomes industrialised and multiplies in population, Europe and America's supply of tropical raw materials and products as well as overseas markets will shrink. Thus the standard of living of Western nations, which rests on the present disparity of levels of economic development between the temperate regions and the tropics, can only be maintained with difficulty. Thirdly, a race or community, even though it be a ruling one, is not justified in bolstering up its standard of living artificially if it cannot undertake continuous manual labour in the region. In South Africa or North Australia where manual labour on the farm, mine or plantation cannot or may not be undertaken by the British, the right of Indians, Chinese and Japanese to a stake in the country cannot be denied, based as it is upon their labour. This averseness from labour may be due to the European colonists' lack of capacity for climatic adjustment, or to social and racial reasons, *e.g.*, the presence of a large mass of native or immigrant labour which can be exploited. In Australia, where the climate does not permit the white

¹ The earlier Dutch economic policy in Java was frankly exploitative. Since 1909 the Dutch, as it has been observed, "have been endeavouring to atone for the past."

man to actively participate in manual labour except in the coastal and mountainous areas, he has developed a standard of comfort which is wasteful and inefficient, and yet which is bound up with the present lines of pastoral and agricultural development of the country. Thus in Australia "measured in calories potatoes are dearer than meat, and by the same gauge, fruit and green vegetables are extremely expensive. The sheep requires far less shepherding in the climate than the cabbage."¹ Thus the artificial standard of living and system of industry support each other, though both are inconsistent with the resources and population-supporting capacity of the region, and hence lack the impress of geographic finality. No doubt white labour in the absence of an abundant native or immigrant population cannot undertake intensive farming throughout the greater portion of the continent. Yet intensive agriculture represents a forward step in economic life, and will lead to a better population distribution and utilisation of resources than animal husbandry and urban industrialism, which represent the characteristic economic type of Australia to-day. No doubt intensive agriculture is limited by the amount and distribution of rainfall, and soil and temperature conditions; yet, though wheat cultivation is expanding, the possibilities of wheat-growing as well as tropical agriculture are checked in some measure by the initial trend of Australia in the direction of developing livestock industries and the ignorance and habits of the people, who have not become skilled in farming. Like Australia, Canada also shows the new country's original trend towards extensive farming and livestock industry, and also a marked and increasing tendency towards urbanisation that is hardly in keeping with the abundant agricultural resources and potential food supply of the country. The relative proportions of urban and rural population are given below:—

	Per cent.				
	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Urban	31·80	37·50	45·42	49·52	53·71
Rural	68·96	62·50	54·58	50·48	46·29

Lastly, if the immigrants can adopt and maintain the standard of living of the receiving country, and assimilate its social and cultural heritage, the economic or social ground for denying admission cannot hold good. While the Japanese can claim that many of their residents

¹ *Problems of the Pacific*, 1929, p. 50.

on the Pacific coast of America are well nigh completely assimilated to American culture in a relatively short period, the Indians also point to many of their brethren who have attained to a high economic living and social status in Kenya and Natal. Besides the assumption that the world because of economic interdependence of regions tends towards the "standardising" of living of different peoples is as wrong as the notion that humanity may one day cease to exhibit racial, physical and mental differences. Standards of living and productive efficiencies of people, like diet and social customs, must exhibit contrasts grounded as these are on fundamental regional causes and conditions.

Difficulties of the "Standard of Living"—Argument for Exclusion

It is obvious how indiscriminately and dogmatically the standard of living argument is now being used as a barrier against oriental immigration. It is the United States which by cherishing the false notion of Nordic superiority has created not only a difficult "colour" problem for her own country, but also the more intricate race question among all the nations bordering the Pacific. Races whether in the United States, or in Europe or in India are always on the melting pot, and civilisations are built not by race but by the region. The United States, faced with the problem of heterogeneity and mixture of races, which is however by no means singular to her, has now shown a distrust of the influence of her social and cultural heritage. If time and opportunities allow, the American environment and tradition will no doubt assimilate her diverse stocks into a wonderful culture enriched instead of being impoverished by racial contrasts. But instead of depending upon the forces of environment and tradition, she has had recourse to an ideal which is as unscientific as chimerical. For history knows of no nation which can claim ethnological unity. And how will she discriminate the races? Oriental blood flows in the veins of numerous peoples in Europe. The Alpine people of Europe are partly Mongolian. The Jews form a section of the Asiatics who are not Mongolians. The American Indians, too, form a section of the Mongolian race. Even the British settlers whom she favours represent the mixture of a variety of racial types, while there are as great differences between the Americans, the Indians and the Japanese as between the Americans, the Swedes and the Prussians. Further, have not the anthropologists found evidence of modification of the skull and other physical traits of American immigrants through long residence in the American environment, even as the Magyars of

Hungary. Mongolian in origin, have been Europeanised by the adoption of life in Europe, and the white Australians are found in some measure to resemble the aborigines in their deep-sunk eyes and depressed bridge of the nose ? Evidence is also forthcoming regarding differences between the Japanese in Japan and the Japanese residents in America as regards texture and colour of hair, features, shape of hip and feet, complexion, etc. Yet the United States seems to work her present Immigration Quota Laws on the basis of her conviction of a supposed Teutonic or Nordic superiority. White settlers in Canada, South Africa and Australia have taken the cue from her, and the same process of expropriation through slavery, spoliation of the native's lands, economic compulsion to labour, or direct penal taxation, by which the native races were gradually deprived of their heritage in an earlier epoch, is now being applied against immigrants albeit in a more refined and indirect fashion. Yet the obvious facts remain that the immigrants, like the Indians in South East Africa, were introduced to meet the needs of the countries themselves, and that the British Colonials and the Indians are on the same footing, both immigrants in a country which belongs to neither. Indeed, the protection of the interests of Indian traders in Africa led to the establishment of the British Protectorate over the Muhammadan Sultanate at Zanzibar and East Africa, but a few generations later, it is those very Indians who are sought to be squeezed out of some portions of this territory.

Racial Accommodation in South Africa and Malaya

South Africa and Malaya, which have been for the last few decades two magnets on each side of the Indian Ocean drawing to themselves the ceaseless flow of Asiatic immigrants, are to-day of world importance due to the significance of the part they will play in the solution of race problems. South Africa, which lies outside the tropics, is a congenial home for European settlers, who are, however, hemmed in on all sides by the Bantus as well as by Indian immigrants. The Bantus, unlike the American Indians or the Australian aborigines have multiplied and thriven. They have not only gained more farms and holdings than the white population, which in fact is waning in the interior, but have also proved themselves more efficient in certain fields of skilled labour than the Europeans. Besides, the whites have to meet the competition of the Indian traders, retail dealers, and skilled artisans who have entrenched themselves firmly in the economic life of the country. South Africa, to-day, contains a

population of Indians numbering 186,000, whom it would be imprudent, even were it feasible, to displace through the indirect use of the white-man's political authority.

Malaya, that prolific and potent peninsula, which is described as the melting pot of Asia, has provided a home for more than three and a half times the number of Indian immigrants in South Africa. But here the Indian does not compete with the European, who is not the resident settler but a planter, mine-owner and capitalist. Here there is competition mostly between Indian and Chinese labour, in which the Chinese have proved superior. There are Chinese industrialists as well as miners, who compete successfully with the dominant Europeans. But there has been no racial objection to Indian and Chinese immigration, the steady stream of which is the mainstay of Malayan wealth. A co-operation between white capital and business ability and coloured labour bids fair to make Malaya one of the world's prosperous seats of industry and trade. On the other hand, racial jealousy, finding expression in a restrictive immigration policy and a drastic system of segregation is calculated neither to secure the white man a permanent position in South Africa nor to accord fair opportunities of economic uplift for the natives and Asiatic immigrants alike.

Unpeopled Lands for Overpopulous Races

With the three countries, India, China and Japan, suffering from the economic and social evils of over-population, the vast empty spaces of North America, Australia and Central and South Africa cannot long remain thinly inhabited or inadequately utilised. It is well known that Australia was first explored and mapped by the Dutch, but was later annexed by the English on the theory of non-use and non-settlement. The same argument may be equally applicable for the settlement by Indians Chinese and Japanese of various islands of the Pacific including Papua and Australia, and the Pacific Coast regions of North and South America, which now cry for occupation. Indeed, the Pacific, geographically speaking, is the great Ocean of the Orient, and the thirst of the Orientals out in the Pacific through the chains of islands from the mainland of Asia is a geographical and ethnic destiny now being baffled by political forces. The aggressive policy of oriental exclusion is feeding the fire of a Pan-Asian alliance or solidarity, to which Indian, Chinese or Japanese nationalisms subordinate themselves, and the estrangements between the Asian peoples cooped up in areas which can no longer feed them, and the white settlers who are too jealous of guarding the heritage of a white civilisation even in

lands where they are, and are bound to remain, as exotics, might provide fuel for a world conflagration in a not distant future in the Pacific area. Race antagonisms die hard, they destroy, they cannot build up the fabric of world economy. For building up the world economy of the future we have to depend on the application of science to economic affairs, and particularly to economic co-operation of the nations. And science tells us that it is the denial of Nature's laws which brings individuals as well as nations to ruin. Nature abhors a vacuum. An under-populated Australia, Papua and New Zealand, a sterile North-West America, a forested tropical America or Africa, must invite the flow of millions from human reservoirs where population can no longer be imprisoned. Science also indicates the principles which should regulate the movement of peoples from one region to another.

Scientific Migration and Settlement

At the same time as the society of nations develops, an individual nation shows greater willingness to hand over migration problems to international control, or mutual conference and agreement, which alone can ensure the victory of scientific thought over race prejudice or narrow nationalism. As in plant and animal selection and breeding, the scientist imports plants and animals which are born and have thriven in similar environments, so, in regulating the world distribution of surplus population for proper utilisation of the resources of sparsely inhabited regions, it is the claims of stocks which live under similar environmental conditions and which can best utilise the vegetable and animal resources of the region that should obtain the highest preference. In the absence of an adequate native population whom the womb of economic history and tradition has conceived and the region has nurtured, the stocks who belong to a similar region and are accustomed to appropriate economic practices can best utilise and develop the resources of the region. Tropical agriculture has shown marvellous results by importation of exotics to congenial environments where climate and soil have been favourable, and the world to-day obtains by far the largest amount of its rubber, coffee and quinine from regions which were not the native habitats of the hevea, the coffee plant, or the cinchona. Cattle and sheep-rearing in Australia and Argentina, which now has reached huge proportions, similarly testifies to the discriminate selection of a pastoral industry in a suitable environment. Again, the present-day Australian Waterhouse and Merino sheep are far superior to their ancestors which were imported by the early settlers in the 19th century. There

is no doubt that industrious populations transplanted into appropriate climatic regions will achieve remarkable economic transformation of such areas. The settlers will benefit not the less freed from the cramping effects of economic pressure and soil exhaustion of old settled countries. Both in tropical Africa as well as in Malaya, Dutch East Indies and Indonesia the degree of civilisation reached may be measured to some extent by success in the cultivation of rice, which is essentially a product of civilised man. The native races cling fanatically to their ancient practices, but the Indian settlers both in Africa and Malaya, have introduced the plough and the cultivation of rice, thereby extending the frontiers of civilisation. In the Dutch East Indies the wet system of cultivation is found chiefly confined to certain districts, where it has been introduced by Hindu-Javanese settlers.¹ It is thus that the silent education of the Negroes and Malayas has been accomplished in some measure for generations by the Indian immigrants.

Racial Co-operation

In Malaya, Dutch East Indies, and Indonesia the work is shared between the Indians and the Chinese, who are the most methodical agriculturists and the most skilful craftsmen in metal, wood, and leather. Nature has decreed a colour scheme indispensable for individual and world economy alike. The economic co-operation of white and coloured humanity, on which the lasting peace of the world depends, is impossible as long as the political forces arising from the current notions of white dominion and superiority tear across the economic web. But economic forces will in this age wax stronger than race prejudices or national suspicions. A readjustment of populations and their grouping in closer proximity around the resources of the world will make the world economy more stable, while the racial genius of each stock will contribute its quota to the economic development of humanity.

Economic Forces versus Race Prejudice

A policy of exclusion of races on the ground of economic competition can never be a permanent solution of the problem. For so long as resources are not adequately utilised, labour, like capital and enterprise, must flow in. Thus in the Pacific States of America, the exclusion of the Chinese was followed by the immigration

¹ *Peace Handbooks*, Vol. XIV. Sumatra, p. 42.

of the Japanese, and now the Oriental exclusion in its turn has caused an increase of immigration of the Mexicans and Filipinos. On account of the scarcity of labour and the superiority of the Chinese and the Japanese to the Mexicans and Filipinos, there is now a general lack of enforcement of the Californian anti-alien land laws of 1913, 1920 and 1923.¹ Economic forces are therefore prevailing over race prejudice in the case of the Californian land-owner or rancher who wants a steady supply of seasonal migratory land labour for his farm. Similarly, in South Africa the gradual expatriation of the Indians will leave an economic gap which will be naturally filled in by the incursion of the Bantus into new fields of labour, making the present policy of segregation ineffective. Human migration must be controlled, but neither artificial exclusion nor economic segregation of races shows itself the right method, since they both thwart the natural operation of economic tendencies. Migration should not be left under the control of individual states, for this will be inviting friction and conflict between races and nations. Nor should it be left to individual initiative and enterprise which will lead to maladjustment and waste.

International Control of Mass Migration

International machinery should control mass migration to maintain economic equilibrium and utilize the resources of undeveloped regions. The distribution of the world's surplus labour by international labour bureaus, conferences, or agreements will be governed not by political expediency or racial prejudice, but solely by the consideration of world economy having international acceptance. Thus the interests of world industry and trade will not only demand the subordination of a national dog-in-the-manger policy in vast tracts still undeveloped or inadequately developed to the imperative demands of economic productivity, but will also bring about the co-operation between Oriental labour and Western capital and enterprise in regions which have so far baffled man's efforts at colonisation through the centuries. Colour, instead of being a shame and a menace and a cause of antagonisms will promote harmony, and the white, brown and black man may live together in mutual esteem for the uplift of the region that cries for such co-operation. Modern science has envisaged a symbiosis or co-operation of the different parts of animate and inanimate Nature for the uplift of the entire regional complex. Will not science be as insistent in demanding such a policy and ideal for human affairs?

¹ See Mears : *Resident Orientals*, p. 253.

RAJA RAMMOHUN AND LAW

By NARESCHANDRA SEN-GUPTA, M.A., D.L.,

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RAJA Rammohun was not a lawyer in the sense in which we generally understand the term. But as a litigant he had his hands pretty full and the time he spent as Dewan at Rungpore brought him into most intimate practical contact with the administration of law for, as we understand from his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, many of the judges of those days who were also Commissioners of Revenue relied exclusively on their Dewans for the discharge of their judicial duties.

The Raja was nothing if not thorough. When his duties brought him into contact with law he was not content with knowing just so much of it as was necessary for practical purposes, but he made a thorough study of it. He not only studied Indian law but familiarised himself with details of British jurisprudence. Illustrating one of his points in his essay on Ancestral Property in Bengal written in 1830 he shows an easy familiarity with the differences between the law of legitimacy in England and Scotland and with the peculiarities of the Gavelkind tenure of Kent.

The proficiency which the Raja thus acquired was not confined to a mere practical knowledge of the law. With a characteristically philosophic bent of mind he easily went behind the rules of law to their principles. His scanty literary remains give us very little information about his actual equipment in this respect, but enough remains nevertheless to show that he was not only a most acute lawyer but also a jurist with a firm grasp of principles and clear vision of legal possibilities.

One can discern that his pronouncements on the various problems of law that he discussed with such knowledge and legal acumen and with an incisiveness and forensic eloquence that any legal practitioner might envy, were not isolated pieces of mental exercise on the basis of the mere letter of the law. Taking his legal contributions in a lump, one notices in them a unity of purpose and principle which would justify one in claiming the whole series as representing an underlying legal philosophy, which though not explicit, is implied in all that he says.



RAMMOHUN ROY

Whose centenary of death was just celebrated in Calcutta and throughout India

The fundamental principle for him was evidently what he calls in one of his Bengalee essays, *lokasreyah*, "the good of the people," which was to him the purpose of all law and social regulation. What he means by it approximates more to the Hedonism of Aristotle, whom he is said to have studied early in life, than to the doctrine which was being promulgated about his time by Jeremy Bentham. It is difficult to imagine that in those days of difficult communication the Raja, while in India, could have been acquainted with the doctrines of Bentham which had not yet obtained sufficient currency even in England. And there is nothing in his treatment of the subject to indicate any remarkable affinity with Bentham's mathematical method of deducing laws by a calculation of the pleasure and pain ensuing from any measure. Besides to the Raja, imbued with the philosophy of the Upanishads *sreyah* could not have meant, pleasure, but Good, and *lokasreyah* was really the good of humanity in much the same sense as Aristotle understood the term.

Nor did the Raja proceed to elaborate any system of laws by a *priori* deductions from the absolute mathematical possibilities of particular laws in the terms of pleasure and pain. He had an intensely practical mind and was rather more concerned with the solution of the problems of the day by an empirical examination of their *pros* and *cons*. In this examination too he seldom goes back to first principles, but principally proceeds to discuss them on considerations which a practical jurist would employ. Considering the whole series of his contributions, however, one cannot fail to discern which way they all converge. The cause supported by the Raja is in every case the cause of freedom. He denounces Suttee and proclaims against it by an analysis of the Shastric authorities on the subject, but the motive of his argument is supplied by his strong feeling for the hopeless condition of dependence of women on men in Hindu society and a desire to liberate them and enable them to lead the life of human beings, pursuing ends of their own for their own self-realisation. In one of his controversial tracts on the subject he says:—

"The Sastras have directed those men or women, who seek after a knowledge of God, to hear and reflect upon this doctrine, that they may escape from the grievous pain of this world ; and they have also prescribed daily and occasional rites to be performed without the hope of reward by those who do not seek after divine knowledge in order that their minds may be purified and prepared to receive that knowledge. We, therefore, in conformity with the Sastra make it our endeavour to dissuade widows from desiring future base and fleeting

enjoyments, and encourage them to the acquisition of that divine knowledge which leads to final beatitude."

In reading this and other similar passages in the controversy regarding Suttée we must remember that the Raja had, on purpose, confined himself to argument exclusively on the basis of the Shastras. Even within these limits he showed that women, like men, had spiritual purposes of their own to serve, rather than extinguish their lives on their husbands' pyre. That he had a much larger idea about freedom of women is shown by his treatise on "The Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females" where he pleads in effect for the economic independence of women by a recognition of their right to inheritance. Here, too, like the practical lawyer that he was, he confines himself to the word of the law and only pleads for the abrogation of more modern doctrines limiting women's rights in favour of the older and more liberal view. Here again the motive of his argument is supplied by the following:—

"To these women there are left only three modes of conduct to pursue after the death of their husbands. Firstly—To live a miserable life as entire slaves to others without indulging in any hope of support from another husband. Secondly—To walk in the paths of unrighteousness for their maintenance and independence. Thirdly—To die on the funeral pyre of their husbands, loaded with the applause and honour of their neighbours."

In his Bengalee essays moreover he draws a truthful and pathetic portrait of the hopeless servitude and unhappiness of women in society. The Raja was, if anything, a worshipper of freedom and it was natural that he should seek to lift the burden on the womanhood of his country so far as he might. He did not go so far as we may think he might, but in so thinking we probably greatly underrate the strength of the reactionary forces he had to fight in his time. It would be a great mistake to suppose that, because he pleaded for what was, after all, little, he was content with just this much and wanted no more. These efforts were only indicative of the underlying spirit of freedom in him though it was cramped in its utterance by the pressure of environments.

Yet another evidence of the inclination of his mind is furnished by his treatment of the "Rights of Hindus over Ancestral Property," where he argues with the eloquence of a first-rate forensic orator against a decision of the Supreme Court denying to the Dayabhaga father the right of free disposition of ancestral immoveables. It was the invariable principle of Rammohun in his controversies to fight

with the weapons of his opponents. That this is not to be taken as an instance of his orthodoxy or his faithful adherence to the authorities that he cites, is clearly shown by this that while in this essay and the subsequent controversies with "A Hindoo" he places strong reliance on the text of Jimutavahana which the Court was bound to administer, it is the tenets of this very author which he attacks as a "modern encroachment" on the ancient rights of female in the other treatise. The reason behind his arguments assuredly lies in the fact that it was his firm conviction that freedom of disposition of property was founded on sound juristic theory and to set aside the progressive views of Jimutavahana on this was wrong in principle, while the restrictions on women's rights of inheritance placed by the same Jimutavahana were retrograde and bad in principle. In either case he appeals to authority and cites undoubted authority even for the proposition that the texts of Shastras had to be interpreted according to reason. But in both he concludes by assigning sound juristic reasons why the doctrines supported by him should be upheld.

His attitude of complete detachment from the Shastric law which he handled to such good purpose in these controversies is clearly shown in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee in 1832. There he was not handicapped by the limitations which, to some extent, cramp his expositions in these controversial treatises. He there proceeds to plead for laws purely on principles and from considerations of public good.

He makes a strong plea for codification and frankly criticises the cumbrous and inartistic form of the Regulations then in force. He wants a criminal code and a civil code almost precisely for the reasons for which Bentham or Thibaut wanted them and for others which were specially applicable to the Anglo-Indian government. He was then in England and probably had the benefit of intercourse with Bentham shortly before the latter's death in 1832. It is conceivable that his partiality for codification might have been inspired by Bentham. But, considering that Bentham was at that time hopeless of having a hearing for his plea for codification in England, it is none the less striking that Raja Rammohun should have been such a quick convert to his doctrines, assuming that he was a convert and not an independent thinker on the same lines.

The Civil Code which the Raja wanted was to embrace the entire Civil Law, including the law of inheritance. With the wisdom of a practical statesman and lawyer however, he did not want the code to reform the law, but to lay down in precise terms the various laws of

inheritance as they were, "until, by the diffusion of intelligence, the whole community may be prepared to adopt one uniform system." This shows exactly his real attitude towards the Shastric law which he holds inviolate in his controversial treatises. He does not consider them as sacrosanct, but rather desires their gradual amendment according to rational principles. But he is not willing to let the courts interfere with the laws as they were until they were modified by a legislative act. And even legislative interference should not, in his judgment, be violent or radical but proceed with the advance of the ideas of the people. Miss Collett has noticed this caution and conservatism as an outstanding trait of Rammohun Roy, which she characterises as a "prudent, even timid disinclination to revolt." But to one who appreciates in full measure the force of the conservatism which he was out to fight will consider his choice of the line of least resistance as prudent rather than timid. That Rammohun Roy was constitutionally incapable of a revolution is borne out by many passages in his Bengalee works. But he was undoubtedly a radical in thought, though very moderate in practice from considerations of prudence alone. The modicum of reform which he fought for, entrenched within solid ramparts of Shastric authority, raised such a tempest of opposition. A more advanced programme would probably have thrown him altogether out of bounds.

The liberal principles of jurisprudence which the Raja made the basis of his legal programme were borrowed chiefly from a study of English law which he read with care and for which he professed unbounded admiration in more places than one. One can gauge his proficiency in the principles of that law throughout the evidence which he gave before the Parliamentary Committee on the judicial system in India. The evidence which he gave was such as could have been given by an English lawyer of the front rank. He pleaded for trial by jury, for a separation of judicial and executive functions, for the power of the Sudder Court to issue writs of Habeas Corpus, for lawyer judges, and so forth and he fortified his pleas by an armoury of argument which would stand close scrutiny even at the present day. In all this he was drawing upon English law. But he was equally alive to the conditions of the country and his ready adaptations of English ideas and institutions to Indian needs are not only clever but wise. One is struck throughout by the ease and confidence with which he meets every contingency and suggests a remedy for everything. All this betrays a mind not only supremely quick, clear-sighted and well-informed, not only well-stocked in legal principles and having a

clear grasp of the entire system of administration of justice but also the mind of a jurist and statesman with insight and vision. In law as in everything else Rammohun Roy was an idealist with a great sweep of vision and yet an intensely practical-minded man. While his mind rose to loftier heights of idealism than Bentham, he was a great sight more practical and prepared to take full account of facts. The frame of his mind reminds one of Aristotle, in the extensivity of the province over which it played, the keen insight which he displayed, the lofty heights of idealism which he realised, as well as in the scrupulous attention he bestowed on practical details.

While his own country was undoubtedly benefited by it, the world lost a great deal in the fact that Rammohun had to spend so much of his time in pioneering every liberalising movement in the country, from a press to a theistic movement and to exhaust himself principally in controversies. He did not leave any systematic treatise on laws or politics or even on the philosophy of his Theism. We are left to cull thoughts from stray passages in treatises in which the exigencies of controversy counted for more than a systematic presentation of his ideas, though these treatises are models of what controversial writing on such high topics ought to be. Enough remains in them however to indicate his high purpose, clear ideas and a lofty philosophy and above all a great spirit of freedom underlying them, to make us sigh for a systematic treatise from his own hands.

In the legal treatises Raja Rammohun Roy displays a high degree of legal knowledge and an astonishing forensic talent. In appraising their worth we have to remember that he wrote about a century ago when the great body of judge-made Hindu law had not yet been evolved and a great many of the source books on Hindu law which are now easily accessible were not available. It is possible for us now to say a great deal more on the law relating to the rights of the father over ancestral property and on the rights of women in property than the Raja did say. But the point to note is that his knowledge of the Shastric law was at least on a par with the foremost pandits of the day whom he had little difficulty in meeting on their own ground in the various controversies with them. What one admires most in these is however not the amount of knowledge he displays but the clever handling of his material and the closeness of his reasoning, which was buttressed in every case by considerations of common sense and legal principle with which his opponents were but poorly equipped.

Reading between the lines of these controversies one clearly sees that the Raja was not a mere lawyer out to make hair-splitting distinc-

tions to no purpose. He was a lawyer and reformer. He wanted to use the material at his command to support a better, freer and more liberal ordering of things than he found in vogue, and to withstand every effort to go back upon a liberal principle already recognised. He took his stand upon the works recognised in society as authoritative but was determined to get the utmost out of them.

This is nowhere better illustrated than in his strong advocacy of Saiva marriage. In point of law and history the Raja never stood on weaker ground. For *Saiva* marriage was the name originally given in some Tantras to the temporary connection with the woman taken as *Sakti* for the purposes of the *Chakra*. For this purpose any woman could be chosen irrespective of caste or creed, but the connection was throughout deemed to be temporary with no outstanding marital relations between the parties. The Mahanirvana Tantra however recognises two kinds of *Saiva* marriage, temporary and permanent. And the Raja pitched upon this fact as showing the validity of marriage contracted by *Saiva* rites outside the forms of marriage recognised by the Smritis.

From the point of view of the Smritis this argument could have been easily met. In any case, the desuetude of such permanent marriages, if they ever existed at any time in any quantity, would have been a sufficient answer to his arguments, even on the basis of the Smritis. Yet the Raja pursues his opponents on the matter with the same vehemence of argument and closeness of logic that he displays in stronger causes. It was fortunate that he had to meet in controversy pandits who were Vaishnavas, as the Saktas probably refrained from attacking an institution founded on the Tantras. And the Raja had little difficulty in pinning his Vaishnava adversary by arguments which would have been futile against a *Smarta* who was neither a *Tantrik* nor a Vaishnava.

The point to note about this controversy is the way in which the Raja uses his Shastric authority for his law. He is out to lay down laws which make for greater freedom and arrives at his conclusions on reasons independent of Shastras. Then he ransacks the Shastras for authority for his view and does not care where he finds the authority. His objective in pitching upon *Saiva* marriage was clearly the freedom of choice of the bride which it gave, for, in this form of marriage the Tantras did not recognise barrier of caste or even of widowhood. Just in the same manner he culled from the Mahanirvana and Kularnava Tantras the passages dealing with Brahmanas and Brahma-sadhana, ignoring their elaborate provisions of

Tantric rituals which form the bulk of these works. In the same spirit he proceeded to find, in the Vedanta, the Koran and the Bible, support for the theistic doctrines which he was out to establish.

Neither in his religion and philosophy nor in his law was Rammohun a mere eclectic who pieced together fragments of truth from wherever he found it. His thought was not a repository of loose scraps collected at odd spots. It was an organic unity, and he had a complete and self-contained philosophy of his own in which he could find place for thoughts of a piece with it. Only, unlike many other thinkers, he had a wonderful catholicity of mind which enabled him to get at the view-points of others and, where they agreed with his, he was not ashamed to absorb and interpret their thoughts.

This is the great secret of Rammohun's life and thought, the cardinal fact which explains everything which would otherwise be unintelligible. And this explains why, while he had ideas and principles in law at least on a line with those in the forefront of legal thinkers of those days, he yet found it worth while to establish propositions of law on the basis of ancient texts of India, much of which he could not but have felt to be grossly out of date.

It is no discredit to Rammohun that he did not fully realise the relativity of positive law to the times and environments, though in his essay on ancestral property in Bengal he comes very near to such a conclusion. Nowhere in his writings do we find any bold attempt to argue that a law laid down in the text-books, though it was valid in its time, was unsuited to changed environments. That sociological view-point of law came at a much later age and was only developed after the ground had been prepared for it by Darwin and Spencer in the domains of organic and social evolution, and the first speculations on these lines were commenced by Maine and Ihering. It is no disparagement of Rammohun that he did not forestall his successors. It is rather to his credit that, erudite lawyer that he was, he shook off the lawyer's conservatism so far as to plead for codification of laws, an appeal, which, made by Bentham, fell on deaf ears in England, and one to which the first response in India came only twenty years later. It is likewise to his credit that he had begun to pick and choose between the laws in force and had given effect to large and liberal principles in his treatment of these laws.

Nor is it a serious disparagement of Rammohun that he did not know more of Hindu Law than he did. It is rather a matter of surprise that he knew as much as he did, specially as he was not a lawyer or *Smarta* by profession. Judged by modern standards,

Rammohun knew very few of the authoritative text-books on law. Had he known of the works of Mitra Misra, Nilkantha, Kamalakara and others, he could easily have enriched his contribution on the women's rights in property by numerous quotations from some of these authors. It is doubtful also whether he knew all the Smritis which he quotes, in the original works. He rather seems to have taken them from quotations in the *Nibandhas*, except Manu, which had already been printed and translated by Sir William Jones. It is not surprising either that Rammohun seems to have known little of Mimansa exegesis beyond the knowledge one might get from a study of Raghunandana. If he had a good knowledge of Mimansa he could have used it to good purpose in his support of the Dayabhaga doctrine with regard to ancestral property. We must remember that Bengal pandits of those days seldom knew more. Jagannath Tarkapanchanana, renowned as a scholar of the greatest repute, took his Smriti texts from *Nibandhas* and if he quotes *Vramitrodaya* and others, he too was not very well posted in all the commentaries in use outside Bengal and Benares. As for Mimansa, it was never much studied in Bengal and there is little evidence of its thorough study in Bengal at any date subsequent to Raghunandana. Rammohun therefore knew as much of Hindu law as the Bengal pandits and lawyers of his age. He was distinguished from his contemporaries not in the extensivity of his reading of the law but in the clear insight and lucidity of exposition that he showed, characteristics which one largely misses in the encyclopædic work of Jagannath himself.

The only branch of law other than Hindu law which Rammohun had dealt with is the Revenue law of Bengal. His evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on the Revenue System is very little studied now, and it is amazing to find that not a single reference was made to it even in the debate on the Bengal Tenancy Bill to which there is much in it that was very germane. The Raja's statement of the law and its history is precise and accurate no less than it is clear and luminous. No student of the history of the land system of Bengal can afford to ignore it. It is not only a brilliant summary of the law as it then stood; it shows a firm grasp of the principles on which those laws are founded and a broad and generous outlook on facts bearing upon its consideration. The Raja maintains, throughout his suggestions and criticisms, an attitude of utmost fairness and justice to all. He exposes the enormous drain of India's revenues to England at the time and refutes the argument that land was then under-assessed in Bengal. At the same time in language quiet but firm he relates how

the landlords of Bengal had shamelessly exploited their tenants after the Permanent Settlement and deprived them of their permanent rights. So far back as 1832 he put forward a plea for permanently fixing the rents payable by raiyats—a plea which stands as valid now as then and is even now equally unheeded. Throughout his evidence both in his statement of the law and in his criticisms the Raja displays a precise and accurate knowledge of the laws and the principles underlying them and shows the outlook of a statesman of high calibre—honest, far-sighted, fair and generous. Altogether, reading the scanty fragments left by Rammohun one comes into contact with a legal mind of such amplitude and depth that one cannot but regret that he had not left a great deal more. Legal questions engaged a small fraction of the attention of the Raja. If it had done more, if he had devoted himself to a systematic investigation of the laws and drafted a code and if he could get the government of the day to accept it, it does not require any violence of imagination to guess that the legal history of India of the past century would have been a brilliant chapter instead of being the indifferent patchwork that it is.

MR. G. K. CHESTERTON : A STUDY

By C. L. R. SASTRI, B.SC.

Bombay

" Artists appear at rare intervals; but there is one simple test of practice of their arrival. The moment they begin to handle their material, the world discovers what an extraordinarily rich and plastic thing it is. It does not matter very much what subject they choose ; it matters not at all how often that subject has been treated. The last Madonna may be as good as the first, and there is always a fleet of fighting Temeraires to be towed to their berth."—*The late Mr. H. W. Massingham*.¹

NO one, I venture to think, should write upon an author with whom, for one reason or another, he does not happen to find himself in sympathy. Destructive criticism is the easiest thing on earth, and anybody can perpetrate it. Indeed, it is quite possible, on this hypothesis, to write a damaging estimate even of Shakespeare that shall show him to be no better than an amateur in literature. This however, is not to say that criticism should flow in one uninterrupted, stream of applause: it should be to err at the opposite extreme. No author,—not even the greatest that ever was,—is immaculate. Homer himself is said to nod. Taking the example of Shakespeare again, an excellent article could be written proving what a bad craftsman he was. There never, perhaps, was a more careless writer. Everyone remembers the famous retort of Ben Jonson when somebody was praising Shakespeare for not blotting out a single line of his manuscript: " Would to God he had blotted out a thousand ! " The art of writing is full of perils, and whoso essays to practise it must first cultivate a thick epidermis. To write is *ipso facto* to court detraction. All this, however, does not invalidate my argument. Some sympathy is demanded of him who sets out to appraise the works of an author. Moreover, if one examines critical writings closely, one will find that the best criticisms have invariably been laudatory. That is why Pater, as Mr. Robert Lynd has noted, called his book of criticisms, " Appreciations ". That is why to take my own author, Mr. Chesterton's *Dickens* is the best book that has yet been written about that great novelist.

¹ H. W. M. A selection from the writings of H. W. Massingham, p. 191.

II

Now this preface, long as it is, is really necessary to an article on Mr. Chesterton. No one, in fact, stands more in need of sympathy. Men have not been wanting to cry him down. It is, as it happens, not at all difficult to do so: on the contrary, nothing is easier. All the same, I have my doubts whether even the most confirmed of his detractors has not enjoyed him thoroughly in private. The odds are that he has. There is an old saying that all claret would be port, if it could. And I have my suspicion that, criticise him as they might, his enemies would, nevertheless, like to possess a fraction of his gifts, *if they could*. I have remarked that even the most confirmed of his detractors must have enjoyed him thoroughly in private. Indeed, there is no living author whose manner of writing is more delightful. Mr. Chesterton on anything,—even on the Middle Ages, his most constant bugbear,—is a treat to the intellect. Mr. (now Sir) J. C. Squire has confessed that, reservation being made for the matter under discussion, he enjoys reading his Chesterton on any subject. It is, I feel, a necessary reservation. Even his most enthusiastic admirer cannot, I am inclined to think, swallow him whole. Mr. Chesterton is a bold spirit and holds strong views on many subjects. It would, in the nature of things, be surprising if he found supporters by the hundred; such a man must, perforce, plough a lonely furrow. No two persons, however, can be expected to agree on all topics under the sun: so it is not a point against him that many people cannot see eye-to-eye with him on some question or another.

III

I have stressed, in passing, the manner of Mr. Chesterton's writing. It is unique: it is in a class by itself. To call it brilliant is to state the bare truth. But it is, on occasion, even more than brilliant: it is inspired. Then there is no one to equal him: as Cowley said of Pindar, he forms "a vast species alone". The basis of his style is, of course, the short sentence; as, indeed, with some notable exceptions, the basis of all good style is and must be. But upon that short sentence he weaves patterns all his own. Phrases seem to drop from nowhere. Words take on unusual meanings. No doubt, the meanings were all there before: only, we never thought of them until Mr. Chesterton came along and showed them to us. Mr. Chesterton, in short, is a magician with words: with his Prospero's

wand, he can summon them, as it were, out of the vasty deep. It has been said that poets are born, not made. It seems to me that poets are not alone in that distinction. We may, with equal truth, say that prose-writers are born, not made. Good prose can of course be cultivated. By taking thought, one can, in a manner of speaking, add many cubits to the stature of one's writing. But, when all is said, the most laboriously cultivated prose can at once be distinguished from prose that is written as if by inspiration. There are writers that are to the manner born ; and Mr. Chesterton is foremost among them.

Side by side with his style goes his wit. It is irresistible ; and it is exhibited at the least expected places. Like the gentleman, mentioned by Boswell, who told Dr. Johnson : " You are a philosopher, Dr. Johnson. I have tried too in my time to be a philosopher ; but I don't know how cheerfulness was always breaking in", Mr. Chesterton might say that he had tried, too, in his time to be serious, but he didn't know how wit was always breaking in. It may, indeed, be that he cannot help it. It may be that sometimes he tries to be deliberately witty. However it may be, there can be no doubt about its quality. It is very genuine : it rings true. Once in his element, he almost riots in it ; and then every sentence of his is sparkling. Often his opinions are belittled because of their admixture with his wit. But wit, I submit, is not so common that it should be regarded with a kind of disdain whenever it is met with. Wit, on the other hand, is justified of her children ; and wit is next to wisdom. This is the trouble with Mr. Chesterton : his wisdom is often masked as wit ; and, for many people, it is *lost* in the wit. But that, surely, is the fault of his readers, not of himself. Wisdom, I am convinced, is all the better for a little wit. At any rate, speaking for myself, I prefer lively wisdom to that which is merely dismal. But Mr. Chesterton himself seems to be wholly innocent of it when he is over-doing his wit : it comes to him so naturally that he never appears to take a thought about it. This is what Mr. H. W. Nevinsion means when he writes of him :—

" Indeed, that man of genius (G. K. C.) has often reminded me of a village pump which, on festal occasions, may run wine, and ordinarily runs first-rate water but never knows when it is running wine of the best or water of the best or liquid mud or nothing at all, but always wears the same alluring look of promise."¹

¹ *More Changes, More Chances.* By H. W. Nevinsion : Nesbit, p. 217.

IV

Mr. Chesterton is many things: poet, essayist, critic, novelist, dramatist, controversialist, and a sort of sociological writer as well. But he is chiefly known as essayist and critic.

As a story-teller, he has at least one creation to his credit: *viz.*, Father Brown. Father Brown is a detective. He cannot, indeed, be compared to Sherlock Holmes; but he is famous in his own quiet, unobtrusive way. His chief weapon is not cleverness or cunning, as is the case with most detectives—real or fictional. His chief weapon is simplicity. In fact, this is Mr. Chesterton's master motive in all his stories: it runs like a refrain through all of them. His hero is invariably a simpleton. Take his *Napoleon of Notting Hill*; take his latest novel, *The Return of Don Quixote*. Everywhere is this idea that your simple man, by virtue of his simplicity, gets the better, in the long run, of the subtlest person that may be arraigned against him. It follows that his stories are written with a purpose: they are intended to point a moral. His religion, his love of the Middle Ages, his scorn of all that is connoted by the word "modern"—all these are evident in the least little bit that he has ever written. His novels do not conform to any convention. They are, in short, very peculiar; and the only thing that we can say is that they are purely Chestertonian. To him, the story is not the main point: the main point is the lesson that can be deduced from it. In other words, it is a mere vehicle for his philosophy. Throughout, this is the case; with him the sermon is always more important than the text.

But, I have mentioned, he is chiefly known as essayist and critic.

V

Mr. Chesterton has written many books of essay: one of the earliest and best being *The Defendant*.¹ Here, perhaps, more than elsewhere, he comes nearest to being a great essayist. But I venture to think that the essay is not his characteristic medium of expression. Not that I do not admire his essays: far from it. All that I mean is that he does not seem to have taken them seriously. He has a true essayist's vein. But oftener than not, he becomes a controversialist, starts all kinds of intellectual hares, and forgets the main function of the essayist. He is, for one thing, too intent on proving his case, whatever it may happen to be; and this vitiates one's essay. A modicum of sincerity is demanded of the essayist; as, I hope, it is demanded

¹ J. M. Dent. *The Wayfarer's Library*.

of everybody. But Mr. Chesterton is all sincerity: he is almost too fiercely sincere to be a good essayist. With him, as I have remarked, the essay tends to become controversial. I fancy that Mr. Chesterton loves controversy for its own sake; and I suspect that he sometimes invents imaginary opponents just to produce the correct atmosphere of division and dissension. He has, in other words, as everyone has who pretends to some individuality and is not merely content to form a part of the universal flux of things, he has, I say, his *parti pris*: only, he has far, far too much of it. Mr. Chesterton, however, is an expert in the art of controversy, and there are not many who can even approach him in his particular line. Like his predecessor, Dr. Johnson, if his pistol misses fire, he beats his opponent with its butt end. But all this is a far cry from the essay. As I have said, he is not a typical essayist. For instance, he cannot be compared to Mr. Robert Lynd; "Where O'Flaherty sits is the head of the table" and where Mr. Robert Lynd is, is the master-essayist.

Mr. Chesterton's essays are a regular feast of paradox. He is never content "to burn a candle in the pale shrine of platitude". Mr. Shaw and Mr. Chesterton are the two greatest masters of paradox among living writers; and it is hard to say who is the greater. Mr. Chesterton, however, does not like the word 'paradox'. He says in his book, *Orthodoxy*:

"I know nothing so contemptible as a mere paradox; a mere ingenious defence of the indefensible. If it were true (as has been said) that Mr. Bernard Shaw lived upon paradox, then he ought to be a mere common millionaire; for a man of his mental activity could invent a sophistry every six hours. It is as easy as lying; because it is lying. The truth is, of course, that Mr. Shaw is cruelly hampered by the fact that he cannot tell any lie unless he thinks it is the truth. I find myself under the same intolerable bondage. I never in my life said anything merely because I thought it funny; though, of course, I have had ordinary human vain-glory, and may have thought it funny because I had said it. It is one thing to describe an interview with a gorgon or a griffin, a creature who does not exist; it is another thing to discover that the rhinoceros does exist and then take pleasure in the fact that he looks as if he did not. One searches for truth, but it may be that one pursues instinctively the more extraordinary truths."¹

I do not gainsay all this; but it is nonetheless true that Mr. Chesterton is a writer of paradox. He may not himself be aware

¹ *Orthodoxy*. By G. K. Chesterton. John Lane. Pp. 15-16.

of it : like M. Jourdain, who talked prose all his life without knowing it, Mr. Chesterton may have, in his time, produced paradoxes unconsciously. But it is an undisputed fact that he has produced them ; and that is what matters. To be a writer of paradox, one must have a keen intelligence ; and one must have that rare thing—a capacity for original thinking. A paradox is not, as some suppose, merely an inverted platitude. If that were all, we could all be masters of it ; in fact, we could produce paradoxes almost mechanically. Further, a paradox must convince—at least for the time being. Without this power of convincing, it ceases to be a paradox. I hold also that paradox is often necessary to good writing, it is what gives an edge to it. But here again Mr. Chesterton overdoes it. He uses paradoxes as other men use platitudes. As the late Mr. C. Lewis Hind justly remarked : “ Somebody should always be standing by his side when he is writing essays, saying, ‘ Gilbert, be dull for a bit. Paradox should be a *soufflé*, not a joint.’ ”¹

But when Mr. Chesterton is in his stride, every sentence becomes scintillating : it is as if one has had an electric shock. One is not given time to think : one is carried along by the vehement breeze of the writer’s opinions and, for the moment at least, one finds oneself in agreement with them ; because agreement is so much easier than disagreement. It asks less of one ; and it is so much safer. Mr. Chesterton, indeed, revels in paradoxes to such an extent that it is a positive relief to turn to the most worn-out platitudes—just for a contrast. After all, the virtue of paradox is that it is rare, while platitude is only too, too common. But if paradox, by some curious chance, becomes as cheap as platitude, where, then, is the merit of paradox ? That is what Mr. Chesterton often forgets. One must be economical of one’s best weapons. But Mr. Chesterton lavishes his with the abandon of a monarch.

My whole point is that Mr. Chesterton is not, typically, a writer of essays. For this we have his own authority. On the occasion of the Lamb-dinner (in commemoration of Charles Lamb’s Centenary) he delivered himself of the following statement : “ I write articles and a profound schism divides those who write essays and those who write articles. The essayist inhabits eternity, but the writer of articles is very emphatically under the government of time.” But there is one peculiarity. When he tries an essay proper, he often fails. But when he is writing something else, when, that is, he is on a different

¹ *Authors and I*. By C. Lewis Hind. 1920, P. 60.

track altogether, he becomes, unconsciously, the writer of any number of beautiful essays. Essays fall from his pen unawares: almost, to use the poet's words, "in profuse strains of unpremeditated art". For some of Mr. Chesterton's best essays, one must go, *not* to his avowed volumes of essays, *but* to his critical and other writings, such as his *Dickens*, his *Browning*, and his *Orthodoxy*. There, one will find the master-critic as well as the master-essayist. I have, before, hinted that Mr. Chesterton possesses a true essayist's vein. It is in these books that he justifies himself.

VI

Mr. Chesterton's *Dickens* and *Browning* are unrivalled in their own departments. Browning is justly considered one of the most difficult of English poets, and many would-be readers are discouraged at the very commencement. For all such Mr. Chesterton's *Browning* ("English Men of Letters" Series) provides the best introduction. If, after reading it, they do not want to proceed to the poet direct, if, in a word, they do not begin to love him on the spot, then I can say only that they have not the stuff in them.

And thus I come to the critic Mr. Chesterton. I have no hesitation in saying that he is one of the most discerning of critics, past or present. He goes to the heart of his subject: he seizes the vital point about an author or an epoch. This is because he has rare imagination. He can, so to speak, put himself in the place of his author: which is, after all, what your true critic should do: and which, unfortunately, most critics do not or cannot do. Criticism is an art like another. It is not merely a sort of scientific analysis. In these days, even literature is tending to become rigidly scientific. Now I have no objection to this being so. But when what we get is *all* science and *no* literature, then, indeed, it is high time we drew the line. The evil of the so-called scientific criticism is that it is invariably dull. It becomes more or less a kind of tabulation of results, with credits in one column and debits in another. Criticism, to be real, must be artistic—as much so as the imaginative literature to which it happens, at the moment, to apply itself. A distinction is usually drawn between what is called "creation" and "criticism". If one is a poet or a dramatist or a novelist, then one is a "creative artist". If one has written merely essays or books on the particular poem or drama or novel, then one is only a critic and as such must needs occupy a second place. But I am of opinion that a first-rate

critic is not inferior to a creative artist of the same rank. As Professor Oliver Elton says, in connection with Hazlitt: "

"Taste is not merely a passive and receptive thing—the feminine of genius—something which creative art s imply impregnates. No, the critic reacts on the art he enjoys—reacts masculinely; ardently, even wilfully—if he is Hazlitt; *and so produces—if he be Hazlitt—another book of art of which the book he reviews is the subject-matter.* He is inspired by it as one poet is inspired by another. This distinguishes him from the mere scholar and expositor, who does useful work of an inferior order; and it disposes of the old sneer against the sterility of critics."¹ (The italics are mine.)

Of course, first-rate critics are rare; rarer than first-rate creative artists. But that is no reason we should fail to recognise them when they present themselves before us. A critic of the type of Mr. Chesterton is, even in his criticisms, a creative artist—nothing less: "he produces another book of art, of which the book he reviews is the subject-matter."

In order to understand this, it is necessary only to read a volume of Mr. Chesterton's criticisms and a volume of the ordinary run of criticisms. These latter are in relation to the former "as moonlight unto sunlight, or as water unto wine". Mr. Chesterton uses, in Rossetti's phrase, as much "fundamental brain-work" in his criticisms as any poet or novelist uses in his poems or novels. His critical books are pieces of perfect art: his *Victorian Age in English Literature*, his *Dickens*, his *Browning*, his *Bernard Shaw*. He has the root of the matter in him. He is as full of originality as an egg is full of meat, and some of his apologies for, or explanations of, his authors are simply beautiful. Take this as a more or less random example. He is speaking of the alleged obscurity of Browning:

"There is, however, another very practical objection to the ordinary theory that Browning's obscurity was a part of the intoxication of fame and intellectual consideration.....He was not unintelligible because he was proud, but unintelligible because he was humble. He was not unintelligible because his thoughts were vague, but because to him they were obvious. A man who is intellectually vain does not make himself incomprehensible, because he is so enormously impressed with the difference between his readers' intelligence and his own that he talks down to them with elaborate repetition and

¹ *A Survey of English Literature (1780-1830)*, Vol. II. By Oliver Elton. Arnold. 1912. Pp. 372-373.

lucidity. What poet was ever vainer than Byron? What poet was ever so magnificently lucid? But a young man of genius who has genuine humility in his heart does not elaborately explain his discoveries, because he does not think that they are discoveries. He thinks that the whole street is humming with his ideas, and that the post-man and the tailor are poets like himself. Browning's impenetrable poetry was the natural expression of this beautiful optimism. *Sordello* was the most glorious compliment that has ever been paid to the average man." ¹

Or take this on Thackeray's so-called cynicism:

"The occasions are indeed very numerous in which Thackeray finds this knack of half-suggestion very convenient. How delicately he suggests the peculiar character of Helen Pendennis; a saint without a sense of honour. With how quiet a shade, as of the coming on of twilight, does he convey the fact that Colonel Newcome's character was, after all, slightly spoiled in prosperity; suggests it less by any change in the old face with the gray moustaches than by a certain change in the faces of Clive or Laura or Ethel as they look at it. In this connection, it is specifically unjust to call Thackeray a cynic. He falls away into philosophising not because his satire is merciless but because it is merciful; he wishes to soften the fall of his characters with a sense and suggestion of the weakness of all flesh. *He often employs an universal cynicism because it is kinder than a personal sarcasm.* He says that all men are liars rather than say directly that Pendennis was lying. He says easily that all is vanity, so as not to say that Ethel Newcomewas vain." ² (The italics are mine.)

One of Mr. Chesterton's strongest points is his gift for generalisation. This is not such an easy thing as it looks. He can take the most unprepossessing facts and, as it were, distil out of them precious generalisations. Side by side with this tendency goes his abhorrence for facts and figures. You will not find one superfluous fact or figure in any of his books. To him these are merely so many dry bones; consequently, he has no use for them. It follows that you must not look to Mr. Chesterton for thoroughness. This is not to say that he fails to master his subject. All that I mean is that he cares so much for the *vital* things, for the *central* situations, that he does not mind if he omits a few unimportant matters. Many persons have found fault with Mr. Chesterton for this eschewing of detail. I think that

¹ *Browning*. By G. K. Chesterton. Macmillan, pp. 37-38.

² *Thackeray*. Edited by G. K. Chesterton. (Masters of Literature Series), Bell, 1900, p. xxiv.

it is rather to his credit. Now-a-days we have ever so many books wallowing, as it were, in the mire of the most worthless detail. It is, therefore, refreshing, when we are afforded the chance (alas ! all too rare) to turn to critics like Mr. Chesterton and Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch.

VII

I have not yet mentioned Mr. Chesterton's masterpiece, *Orthodoxy*. Our author is a deeply religious man. In these days of irreligion, he stands out as the champion of orthodoxy and religion. Latterly, he has turned a Roman Catholic. I have purposely avoided any description of *Orthodoxy*. If space permitted me I could give here copious extracts from the book, especially from its earlier half. The book, however, is its own justification. Stevenson says somewhere of one of Hazlitt's essays that it is so good that a tax should be levied on all those who have not read it. I should like to say the same thing of Mr. Chesterton's *Orthodoxy*.

VIII

I have referred, in passing, to Mr. Chesterton's love for the Middle Ages. In fact, he is infatuated with them, as some one, it has been said, was infatuated with the word "Mesopotamia." As is only to be expected, he has come in for a good deal of harsh criticism for this. Nor should he complain. He must be aware that he has overdone the thing. But, at the same time, it does not follow that he has nothing to say for himself. These times do not suit him : they are far too "advanced." He ought to have been born in his beloved Middle Ages : as it is, however, he is "misplaced in Illyria," as Charles Lamb would have said. He chooses to live in the past, as some of us choose to live in the present, and some more redoubtable spirits in the future. It is all a question of temperament : Mr. Chesterton's leanings are conservative, that is all. And though we may lament it, we have no right to quarrel with him for it.

The late Mr. Arnold Bennett has somewhere recorded his conviction that Mr. Chesterton's cannot be a first-rate intelligence, because, forsooth, his mind always harps back to the Middle Ages, because, in fine, he does not keep himself abreast of the times. Now, I have a very great admiration for the late Mr. Arnold Bennett. But, none-the-less, it is my painful duty to point out that, for once at least, he was grievously wrong. Mr. Chesterton, as it happens, possesses a first rate intelligence. Nay, I go further and say that he

possesses genius. But like the rest of us, he has his weaknesses. One of these is his unbounded fondness for the Middle Ages, just as one of the late Mr. Arnold Bennett's foibles was his almost unlimited fascination for Grand Babylon Hotels and million-dollar yachts, and, in short, all superfine things. The late Mr. Bennett—at least in his books—was a rank materialist: it is not astonishing that he could not understand the finer spirit, the rare essence, of Mr. Chesterton.

IX

I have remarked that Mr. Chesterton is a genius. One test of genius is that it can do with the utmost ease things in themselves the most difficult. Genius is *not*, as we have been repeatedly told, the capacity for taking infinite pains. On the contrary, it is just the opposite. I have nothing but admiration for all those who *have* the capacity for taking infinite pains: the labourer is worthy of his hire. Unfortunately, however, they may be many things, but they are not geniuses. Anybody can take pains: the rarer thing is to achieve your results with the minimum amount of trouble. To do this is to be gifted with genius; and Mr. Chesterton satisfies this test. He has not, in the production of his books, to undergo the preliminary pangs that are, alas, only too common with the rank and file of writers. He comes with a mind that is fully adequate to his subject: in a word, he is terribly at ease in Zion. Consequently, he can do the most difficult things with the greatest ease. And it is curious that successful as he is in the most arduous task, he often fails in the more trivial ones. It is almost as if his mind cannot stoop down to the ordinary things. What Dr. Johnson said of Milton may, with equal truth, be applied to Mr. Chesterton. Miss Hannah More, it is related, expressed a wonder that the poet who had written *Paradise Lost* should write such poor *Sonnets*. Dr. Johnson replied: "Milton, Madam, was a genius that could cut a Colossus from a rock, but could not carve heads upon cherrystones."¹ In like manner, Mr. Chesterton, I may say, can do the rare things better than he can the trivial ones.

X

It is manifest, from the foregoing, that I think very highly of Mr. Chesterton. Nor do I see how it is possible to think otherwise.

¹ See Boswell's *Life of Johnson*: Everyman's Library.

Here is a man dowered by Nature with some of her highest gifts ; and, in himself, he is lovable. Indeed, it seems to me, you cannot dislike him even if you "try with both hands," as Humpty Dumpty would say. Anyway, he is one of my favourites; and nothing can make me revise my opinion of him. As Andrew Lang says:

"It cannot be helped. Each of us has his author who is a favourite, a friend, an idol, whose immaculate perfection he maintains against all comers. For example, things are urged against Scott ; I receive them in the attitude of the deaf adder of St. Augustine, who stops one ear with his tail and presses the other against the dust. The same with Molière: M. Scherer utters complaints against Molière! He would not convince me, even if I were convinced."¹

¹ *Essays in Little*. By Andrew Lang. 1890, Pp. 123-24.

THE INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY

(Transport Problems)

By HARIDAS GHOSH, M.A.

Calcutta

THE principal sugar cane area in the eastern extremity of the United Provinces is situated in the districts of Gorakhpur, Ballia, Azamgarh and Fyzabad, of which Gorakhpur is by far the most important where more than 100,000 acres of land are under cane cultivation. The Gorakhpur district which possesses a number of sugar mills, is situated on the river Gogra. It is served entirely by the Bengal and North Western Railway whose principal sugar booking stations are Mariana, Gauribazar, Ghugh, Bhatni, Sirohi, Pedrona, and Luckhimgunge. The districts Azamgarh Faizabad, Ballia in the Doabs of Ganges and Gogra are served jointly by the E. I. and the B. and N. W. Railways, and the principal seats of sugar manufacture in this place are in the cities of Allahabad, Lucknow and Cawnpore. On the western side of this Province, its sugarcane area comprising the districts Meerut, Muzaffarnagar and Saharanpur, is worked by the Saharanpur-Delhi and the Delhi-Umbala sections of the North-Western Railway. In this area the Meerut district is most important where more than 138,000 acres are under sugarcane cultivation. But there is hardly any important sugar factory in Meerut district or in the adjoining sugarcane districts. The sugarcane crop of these places is utilised chiefly in the making of raw *gur* or Jagree by crude process.

The eastern and the western extremities of the United Provinces account for nearly two-thirds of its total sugarcane cultivation. Besides the above, in the districts Rampur, Pilibhit and Bareilly of the United Provinces large quantities of sugarcane are grown, of which Rampur and Pilibhit are served entirely by the Rohilkhund and Kumaon Railway from Sitapur Junction to Bareilly and Bareilly to Moradabad. There are a number of sugar factories and distilleries in this area in the cities of Pilibhit, Rosa and Kheri on the R. and K. Railway and it may be remembered that Jagree or raw *gur* is the principal item of traffic of this Railway.

The B. and N. W. Railway is a very big sugar-carrying line. It meets the R. and K. Railway at Sitapur city which is an important

centre for the indigenous sugar manufacture. From Gonda this railway branches off to meet the E. I. Railway at Barabanki, Lucknow and Cawnpore. The B. and N. W. Railway proper, from Chupra to Gonda and to Katarnian Ghat runs through the rich sugar district of Gorakhpur. The province of Behar, which ranks next to the United Provinces in the cultivation of sugarcane is worked jointly by the B. and N. W. Railway and the E. I. Railway running parallel to each other on both sides of the river Ganges from Bhagalpur to Benares. The principal sugar districts of Behar on the south of the Ganges are Sahabad, Gaya and Patna, entirely within the zone of the E. I. Railway while the Muzaffarpur, Saran and Champaran districts on the other side of this river are worked by the Tirhoot section of the Bengal and North Western Railway.

The comparative position of the United Provinces and Behar, the two most important sugarcane-growing provinces of modern India, will be indicated from the following acreage of sugarcane crop under cultivation :—

	1930-31	1931-32
	Acres	Acres
United Provinces	150,4000	151,4000
Behar ...	284,000	282,000

With the raising of the duty on imported sugar in 1932 for a period of 15 years as a measure of protection to the Indian sugar manufacturing industry great expectations have been raised in this country as regards the future of this industry. Construction of new sugar mills have been undertaken in different places and the records of large sugar factories, constructed during the last few years in the various provinces of India show as follows :—

	1929	1931-32	1931-32 Under construction	Constructed
1. United Provinces	21	19	19	58
2. Behar	13	13	8	28
3. Punjab	2	3	...	3
4. Madras	6	6	...	6
5. Bombay	1	1	...	1
6. Burma	1	1	...	1

As the above table does not show any record of sugar mills constructed in Bengal, we may reasonably suppose that we have not made serious efforts to take advantage of the new Tariff, inspite of the

fact that a large acreage of Bengal is already under sugarcane cultivation and there is also sufficient scope for improving the acreage and quality of the sugarcane crop in this province. The districts Rungpur and Dinajpur in Northern Bengal are specially suitable for sugarcane cultivation as also the districts Dacca and Bakergunge in Eastern Bengal. The local markets for the sugar manufactured in this province will be fairly wide and it may be also possible for the Bengal sugar mills to capture the markets of Assam and Burmah. It is a good sign that of late some attempts are being made to construct sugar factories at Dacca in East Bengal or at Rangpur in Northern Bengal, but this matter deserves a far greater attention, specially as the cultivation of Jute or Tea, the principal source of wealth in modern Bengal, now yield very little profit to the poor agriculturists who form the backbone of the Province. It may be argued that improvements in our monetary system or betterment of the condition of the world trade will ease our situation; there is no doubt a great deal of force in such arguments. Still it cannot be denied that if we do not take full advantage of the new Tariff duties inspite of the opportunities of this Province, it will be an admission of our inefficiency.

The records of the United Provinces appear to be very bright in respect of the construction of new sugar mills. In the Gorakhpur district alone, quite a number of sugar factories are under construction such as Maheswari Sugar Mills, Ganes Sugar Works, Mahabir Sugar Mills, the Diamond Sugar Works, the Pipraiech Sugar Mills and the Punjab Sugar Factory. Among the new sugar factories of the United Provinces in the other districts, the names of Hindusthan Sugar Mills in district Kheri, H.R. Sugar Factory in Bareilly, the Lakshmi Sugar Mills and the Jailakshmi Sugar Mills in the districts of Sitapur and Dehradun may be mentioned. The principal sugar booking stations of the B. & N.W. Railway in this area are Champalia, Majholia, Phanendra, Siswabazar, Ramkola, Narkatiagunge, Sidwalia, Pipraich, Mairwa, Sasamusa, Motihari, Harkhua, Nawabgunge, Waltergunge and Jarwal Road. The records of the province of Behar in this connection are also creditable and its principal new sugar factories are the Sasamusa Sugar Mills in the district of Saran, Sree Hanuman Sugar Mills in Motihari, the new Swadeshi Sugar Mills and the Champatia Sugar Factory in Champaran, the Behar Sugar Mills in Jummooee, most of which are served also by the B. & N.W. Railway.

Regarding the transport of sugar from the factories of the United Provinces and Behar, we notice that besides the railways, good

water services are also available for this purpose. Though the railway service is much quicker, the water service is comparatively cheap and the steamer services of the Indian General Navigation and Railway and the River Steam Navigation Company plying in the rivers Gogra and Ganges provide routes for the transport of such sugar to Calcutta and to the riverine cities of Eastern Bengal and Assam on the Padma, Brahmaputra and Megna. The Ganges service is obtainable up to Buxar in the province of Behar where there is already a large sugar factory. If new sugar factories are constructed in Arrah, Patna, Monghyr or Bhagalpur round which plenty of sugarcane is already available it will be possible for the new factories to take advantage of the cheaper water services in the carriage of their raw and manufactured products and the imported machinery for the mills as well as gunnies for the packing of sugar, may also be carried cheap from Calcutta by the direct water route.

In the United Provinces on the river Gogra, Burhajibazar is an important steamer station in the district of Gorakhpur, and for the transport of sugar from the factories here to Calcutta or to the other river-side cities of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the natural route seems to be *viâ* Burhajibazar. Further down the river, the Ravelgunge steamer station is also similarly situated but the Burhajibazar and the Ravelgunge routes, as we shall notice later on, have been practically blocked artificially by the railways working in this area. It is indeed strange that the State-subsidised and the State-owned Indian railways should be so indifferent to the interests of our trade or the economic development of the country. The railway administrations of this country have been severely criticised in many responsible quarters for their highlanded policy in the fixing of freight charges or the routes of transport, and though the Indian railways have partly ceased to misuse their powers in this respect, a number of cases will be still noticed in which the same old policy is being continued. The transport problems of the sugar traffic of the United Provinces to Calcutta and the Assam river-side cities by the *viâ*-Burhajibazar or the *viâ*-Ravelgunge routes appear to be glaring instances in point.

In the province of Behar the principal steamer stations on the river Ganges are Paleza Ghat opposite Patna, and Samaria Ghat on the other side of Mokameh. The surplus sugar products of the United Provinces and the northern Behar transported to Calcutta should take either the direct water service, wherever available or the rail-cum-river service. As new sugar factories will grow in large

numbers in the eastern districts of the United Provinces as well as in northern Behar there will be more sugar moving and this question of moving the sugar traffic by the cheaper and the legitimate route is bound to assume much greater importance.

In connection with the transport problems of our sugar a brief survey of the existing transport rate, for sugar over the B. and N. W. and the E. I. Railways, the two most important sugar-carrying Indian lines, will be illustrative. It will be noticed that there are provisions of special rates for sugar from the principal sugar booking stations on the B. & N. W. Railway to Calcutta (Howrah, Sealdah, and other Calcutta stations) *via* Mokameh Ghat in through booking with the E. I. Railway. But in providing these special rates, the railways concerned have apparently joined with each other only to divert the traffic artificially by the *via*-Mokameh Ghat all-rail route. The analysis of such through rates is given below:—

From stations on B. & N. W. R.		Special through rates <i>via</i> Mokameh Ghat to Howrah, Sealdah and other Calcutta stations.	Proportionate distances in miles over B. & N. W. R., E. I. R.	Rate in pie per md. per mile.
		Rs. AS. P.		
1. Pipraiech	...	0 9 3	220 281	50 31
2. Nawabgunge Gonda	...	0 12 1	208 281	48 30
3. Pharenda	...	0 9 9	231 281	50 31
4. Motihari	...	0 5 9	119 281	50 31
5. Siswabazar	...	0 9 8	249 281	46 34
To Kulpighat <i>via</i> Obitpur from stations on B. & N. W. R.		B. & N. W. R., E. I. R. propor- tionate charge of the through special rates <i>via</i> Mokameh Ghat.	Proportionate distances in miles over the E. I. & B. & N. W. R.	Proportionate charges in pie per md. per mile over B. & N. W. R., E. I. R.
		Rs. AS. P.		
1. Padrauna	...	0 8 4 0 6 4	194 281	51 29
2. Savan	...	0 6 4 0 6 10	134 281	49 29
3. Maharajgunge	—	0 6 11 0 6 11	127 281	57 29
3. Bhatni	..	0 7 4 0 6 11	165 281	58 29
5. Basti	...	0 10 8 0 6 11	248 281	49 29

We find that the E. I. R. shares of charges per unit of weight and distance are lower than the B. & N. W. Railway by more than 50 per cent. but the E. I. Railway has obviously taken this course only to divert the traffic to its own *viâ* Mokameh Ghat, from the alternative rail-cum-water route *viâ* Burhaj or *viâ* Ravelgunge. Though the sugar traffic is ordinarily chargeable over the B. & N. W. Railway at 42 pie per maund per mile it will be noticed that this railway has been insisting on higher mileage charges in connection with the through rates described above. The B. & N. W. Railway proportionate charges are rather unreasonably high in these cases and therefore injurious to the Indian sugar industry.

That the E. I. Railway proportionate charges in the through rates for the sugar traffic booked from stations on the B. & N. W. Railway to Calcutta, Howrah or Kulpi Ghat *viâ* Chitpur by way of the Mokameh Ghat-E. I. R. route have also been fixed on considerations other than the interests of the producers and the consumers of Indian sugar, will be evidenced from the following analysis of charges:—

From B. & N. W. R. stations.	B. & N. W. R. & E. I. R. proportionate charges in through rates.	Distance in miles over B. & N. W. R. & E. I. R.	Proportionate charge per md. per mile in pie B. & N. W. R. & E. I. R.
	Rs. AS. P.		
1. Ramkola ..	0 8 9 0 7 2	264 281	57 30
2. Waltergunge ...	0 10 5 0 7 2	252 281	50 30
3. Siswabazar ...	0 9 8 0 7 2	230 281	50 30
4. Narkatiagunge ...	0 7 6 0 8 2	169 281	50 30
5. Majholia ..	0 6 6 0 8 2	141 281	50 30
To Kulpighat <i>viâ</i> Chitpur from B. & N. W. R. stations.	B. & N. W. R. & E. I. R. proportionate share of charges in through rates.	B. & N. W. R. & E. I. R. proportionate distances in miles.	B. & N. W. R. & E. I. R. proportionate charges per md. per mile in pie.
	Rs. AS. P.		
1. Marhowra ...	0 6 9 0 6 11	148 281	55 295
2. Tamkuhi Road ...	0 7 9 0 6 10	175 281	53 295
3. Lakshmignunge ...	0 8 10 0 6 10	202 281	51 295
4. Sardarnager ...	0 8 6 0 6 10	197 281	52 295
5. Ghugli ...	0 9 5 0 6 10	223 281	50 295

For the traffic to Kulpighat, the E. I. Railway is required to pay from its own, a share to Port Trust, or E. B. Railway and therefore the E. I. Railway charges per unit of weight and distance for the traffic in sugar actually work out to a rate lower than '295 pie per maund per mile, but this railway has not grudged the low scales of rates, as these rates enable the railway to divert the legitimate traffic of the river services to its own lines. That the above scales of charges on the E. I. R. have not been fixed for assisting the Indian sugar industry will be apparent from an examination of a number of special rates on sugar booked from the Cawnpur factories to Etawah, Lucknow or Agra by its own line. The charges in these cases at 0-6-2, 0-3-7, 0-2-4, 0-6-0, for distances of 173, 87, 46 and 157 miles work out to '42 pie per maund per mile. In comparison with these special rates the E. I. R. charge for the sugar traffic ex. Cawnpur to Howrah will work out to '27 pie per maund per mile, but apparently this low basis of rates for the carriage of sugar has been fixed on considerations other than the interest of the Cawnpur sugar mills.

We remember how under the protection of specially low transport rates for sugar over the E. I. Railway from Calcutta (Howrah) to the principal cities of the United Provinces, the imported Java sugar thrived splendidly at the cost of the indigenous sugar. This discriminative policy of the railway was severely criticised by the Industrial Commissioners in their report (1916-18). It is a happy sign that the E. I. Railway has at last thought of cancelling some of the discriminative special rates from Howrah to its stations as Amroha, Bejnor, Bulandsahar, Chandpur, Firozabad, Gujranwala, Hardwar, Khurja City and other stations, but there are still a number of cases in which the old special rates are allowed to continue. For the sugar traffic ex. Calcutta (Howrah, E. I. R.) to *via* Furrakhabad, *via* Ghaziabad, and *via* Hathras over distances of 818 miles and 804 miles respectively the E. I. R. special rates are 1-5-7, 1-7-3 and 1-6-0, whose average charges work out to about '32 pie per maund per mile. The benefit of low discriminative rates is still being enjoyed by the foreign sugar imported *via* Calcutta port to the cities of Northern India by the E. I. Railway. Thus a State-owned and State-managed railway is found to be subsidising the imported sugar by means of specially low freights even at the time when the state itself has been definitely pledged to protect the indigenous sugar industry and oust the foreign sugar by means of a high protective tariff wall.

We notice further that over the E. I. Railway there is special provision for the traffic in sugar on distances exceeding 600 miles, a

concession rate equivalent to charges under class I that is '38 pie per maund per mile. The special rates for sugar over the E. I. Railway from Howrah to the cities of the United Provinces as Aligarh, Bulandsahar, Chandpursian, Firozabad, Jaleswar Road and other stations that have been since cancelled, work out to a charge of '35 pie per maund per mile, but as the distances in all these cases exceed 600 miles, the sugar freights ex. Calcutta over the E. I. Railway, for the stations in question are now chargeable on the basis of '38 p. per maund per mile. The handicap from which imported sugar will suffer in respect of freight on account of the cancellation of these special rates is, therefore, practically negligible.

The cancellation of the old special rates ex. Howrah to the cities of the United Provinces is not a sufficient protection to the sugar factories of U. P. or northern Behar. For the traffic in foreign sugar from Calcutta to the cities of Northern India on the E. I. Railway could have been easily charged new special rates on the basis of '50 or '60 pie per maund per mile. This charge would have been the effective check on the inroads of cheap foreign sugar and in that case this railway would only work in harmony with the present policy of the Government of India. On the manufactured products of the sugar factories of the United Provinces and Northern Behar to Calcutta *via* Mokameh Ghat, such as booked from Pipraiech, Nawabgunge, Majholia, Marharwa, Tamkuli Road, Lakshmigunge, Sardarnagar, Ghugli, the B. & N. W. Railway share of the charge in the lump sum special rate, vary between '50 and '57 pie per maund per mile, and so it is quite within the jurisdiction of the E. I. Railway to raise the rates on such imported sugar.

We have already observed that the E. I. Railway scales of charges on the sugar traffic per maund per mile *via* Mokameh Ghat to Howrah in through booking with B. & N. W. Railway sugar-booking stations have been fixed on considerations other than the interest of the indigenous sugar trade. We find further that from the sugar mills of Cawnpur to Hathras Junction the special rate for sugar over the E. I. Railway work out to '42 pie per maund per mile. The special rates provided by this railway for the sugar of Cawnpur to the principal cities of the United Provinces such as Etawah, Lucknow, Agra, are also based on a charge of '42 pie per maund per mile. The B. & N. W. Railway appears to be very much considerate in this direction for the special rates provided for the traffic in sugar to its own local stations in the United Provinces work out to a rate which is nearly 50 per cent lower than those

quoted by the E. I. Railway as will be evidenced from the following figures :—

From Cawnpur E. I. R. to	Special rates on sugar. Rs. A. P.	Distance in miles.	Rate per md. per mile.
1. Hathras	0 6 2	178	*42
2. Etawah	0 3 7	87	*42
3. Lucknow	0 2 4	46	*42
4. Agra	0 6 7	117	*42
From Cawnpur, B. & N. W. R. to	Special rates on sugar Rs. A. P.	Distance in miles	Rate per md. per mile
1. Ajodhya Ghat	0 4 5	159	*33
2. Azamgarh	0 5 10	339	*21
3. Bahraich	0 4 8	160	*35
4. Ballia	0 7 6	337	*27
5. Burhaj	0 7 1	281	*30
6. Basti	0 4 11	177	*30
7. Benares Cantt.	0 5 5	361	*18
8. Bettiah	0 10 11	475	*27
9. Bhagalpur	0 13 6	520	*30
10. Bhatni	0 7 7	260	*33

A closer examination of the rates problems of Indian sugar will enable us to understand what facilities modern transport system should afford to movements of commodities in the interest of the economic development of the country. We notice that if the B. & N. W. Railway had made arrangements for the transport of sugar from the districts of Gorakhpur and Tirhoot of the United Provinces and Northern Behar to Calcutta in through booking *via* the Paleza Ghat steamer route, the sugar factories here would have been placed in a much better position. As "Common carriers," the railways are legally bound to give proper facilities to the traffic offered, and by not granting through rates or reasonable facilities for through transport *via* Palezaghat, the B. & N. W. Railway appears to have violated Section 42 (2) of the Indian Railways Act of 1890, which reads as follows :—

"A Railway Administration shall not make or give undue preference or advantage to or in favour of any particular description

of traffic in any respect whatsoever or subject any particular description of traffic to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage in any respect whatsoever."

The B. & N. W. Railway appears to have exceeded its legal jurisdiction by entering into a pooling agreement with the E. I., E. B. and A. B. Railways in regard to the carriage of the sugar traffic booked from the stations on the B. & N. W. Railway to Calcutta or to the riverine cities of Assam by circuitous routes which are prejudicial to the interest of the steamer services working in this area, as well as to the trade. It is to be noted that the term " Railway Administration " in Section 42(2) of the said Act includes " Steamer Services. " The clauses regarding " Undue preference " or " Facilities " referred to in the Indian Railways Act of 1890 are reproduced entirely from the English Railways and the Canal Traffic Act of 1834 which aims at directing the railways to work in the interests of the (Railway) Traffic and " conduce to the convenience of the public." (*Vide* the Law relating to Railways by A. Grunt, Esq., Assistant Solicitor, London and North Eastern Railway Company, in *Modern Railway Administration*, Vol. II). About " Undue preference " that is sometimes likely to be shown by the railways, Disney on the " Law of Carriage " observes that " questions whether preference is undue are determined by the Railway Commissioners. In dealing with such questions they will give greater weight to considerations affecting the interest and welfare of the public than any other consideration."

For the sugar traffic booked from its own local stations to Calcutta, or the riverine cities of the Northern and Central Assam, the B. & N. W. Railway seems to have intentionally constructed the cheaper legitimate rail-cum-river route *viâ* Palezaghat or *viâ* Ravelgunge or *viâ* Barhaj. If it is found that this railway has been working in a way that is not conducive to the interests or convenience of the public, we shall not be wrong in saying that the principles of the Indian Railways Act have been violated. By agreeing to a pooling arrangement with the railways the B. & N. W. Railway has also been showing " Undue preference " to the E. B. & A. B. Railways in comparison with its treatment towards the river transport which would have carried the traffic cheaper. The sugar factories on the B. & N. W. Railway or the sugar industries of this area seems to have been seriously injured, but it has not been possible for the trade to think of any remedy on account of the exorbitant costs of a Railway Commission of Enquiry. Section 42 of the Railways Act (1890) has therefore been a dead letter for all practical purposes. But with a permanent Railways Rates Advisory

Committee now maintained by the Government of India it is possible for the trade to obtain redress in cases of grievances of this nature.

To mention a few instances of such irregularities, we may point out that under the existing arrangements of routing and rating, the sugar traffic of the B. & N. W. Railway stations Padrauna, Maharajgunge, Basti, Muzaffarpur to Calcutta has to be transported by the Mokameh Ghat all-rail route, and pay freights of 0-15-9, 0-13-3, 1-16-0, 0-12-6, respectively per maund, but if it were possible to transport the traffic in through booking with the steamer services by the Palezaghat rail-cum-river route the charges would be only 0-12-9, 0-11-6, 0-13-6 and 0-11-6. Similarly the charges for a maund of sugar from the sugar-booking stations of the B. & N. W. Railway as Ramkola, Waltergunge, Siswabazar, Narkatiagunge, Majholia, Mairwa, Tamkohi, Lukshmi-gunge, Sirdargunge and Ghughli by the *via* Mokameh Ghat B. & N. W. Railway and E. I. Railway all-rail route are 0-15-11, 1-1-7, 1-0-10, 0-15-8, 0-11-8, 0-14-0, 0-14-11, 1-0-0, 0-15-8, 1-0-7, respectively, as against the possibilities of charges in through booking by the *via* Paleza Ghat route at 0-14-11, 0-15-8, 0-13-10, 0-13-11, 0-12-11, 0-12-1, 0-13-0, 0-14-1, 0-13-9, 0-14-8 only. The benefits in freights by the alternative steamer services route would have been reaped either by the producers or the consumers of Indian sugar, were through booking allowed in these cases. The matter is of very great importance as the Indian manufacturers have to face keen competition from the cheap foreign sugar. Any relief in the charges of transport would be a substantial assistance to the indigenous sugar industry.

There are provisions of special rates from the sugar-booking stations of the B. & N. W. Railway such as Maiharowa, Bhatni, Pharenda, Basti, Chakia and others to Gauhati, Dhubri, Tezpur or Dibrugarh in Northern Assam by the all-rail route *via* Katihar Junction, E. B. Railway, which works out as follows:—

B. & N. W. Rly.	Special through rate <i>via</i> Katihar to Gauhati.			Special through rates <i>via</i> Katihar to Dhubri.			Special through rates to Tezpur.			Special through rates to Dibrugarh.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
1 Marharowah .	1	1	1	0	13	6	1	8	8	1	5	5
2 Bhatni . .	1	2	7	0	15	0	1	10	2	2	0	11
3 Pharenda ...	1	4	4	1	0	9	1	11	11	2	2	8
4 Basti ...	1	4	8	0	14	6	1	12	3	2	3	0
5 Chakia ...	1	0	1	0	12	6	1	7	8	1	14	5

If a through booking were allowed by the alternative rail-cum-water services the charges of transport for a maund of sugar would have worked out as follows:—

		To Gauhati.			To Dhubri.			To Tezpur.			To Dibrugarh.		
		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
1	Marharowah <i>via</i> Ravelgunge Steamer station ...	0	11	1	0	8	10						
2	Bhatni <i>via</i> Barhaj ...	0	12	0	0	9	3	0	14	3	1	2	3
3	Pharenda <i>via</i> Barhaj ...	0	14	5	0	11	8	1	0	8	1	4	8
4	Basti <i>via</i> Barhaj ...	0	13	2	0	10	11	1	1	2	1	5	3
5	Chakia <i>via</i> Palezaghath ...	0	12	6	0	10	3	0	14	11	1	2	8

On the question of “through rates” over the Indian Railways, the Government of India in their circular No. 1446 of 1887 expressed the following views in the Gazette of India which reads as:—

“In case where the Traffic offering is sufficient to justify this arrangement the railway administrations must give reasonable facilities for public traffic between any two railway stations each railway administration being content to receive its own share of through rates.”

The railways include as we have already pointed out also the river services which are very important modes of modern transport.

In the cases under reference the B. & N. W. Railway should have arranged for through booking *via* Palezaghath in regard to the traffic in sugar from Ramkola, Waltergunge, Siswabazar, Narkatiagunge, Majholia, Mairwa, Tankuli, Lakhmigunge, Sirdarnagar, Ghugli to Howrah. Similarly in the booking of such traffic between Marharowah, Bhatni, Pharenda, Basti, Chakia, etc., and Gauhati, Dhubri, Tezpur or Dibrugarh *via* Ravelgunge, Barhaj or Paleza steamer ghats, through routes should have been opened in the interest of the public traffic and the development of a very important indigenous industry. Not only has the Railway refused to give such facilities but it has provided for through booking in conjunction with the E. B. and A. B. Railways thus forcing the traffic to take the all-rail dearer routes.

It may be arranged on behalf of the railways concerned that though the rail-cum-water routes are cheaper, the all-rail routes have

their own advantages. Hence the traffic would naturally prefer the all-rail routes inspite of their greater costs of transport. This observation may be generally correct, but that is no justification for the action of the railways in artificially blocking the traffic by particular routes. The forwarding railways should have offered the traffic, reasonable facilities by both the all-rail and the rail-cum-steamer routes, and left the option of selecting the routes to the trader.

The shippers of sugar manufactured in this area are thus deprived of the facilities of alternative rail-cum-river routes as the B. and N.W. Railway have practically obstructed the traffic by not agreeing to through bookings with the steamer services. This is tantamount to the imposition of block rates which may be defined as "Rates" manipulated to block a certain route against a certain traffic.

In such cases the "Block rates" are also rates "unreasonable in themselves" and if the B. and N.W. Railway will not agree to open the alternative rail-cum-steamer route by offering facilities for through transports *via* the river steamer ghats it seems desirable that the traders interested in this question should place the matter before the Indian Railways Rates Advisory Committee for redress of their legitimate grievances under Section 42 (2) of the Indian Railways Act (1890), which enjoins that the railway shall not "subject any particular description of traffic to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage in any respect whatsoever.

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION AS AN AID TO THE ECONOMIC EXPANSION OF JAPAN

By BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

Calcutta.

[N 1905 the imagination of the world was captured by Japan on account of her victories at Port Arthur and on the Tshusima Bay. To-day the world is learning from the Japanese people the old lesson over again, namely, that "peace hath her victories no less glorious than war." Even when the Great War came to an end neither Eur-America nor of course Asia could suspect that industrialization as well as technocracy were being mastered by Japan so adequately as to constitute in the near future a veritable "Japanese peril" in the estimation of commercial nations.

In the course of the last generation and a half the Japanese people has indeed succeeded in demonstrating to mankind with nothing more than three meals of rice and raw fish without milk and butter as the daily staple that it is possible to command the latest engines, machines, implements and machine-tools and challenge comparison with the pioneers of industrialism and capitalistic civilization. And Japan that has been a source of perennial inspiration to Young India during the last quarter of a century should continue still to inspire the creative thinkers and organizers of the Indian people during this the second period of her triumph

Principles of Management

Among the formative agencies in the economic expansion of Japan none is to be appraised as more valuable than the methods of business organization practised by the farmers, artisans, traders and merchants as well as fostered by the Government. The laurels that the Japanese have been winning in the world's markets including the Indian are due in no small measure to the legion of unions, associations, chambers, cartels, etc., by which the economic life of Japan is honey-combed. Of all the many things that a Bengali delegation ought to import from Japan for admiration and assimilation by our countrymen not the least important would be the industrial and commercial organizations that the Japanese people has developed in the course of its modernization.

The things that are generally overlooked by the Bengali people in the inventory of a nation's industrial and commercial wealth are just among the most potent causes of Japan's economic digvijaya (world-conquest) at the present moment. While trying to safeguard our Bengali as well as Indian interests from the invasion of Japanese goods by tariff let us by all means attempt also to imitate Japan in the manner in which she has uptodated her principles of management in agriculture, industry and commerce.

Warehousing

Warehousing is hardly known in Bengal, especially among the Bengali people, as a line of business. But in Japan there are some 425 warehouse companies, at a total paid-up capital of 127,372,000 yens (one yen is to be taken as roughly equivalent to Re. 1-4-0). The value of goods of all sorts stored in these warehouses was recently estimated at nearly 500,000,000 yens.

Warehousing is done in regard to rice, sugar, imported cotton, paper, raw silk and textile fabrics. Although big cities like Osaka, Yokohama, Kobe, Tokyo and Nagoya lead in the order of enumeration, even the remotest villages possess warehouse companies. And practically every class of farmers and traders makes use of these facilities.

The warehouses maintained by co-operative societies, agricultural associations or municipal bodies enjoy Government subsidies. To this category belonged in one of these recent years the agricultural warehouses owned by some 2,500 co-operative societies, 90 agricultural societies, 28 public corporations and 13 villages or towns.

Trade Associations

In accordance with the provisions of the Trade Association Law of 1880 trade associations have grown up in every trade. The associations are endowed with very important functions. For instance they have the right to inspect the products. The conditions of business to be followed by each member are laid down by them. They are, besides, furnished with the authority to protest to buyers against damage done to members. There are no less than 230 such associations in Japan to-day.

It is interesting to observe, besides, that every important city of Japan has a chamber of commerce. Then there are Japanese chambers of commerce in foreign countries. All these chambers at home and abroad constitute the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Standardization of Exports

The export business of the Japanese people is likewise highly organized. It is according to the Law of 1925 that export associations are established. The foreign markets are investigated on the spot by these associations. They undertake export on consignment also.

The standardization of exports is effected in Government as well as private test houses. Raw silk, cotton fabrics, fancy mattings, straw braids, matches, glassware, brushes, hosiery, enamelled and ironwares, celluloid combs, canned crabs as well as other articles are examined and certified as to their grade before export.

Coal Cartel

A coal cartel has been functioning in Japan since 1921. The object is to regulate production by restricting it, raise the price and tide over the depression which has been a post-war characteristic of the coal trade in Japan as elsewhere. In 1920 the total output was 29,244,000 tons. In 1929 it was kept as low down as 31,956,000 tons. Absolutely speaking, the figure is of course higher than in 1920. But without efforts at restriction it might have risen to dangerous proportions. The restriction was raised from 22 per cent. to 27 per cent. in 1931.

Pig Iron Union

Attempts to cartelize pig iron can be traced back to 1924. The object at that time was to bring the private companies and the Government factories together under one public limited liability company. The project having failed, there was an attempt in 1925 to arrange between the private and the Government works a division of labour in output. There was no success in the attempt either. Finally, in 1927 the Pig Iron Union was established having for its members three private companies, Mitsubishi, Mitsui, and Okura, and the Government works Mantsu. The headquarters of the union are located at Anshan. It controls the entire production and regulates it according to a fixed system.

Wrought iron has been under the influence of cartels since 1927. The organization can be described in the following manner:

I. *Kozai Rengokai* (Association of rolling mills) comprises the Government works Yawata and some private mills. This union seeks to distribute the production among the members according to a quota. The headquarters are at Tokyo. Geographically the private

works of the Association may be distributed as follows : (a) Eastern: *Kwanto Group*: (1) *Nippon Kokan Works* (Tokyo), (2) *Kamaishi Kozan Works* (Hokkaido), (3) *Fuji Seiko Works* (near Tokyo). Total production (1929) : 160,000 tons ; (b) Western: *Kwansai group*: (1) *Seitetsu* (Osaka), (2) *Seiko* (Kobe), and (3) *Kokura* (Asano). Total production (1929) : 129,000 tons.

II. *Kekko Hyogikai* (Association of private works) is not a regular union bound by contracts but a more or less loose organization of wrought iron mills. It comprises 18 members, one of which, namely, the *Seiko Konwaki*, is a union of thirteen works.

In 1930 the *Kozai Rengokai* decided upon a restriction of output and distributed the restricted quota among the Government and the private mills. Since then a centralized organization for the entire iron industry of Japan has been in contemplation. The project consists in uniting all the works under a common roof and establishing a semi-Government company with 200,000,000 yens as capital. A common sales syndicate is to be a feature of this organization with power not only to control the output but to abolish unpaying works as well.

Steel Sale-Union

In steel industry the cartellization process since 1927 has given rise to the following groups:

I. Eastern: *Kwanto Kozai Hampai Kumiai* (East-Japanese Steel Sale Union) comprising (1) the *Japanese Steel Tube Co.* (output 76,000 tons), (2) the *Fuji Steel Works* (21,000 tons) and (3) the *Kamiashi Iron and Steel Works* (47,000 tons). It began as a price-cartel which functioned in a rather loose manner because the prices agreed upon were not always observed by the companies. In 1928, however, the union was placed on a more secure footing.

II. Western: *Kwansai Kozai Hambai Kumiai* (West-Japanese Steel Sale Union) comprising (1) the *Kobe Steel Works*, (2) the *Osaka Iron Works*, (3) the *Ogura Steel Works* and (4) the *Asano Works*. Total output: 100,000 tons.

A feature of the present organization consists in the fact that the Government works *Yawata* manufacture certain kinds of iron which the private companies do not. In 1929 the Union of Japanese Steel-producers decided to restrict the output by 30 per cent. in order to combat the fall in price. The total production was not to exceed 180,000 t. Another activity of Japanese steel cartels consists

in the establishment at Kobe in 1929 of a Purchase-Union for pig iron. The union intends to combat the almost monopolistic position of India in Japanese imports of iron by placing orders in Europe.

In 1931 the output of steel flat bars was curtailed 20 per cent. and round bars 45 per cent.

Price Cartel in Copper

The price cartel has been ruling the copper industry since 1930. The headquarters are at Osaka. The Fujikawa, the Fujida, the Mitsubishi and the other important companies have entered into an agreement to observe the price regulations in a stringent manner. The cartel discipline compels each member to deposit a cash at the central office by way of caution. The incoming receipts have likewise to be delivered at the head-quarters.

Nitrogen Syndicate

The chemical industry is marked by agreements between the soda factories. The nitrogen works are not extensive enough to meet the requirements of the home market. A Nitrogen Syndicate has accordingly been established by the Government which has, further, placed at its disposal a loan of 50,000,000 yens.

Cement Union

The Union of Japanese Cement Works, reorganized in 1930, controls the output and distributes it among the members. The more important works are located as follows: (1) Asano, 6 works (1,800,000 t), (2) Onoda, 4 works (500,000 t), (3) Toyokum, 3 works (278,000 t). The export is in the hands of two firms. The Union has come to the decision that only two companies, the Asano and the Jawaki, should specialize in high class cement. The output was reduced by 57.5 per cent. in 1932.

Merger in Paper Industry

Not less is paper industry subject to the cartellization tendencies. The big nine factories manufacturing "modern" paper have established a Union which seeks to restrict production. In the middle of 1929 the Union ordered a curtailment to the extent of 20 per cent. Those factories which exceed the quota allotted to each have to pay a fine. Towards the close of the same year the restriction in output was ordered at a much higher percentage, namely, 30 to 36 per cent. according to the size of the establishments. These restrictions have

not proved to be adequate enough to bring the total output down to the actual requirements of the home and foreign markets. The latest tendency in this branch of industry consists in transforming the production cartel into a sales syndicate. In 1932 the curtailment was increased to 55 per cent. Recently the Ooji, Fuji and Karafuto companies have formed a merger with 150,000,000 yens as capital.

Porcelain Export Union

In regard to the porcelain industry the cartellization process is to be observed not so much in manufacture as in the organization of sales, especially of exports. The Japan Porcelain Manufacturers Exporting Association was established in 1928. Twenty factories representing a capital of 1,020,000 yens and 5,858 working men are members of this Association, which has its headquarters in Nagoya. Japanese porcelain has been able to invade even the American, British and other European markets in a rather striking manner.

Cotton Spinners' Association

The cotton branch of the textile industry is controlled by the Cotton Spinning Association which in 1926 represented 90 per cent. of the weaving mills, i.e., 1,180,000,000 yards. To-day the Association controls 98.5 per cent. of the spindles. It may be observed that the Mitsui Cotton Trust is a member of this Association. Rationalization has advanced so far that the recently introduced looms work 25 per cent. quicker than the best American installations. In 1932 the output was curtailed to the extent of 36 per cent.

Woollen Associations

Two unifying organizations look after the woollen industry. The *Nippon Yomo Kogyokai* is the association of manufacturers while the *Nihon Rashasho Kyokai* (with the Eastern branch at Tokyo and the Western at Osaka) attends to the sales.

Silk Unions

In the silk world of Japan it is possible to observe four different organizations. The oldest is the *Yotasha* established in 1880 which although describing itself as a co-operative society is essentially a capitalistic association. It seeks to place on the market the silk turned out by the machine-using factories. The *Yotasha* has indeed

served to popularize the replacement of hand-work by machine-work in the silk industry of Japan.

The next association of importance is a post-war institution, established in 1927 under the name of the Japanese Imperial Silk Syndicate. It is a public limited company with 50,000,000 yens as capital. Its chief objects consist, first, in buying raw silk up at a fixed price, should the market conditions require it, at a rate rather lower than the bazar price, and secondly, in offering credit on the deposit of raw silk.

The third centralizing institution, namely, the Central Silk Association, is of older standing. But an event of importance is of recent date. In 1928 a credit of 37,500,000 yens was offered to its members in order that 50,000 bales of raw silk might be removed from the market.

The fourth institution embraces practically all the manufactures and may be described as an Industrial Silk Cartel. It was established in 1928 with the object, first, of fixing the price in a uniform manner and secondly, of controlling the output.

It is clear that the entire silk business of Japan from cultivation to the marketing of manufactured silk is cartellized and that these organizations might with profit be studied in detail by the jute, cotton and other agricultural interests in India.

Rayon Cartel

The artificial silk (rayon) industry came under a cartel in 1927. A restriction in output to the extent of 20 per cent. had to be ordered on account of over-production. Curtailments were ordered in 1931 and 1932 also.

Food Products Association

The flour mills have likewise been organized with a view to the control of output. There are three big associations which embrace 90 per cent. of the total production. The Wheat Flour Joint Sales Association was established in 1930. The Crab Meat Packers Sales Gild has been established as the sole sales agent of all firms, large and small. The fishers deliver the goods to this gild which buys them up on part-payment system and then places them on the market at its own risk. A solidified oil sales gild as well as a sugar milling association have been established in 1930.

International Agreements

The industrial production and commercial activities of the Japanese people have grown important enough to be intimately mixed up with the industry and trade of other peoples. This aspect of Japan's connecting links with the different factors of the world-economy is manifest in a number of Japanese participations in international cartels and conventions.

There is, for instance, a German-Japanese "gentlemen's agreement" to the effect that Germany would not export to Japan those chemical goods which are manufactured at home under a subsidy of the Japanese Government.

In 1927 the artificial silk interests of Italy tried to come to an understanding with those of Japan with the object of fixing a quota in regard to exports to the Chinese market. The discussions have borne some definite fruit, as we shall see later. Further, Japan is a member of the International Quinine Convention along with Great Britain, Holland and Java (Indonesia). The convention came to formal existence in 1913 and has been renewed in 1923.

The most valuable participations of Japan in international economy are to be noticed in the shipping line. The Nippon Yusen Kaisha (with 152 ships, 886,000 tons), the Osaka Shosen Kaisha (104 ships, 48,173 tons) and the Toyo Kisen Kaisha (13 ships, 106,515 tons) are members of the Pacific Convention established in 1912 along with American and British companies. Japanese shipping interests are likewise represented on the Far Eastern Homeward Conference established in 1922 with the object of fixing the freights and conditions of transport on a uniform basis. Other international shipping pools in which Japan has a place are the East Asia Conference and the Dutch India Conference. In the former along with Japan the British, the Dutch, the French, the German and the Scandinavian lines participate, and in the latter the Dutch and the German.

In artificial silk Japan is already a member of the international cartel which embraces the British Courtaulds Company, the German *Glanzstoff-fabriken* and the Italian *Snia Viscose*. The electric bulbs cartel was in pre-war years confined to the European countries. Since the war Japan as well as the U. S. A. have been participating in this international institution for the regulation of prices and control of output.

Kinds of Cartels

The cartels described above may be classified according to scope as follows:

First, we have the limitation of output to which the unions have compelled cotton spinning, silk spinning, rayon, hemp, cement, super-phosphate, bleaching soda, sulphuric acid, paper, cardboard, copper, pig iron, coal, sugar, alcohol and tinned crab to submit.

Secondly, joint sales are enjoyed by the different firms producing each of the following articles: hemp yarn, cotton crepe, ramie yarn, cement, pig iron, round iron bars, thick steel plates, thin steel plates, steel angles, steel sheets, iron and wire rod, copper plates, copper goods, paper pulp, flour, carbide, super-phosphates, sulphuric acid, sugar, tinned crab, electric goods.

Thirdly, the chief aim of certain unions is to promote price agreement, for instance, among the producers of hemp yarn, cotton crepe, ramie yarn, thin steel plates, copper plates, kerosene oil, cement, super-phosphates, calcerous nitrogen, bleaching soda, paper, and tinned crab.

Fourthly, iron, steel and super-phosphates have unions such as have joint purchase of materials for their chief objects.

And finally, we have the export cartels, for example, in cement, copper, super-phosphates and printing ink.

RAMMOHUN ROY

(From New and Unpublished Sources)

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

Calcutta

IN an article published in the *Calcutta Review* for December last I tried to describe the life of Rammohun Roy till 1804 with the help of two new sources of information which I had been so fortunate as to come upon. It is my purpose in this instalment to draw upon the same material with a view to carrying the story forward not only to the time when Rammohun settled down in Calcutta (1814), but considerably further still so that the account of his properties and monetary affairs, about which bewilderingly confused notions prevail, might be set down with as much clearness as is permitted by the new information available to us.

Rammohun and John Digby.

The nine years from the middle of 1805 to the middle of 1814 constitute the period of Rammohun's close association with John Digby, a Civilian in the Company's service. Before this Rammohun had been associated with another Civilian, Thomas Woodforde, in the double capacity of creditor and subordinate, and he had probably followed Woodforde to Murshidabad when the latter took up his new appointment there in February, 1804. Woodforde, however, had fallen ill and proceeded to sea in August, 1805. After this Rammohun came to be associated with Digby, and did not leave his side as long as he felt himself in need of employment. For nine years he followed Digby from Ramgarh to Jessore, Jessore to Bhagalpur, from Bhagalpur to Rangpur; and even when he came at last to take up his residence in Calcutta, Digby's friendship for him and his influence over Digby remained unimpaired. We have a very vivid description of his coming to Bhagalpur (January, 1809) in the course of his wanderings in the wake of his patron in a statement of Sir Frederick Hamilton, the Collector of the district,* with whom he was involved

* See my paper on "Rammohun Roy and an English Official" published in the *Modern Review* for June, 1929, pp. 682-85.

in an altercation on his very arrival. "On the afternoon of the first of January last [1809]," writes Sir Frederick Hamilton, "I rode to a brick kiln near my house, where I alighted from my horse. While standing on the top of the kiln, I observed coming towards it, a palanquin highly decorated, attended by four chupprasseys. I turned to a servant of mine and enquired who it was coming along; he replied, Mr. Digby's Dewan, Baboo Rammohun Roy. He passed within about 6 ft. of where I was standing, elegantly dressed in blue silk and silver fringe..."

This is perhaps the place to correct the inaccurate notion that throughout this period Rammohun was in the service of the East India Company. As a matter of fact he was employed directly under the Company only for two short periods, first, as the Sheristadar of the Faujdari Court at Ramgarh from August to October, 1806, while Digby was officiating as the Magistrate of the Zila Court of Ramgarh, and, secondly, as temporary Dewan to the Collector of Rangpur—again under Digby—for some months from December, 1809, onwards.¹ Digby had become a great friend and admirer of Rammohun and had made strenuous efforts to get the temporary nomination of Rammohun as his Dewan confirmed by the Board of Revenue. The Board, however, were not prepared to do so, and when in spite of their refusal Digby pleaded for his protégé with some warmth, they wrote back that they "would certainly feel themselves compelled to take very serious notice of any repetition of similar disrespect towards them." After this Digby had no other course open to him but to apologize. At the same time he suggested to the Board that he might be allowed to "authorize Rammohun Roy to act as Dewan for a few months longer, by which means the Board will be enabled to judge of his real qualifications, and of the propriety or impropriety of confirming him in the office of Dewan." The Board, however, could not revise their opinion, and in the end Digby nominated Munshi Hemaitullah to the post (28th March 1811), to which the Board agreed.

What, it may be asked, were the reasons behind this determination of the Board not to appoint Rammohun to a post of financial responsibility and power, in spite of the unqualified recommendations of the Collector and the man on the spot? In their letter to Digby the Board wrote:

¹ Rammohun's "name is found in the officers' list of Rangpur Collectorate on the 30th April, 1810, as Dewan of the court, but in the list of the next year his name could not be found."—See *The Modern Review* for September 1928, p. 275.

It is essentially necessary that all persons who may be appointed to the responsible office of Dewan should have been some time in the habits of transacting revenue details and also be well acquainted with the Regulations relating to revenue matters and the general system observed in the collection of the revenue...The service performed by Rammohun Roy as Acting Sheristadar of a Faujdari Court cannot be considered by the Board as rendering him in any degree competent to perform the more important duties of a Dewan which are in their nature totally different. They are of opinion the security of a Dewan should not, if it can be avoided, be persons holding lands in the district, as they possibly might obtain an undue influence in the district." (15 Jany., 1810.)

The real reasons are, however, to be found in a note of Mr. Burrish Crisp, the acting President and Senior Member of the Board. He wrote:

I understand the man recommended by Mr. Digby was formerly in the confidential employ of Mr. Woodforde when acting Collector of Dacca Jellalpur. I have also heard unfavourable mention of his conduct as Sheristadar at Ramghur. Under the circumstances I feel averse to giving my voice for his confirmation as Dewan at Rungpur. Indeed, it may be sufficient to say as an objection, that a Faujdari Court is no school for knowledge in the Rev. Dept., and his three months of service as Sheristadar of that Court at Ramghur certainly cannot be considered as any qualification for the very important Revenue appointment of Dewan which Mr. D. proposes giving to him.

I further consider the security offered as very objectionable on a general principle. The security of a zemindar should not in my opinion ever be taken for the Dewan of the zillah in which his lands are situated.

Thus we find that Rammohun's service under the Company was for very short periods only. For the rest of the time he must have been in the private employ of Digby. We definitely know that at Jessore (January to June, 1808) Rammohun was acting as the private Munshi of Digby and at Bhagalpur also he must have held a similar office.¹ This does not, however, exclude the possibility of his also

¹ In my article on "Rammohun Roy in the Service of the East India Company," published in the *Modern Review* for May, 1930, I put forward the hypothesis that after the Board of Revenue had refused to confirm the appointment of Rammohun as Dewan, Digby got him appointed guardian of the minor proprietors of the estate of Rajkishor Chaudhuri of Udsai Pargana under the name of "Rammohun Sharma" on a monthly salary of Rs. 8 and that he settled in Calcutta early in 1815. This supposition does not seem to be tenable in the light of the new information I have before me. It transpires from

being engaged in business or some other form of money-making, for we find him employing a man named Bhawani Ghose as his accountant at Rangpur. This indicates that his monetary transactions in Rangpur were of considerable volume.

Rammohun acquires more Property.

During all these years Rammohun continued to prosper and added item after item to his landed property just as his relations drifted from pecuniary difficulties to poverty and from poverty to indigence. In 1808 and 1809 (1215 and 1216 B.S.) respectively his friend Rajiblochan Roy bought for him the taluqs Beerlook and Kissenu-gar (both in Pargana Jahanabad). On some unspecified date but during this period, another taluq—Serampur (Pargana Bhursut)—was bought from Ramdhan Chatterji on his behalf in the name of Jagannath Mazumdar for Rs. 725. It should also be remembered that during all these years Rammohun was maintaining an establishment in Calcutta and sending there the money which he was saving. It was credited to his account by his talibildar and accountants.¹

Meanwhile Rammohun's important taluqs of Rameshwarpur and Govindpur were being managed by Rajiblochan Roy, as the *benamdar* of Gurudas Mukherji, Rammohun's nephew. As, however, the twelfth year of Rajiblochan Roy's nominal ownership was drawing to a close, Rammohun thought it prudent to re-assert his rights to Rameshwarpur and Govindpur. With this object in view two transactions were completed towards the beginning of 1812. In the first place, on the joint application of Rajiblochan Roy and Gurudas Mukherji, the name of Gurudas, then aged 24 years, was registered at the Collectorate of Bardwan as the real proprietor of the taluqs and a document, signed by Dewan Shibnarayan and dated January 6, 1812, obtained from the Collectorate.² Secondly, Gurudas Mukherji, who was then at Rangpur, executed on 14th January, 1812, a document in favour of his uncle, and this document, to which Nandakumar Vidyalkar

this that Rammohun had left Rangpur by the middle of 1814, probably on the same date as Digby, who handed over charge as Collector on July 20, 1814, and was in Calcutta before September of the same year, while one Rammohun Sharma was still acting as guardian of the minors as late as February, 1815. Rammohun Roy and Rammohun Sharma cannot, therefore, be the same person, unless it is assumed that Rammohun went back once more to Rangpur to settle the affairs of the minors' estate.

¹ Deposition of Gopimohan Chatterji.

² This document describes Gurudas as the "son of Sridhar Mukherji and grandson of Bankant [Ramnarayan ?] Mukherji."

(Hariharanandanath Tirthaswami) of Palpara was a witness,¹ was registered as a deed of sale on the same date before Digby as the Dep. Register. By this Gurudas surrendered all his claims to Rameshwarpur and Govindpur. Rammohun did not, however, take immediate possession of these taluqs and for two years left them to stand in the name of Gurudas.

We must now turn to the village-home of Rammohun where his relatives and family were living. When Rammohun went to Murshidabad his elder brother, Jagamohan Roy, was still in Midnapur jail as a revenue defaulter, and his mother Tarini Devi contributed Rs. 10 a month towards his support. He was trying to get a loan from his rich brother so that he might satisfy the Government about his sincere intention to pay his arrears of revenue and become free, and on 13th February, 1805, he obtained one thousand rupees from Rammohun after executing a bond and promising to repay the loan with interest. This money was paid to the Government and Jagamohan was released from jail on March 9, 1805. He had, however, to execute a *kistbandi* bond to pay the balance of revenue due from him, which amounted to Rs. 3,358, in monthly instalments of Rs. 150, his securities being Ramlochan Roy and Soobachand [Shibchand ?] Roy. This engagement he was totally unable to fulfil before his death in Chaitra, 1218 or March-April, 1812. This did not prevent the Government from pressing their claims on his only son, Govindaprasad Roy, who had succeeded him at the age of fifteen or so, and after ten years of prolonged correspondence even the homestead and *lakheraj* lands which Govindaprasad had inherited from his father were advertised for sale to satisfy the claims of the Government, though I have not been able to ascertain as yet whether the property was actually sold. Ramlochan Roy, the youngest son of Ramkanta Roy, and step-brother of Rammohun had also died in Paus,

¹ Very little is known of Hariharanandanath. The *Sumachar Durpun*, in its issue of February 11, 1832 (30 Magh, 1238 B.S.) wrote on the occasion of his death :

"*Attainment of Salvation*.—Nundokoomar Beedvalungkar was a teacher at Palparha, near Sook-saugur, and was the elder brother of Ramchandra Beedyabagesh, teacher of the law shastras in the Calcutta Sanskrit College. It would be difficult now to find any person so conversant with the Nyadurshuns and tuntras as the Beedyalungkar Bhattacharjya was. We never saw any one who had such a command of language. When he was very young he relinquished secular life, and travelled in many directions; and for nearly the last twenty years he resided at Benares. Many Rajas at Benares, and many of the inhabitants of Calcutta and of the Western Provinces, were his religious disciples. When he had lived about twelve years in Benares, he came for once to Calcutta, and then published a book called the *Koolarnuba*. The people of Benares greatly honoured him; and we have heard that after he had relinquished secular life he obtained the title of Huree-Huranundunath Teerthuswamee-koolabudhoot. At length, when seventy years of age, he was taken to God at Benares, at the full moon on the morning of the 5th of this Magh. We doubtless grieve for his death; for it will be very difficult now to find his like. He has left only one son, Mritoonjoy Bhattacharjya, who resides with his uncles."

1216 B.S., corresponding to December-January, 1809-1810,¹ and these deaths left Rammohun as the head of the house.

During these years of hardship for the family Rammohun was, however, continuously absent not only from his mother, brother and other relations, but also from his wives and son. Only his nephew Gurudas Mukherji stayed with him for four years at Rangpur from 1809 to 1813. This separation, according to Rammohun's own statement, lasted 11 years, that is to say, from the death of his father in 1803 to the date of his coming back to Calcutta in 1814. Rammohun and Gurudas learnt about the death of Jagamohan from a letter of Gurudas's father. The family priest, Radhakristo Bhattacharyya, also deposed that Rammohun was absent from home when Jagamohan died.

This undisputed fact of Rammohun's absence from home from 1803 to 1814 spoils a rather picturesque anecdote told in Miss Collet's biography about how Rammohun came to take a vow to uproot the custom of *Sati*. The story, which she tells on the authority of Rajnarain Bose "who learnt the fact," as Miss Collet says, "from his father, an esteemed disciple of Rammohun Roy," is to be found on page 15 of her biography and runs as follows:

At the death of his eldest brother Jaganmohun in 1811, the widow became a Suttée. It is said that Rammohun had endeavoured to persuade her beforehand against this terrible step, but in vain. When, however, she felt the flames she tried to get up and escape from the pile; but her orthodox relations and the priests forced her down with bamboo poles, and kept her there to die, while drums and brazen instruments were loudly sounded to drown her shrieks. Rammohun, unable to save her, and filled with unspeakable indignation and pity, vowed within himself then and there, that he would never rest until the atrocious custom was rooted out.

We have no means of knowing whether any of the wives of Jagamohan—he had three² of them—followed him to the pyre. It is not absolutely improbable, but these self-immolations do not seem to have been customary in the family, for all three of Ramkanta Roy's wives lived after him. In any case, it is certain that Rammohun

¹ Radhakristo Banerji Bhattacharyya, the family priest, says in his deposition that Ramlochan Roy died at Langulpara where he was removed two days before his death from his house at Radhanagar. The date of his death, as quoted above, is given in Govindaprasad's plaint from which, as well as from Rammohun's answer to it, we also learn that Ramlochan left behind him a widow named Labangalata Devi, and one son named Haragovinda Roy, and also a daughter named Drubamoyee who afterwards married one Durgaprasad Mukherji by whom she had at the time issue, both male and female. The son died in Bhadra, 1221 (Aug.-Sep. 1814) leaving a wife—Harasundari Devi, to mourn his loss.

² Deposition of Ramtanu Roy.

could not have played the part assigned to him in the story, as at the time of his brother's death and for more than two years after that event he continued to live at far-away Rangpur.

Rammohun settles in Calcutta.

When about to proceed on long furlough Digby handed over charge of the Rangpur collectorate to one Mr. Smelt on 20th July, 1814.¹ So, towards the middle of 1814 we find Rammohun in Calcutta, his wanderings ended at last. By this time he had amassed a fortune which had made him independent of further exertions. He accordingly decided to live in Calcutta and, like all persons who had arrived, began to put his affairs in order and look about for a house in which to live comfortably. Thus in 1814 we find him buying two houses in Calcutta—the first, an upper-roomed house with wide grounds in Chowringhee from one Elizabeth Fenwick for Rs. 20,817, and the other, an upper-roomed garden-house at Simla (now occupied by the Depy. Commissioner of Police, N. Divn., Calcutta) from one Francis Mendes for Rs. 13,000. It must have been also at this time that he sold the Jorasanko house which he had got from his father.

At the same time he took steps to assert finally and conclusively his rights over the taluqs of Rameshwarpur and Govindpur which were still standing in the books of the Collector of Bardwan in the name of his nephew, Gurudas Mukherji. On 7th September, 1814, on the joint application of Rammohun and Gurudas, the taluqs were registered formally in the name of Rammohun and a potta issued by the Collector to him. Rammohun states in his reply that “in order to compensate Gurudas Mukherji for the disappointment which he experienced” he transferred to the latter, by a deed of gift, his own share of the paternal house at Langulpara. Gurudas Mukherji, on the contrary, says in his deposition that he, Gurudas Mukherji, “secured no consideration” for the surrender of the taluqs and that “he suffered the same to be done because the said taluqs in fact belonged to Rammohun.”

While Rammohun was thus busy with other affairs he did not forget to provide a house in the country for his family. The old house at Langulpara had apparently no attractions for him. We have evidence to show that about this time or shortly before an estrangement was growing up between himself and his mother on account of

¹ *Board of Revenue Cons.* 29 July, 1814, Nos. 16-17.

his changed opinions and ways of living. He, therefore, decided to leave his paternal house and build a new one for himself in a village close by called Raghunathpur. The plot of land—12 to 13 bighas in extent—selected for this house belonged to the taluq of Krishnagar bought by Rajiblochan on his behalf in 1809. The work of laying out the gardens on this piece of land had begun in 1812 (1219 B.S.) and was completed by 1817 (1224 B.S.). The work on the buildings began in 1816, and from 28 January, 1817 (17 Magh, 1223) the family of Rammohun occupied the house though it was still unfinished. The whole work was in the charge of Rammohun's trusted *naib Jagannath Mazumdar*.¹

Govindaprasad Roy's Suit against Rammohun.

After his settling down in Calcutta, Rammohun was quickly recognized as one of the notabilities of Bengali society of those days. He had money, the passport to society, and could associate on terms of intimacy with the new-rich Bengalis who became the founders of the aristocracy of Calcutta. He lived in a sumptuous style as became his position and ambitions and took prominent part in all the public activities of his times. His Maniktala garden-house echoed not only to the chanting of the Upanishads but also to the melodious voice of Nickee, the most fashionable nautch-girl and singer of the age.² But he had also his troubles, not only in the polemics which he invited and delighted in, but in long-drawn-out lawsuits as well. Of these only one comes within the scope of this article, and this was filed by his nephew Govindaprasad Roy, a young man of about twenty, on 23rd June, 1817, before the Equity Division of the Supreme Court. The accounts given in the current biographies of this lawsuit are characteristically wide of the mark. Dr. Carpenter, for example, writes:

Rammohun Roy recently stated that every effort had been made for the purpose, and that he had had, at an enormous expense, to defend himself against a series of legal proceedings instituted for the purpose of depriving him of caste, and thereby of his patrimonial inheritance. Through his profound acquaintance, however, with the

¹ Depositions of Gurudas Mukherji and Guruprasad Roy ; Govindaprasad Roy's *Plaint*.

² "1823, May.—The other evening we went to a party given by Rammohun Roy, a rich Bengallee baboo ; the grounds, which are extensive, were well illuminated, and excellent fireworks displayed.

In various rooms of the house nautch girls were dancing and singing... The style of singing was curious ; at times the tunes proceeded finely from their noses ; some of the airs were very pretty ; one of the women was Nickee, the Catalani of the East." (*Wanderings of a Pilgrim*, etc., by Fanny Parkes, London, 1850, i. 29-30.

Hindu law, he baffled the efforts of his interested enemies, and proved in the Courts of Justice that he had not forfeited his rights.

We also find Mr. William Adam stating the same thing in a lecture delivered in Boston some time after Rammohun's death :

When the death of Rammohun Roy's elder brother made him the head of the family, she [his mother] instituted suits against her son both in the King's and Company's Courts, with a view to disinherit him as an apostate and infidel, which, according to strict Hindu law, excludes from the present and disqualifies for the future possession of any ancestral property, and even according to many authorities, of any property, that is self-acquired. She was defeated in this attempt.

These accounts could obviously have been written by men pre-occupied above everything else with religious reform and unfamiliar both with law and legal procedure. The truth behind this lawsuit is, however, more sober. I dealt with this suit in an article published in this Review more than three years ago.¹ But it is only very recently that I have been able to discover all the documents and depositions connected with this case, which not only make it perfectly intelligible but also show it to be commonplace enough as an example of litigation. What Govindaprasad Roy wanted was not to deprive Rammohun of his patrimony by proving him to be an apostate. He only claimed a share in some of the properties held and enjoyed by Rammohun on the ground that they belonged to an undivided and joint Hindu family. As I have already discussed at some length the circumstances out of which the case arose, and the plausibility or otherwise of Govindaprasad Roy's claim, I shall not repeat the arguments. The only thing necessary to state here is that cases like this occur even now, and there is nothing which makes it more preposterous than the rich harvest of lawsuits Bengal's numerous lawyers live by.

But the form of a suit does not always reveal the motive behind it, and Govindaprasad Roy might have been prompted by reasons which are not stated in the plaint. The fact that one of the parties was rich and the other extremely poor is by itself a sufficient temptation in this country to take advantage of some formal or actual loophole in the family arrangements. But from Rammohun's side comes a suggestion which attempts to put a different complexion on the case. This is worth discussing at some length.

¹ "A Chapter in the Personal History of Raja Rammohun Roy"—*Calcutta Review* for August 1931.

In the special interrogatories meant to be put to Tarini Devi, if produced, we find the following :

Have you not had serious disputes and differences with your son the defendant Rammohun Roy on account of his religious opinions and have you not instigated and prevailed on your grandson the complainant to institute the present suit against the said defendant as a measure of revenge because the said defendant hath refused to practise the rites and ceremonies of the Hindoo Religion in the manner in which you wish the same to be practised or performed? Have not you and the complainant and other members of your family estranged yourself and themselves from all intercourse with the defendant on account of his religious opinions and writings? Have you not repeatedly declared that you desired the ruin of the defendant and that there will not only be no sin but that it will be meritorious to effect the temporal ruin of the defendant, provided he shall not resume or follow the religious usages and worship of his forefathers. Have you not publicly declared that it will not be sinful to take away the life of a Hindoo who forsakes the idolatry and ceremonies of worship, usually practised by persons of that religion? Has not the defendant in fact refused to practise the rites and ceremonies of the Hindoo Religion in respect to the worship of Idols? Have not you and the complainant and others of the defendant's relations had several meetings and conversations on this subject and declare solemnly on your oath whether you do not know and believe that the present suit would not have been instituted if the defendant had not acted in religious matters contrary to your wishes and entreaties and differently from the practices of his ancestors? Do you not in your conscience believe that you will be justified in giving false testimony and in doing everything in your power to effect the ruin of the defendant and to enable the complainant to succeed in the present suit inasmuch as the defendant has refused to continue the worship of Idols? Did you not since the commencement of this suit make a personal application to the defendant at his House in Simla in Calcutta for the grant of a piece of land that the profits thereof might be applied towards the worship of an Idol and did not the defendant offer you a large sum of money to be distributed in charity to the poor but refuse to contribute in any manner to the encouragement of the worship of Idols? Were you not on that occasion exceedingly displeased with the defendant and did you not then express your displeasure with the defendant for having refused to comply with your request? Declare etc.

As, however, Tarini Devi was neither produced in Court nor examined in the end, we have no means of ascertaining what answer

to these questions would have been forthcoming from Govindaprasad Roy's side. It may not be absolutely improbable that the questions were framed with a view to influencing the foreign judge by suggesting that Rammohun was being persecuted on account of the freedom of his thought. Sir Edward Hyde East, before whom the case was being argued, knew Rammohun in connection with the establishment of the Hindu College and was also aware of the antipathy of the orthodox Hindus towards him. A suggestion of some extraneous factor in the shape of Rammohun's anti-idolatrous activities would thus not be wholly wasted on him. There is also another small but interesting detail to be noted in this connection. When being sworn in for his formal reply in this case Rammohun held the treatise on Vedant in his hand, as is shown by the following endorsement in Chief Justice Sir Edward Hyde East's own hand at the end of Rammohun's reply to Govindaprasad's plaint:

The defendant in addition to the ordinary mode of swearing for a person of his caste and condition held in his hands at the time the Vedant.

This gesture can hardly be said to have been free from all touch of self-consciousness, if not exactly of pose, and it falls perfectly into line with the move made on Rammohun's behalf to put a religious complexion on the case. But, on the other hand, it is very likely that some estrangement had really taken place between Rammohun and his mother on account of his changed habits of life and opinions. Such estrangements take place every day. And in the case of Rammohun and his family the difference of opinion had perhaps gone very far.¹

¹ The current stories about the estrangement between Rammohun and his parents or family on account of the change in his religious opinions seem to stand in need of considerable revision. We do not find any evidence of a quarrel between the son and the father. On the contrary even after 1796 Rammohun visited his father occasionally and looked after his properties. The deed of gift or partition by which Rammohun had received some property from his father had this condition attached to it that Rammohun and his brothers should in equal shares defray the expenses of the religious ceremonies of the family deity. Rammohun had agreed to this and had, on his own specific testimony, regularly paid these charges till at least 1801. Rammohun's alienation from the family to which all biographers and he himself also refer must therefore have taken place much later and possibly concerned the relations between himself and his mother rather than those between him and his father. The disagreement over the *Sradh* ceremony of Ramkanta Roy is the earliest indication that we have of a quarrel between the mother and the son. This, however, is more plausibly explained by family and personal reasons. It should also be remembered that Rammohun on his own statement was continuously absent from home from 1803 to 1814. Consequently there could hardly be any opportunity for a religious dispute to grow up between the mother and the son, and it could not possibly have come to a head before Rammohun again met his relations, i.e., after 1814. The whole subject will be treated by me in detail with citations from documents in an article shortly to be published.

This does not, however, mean that the dispute between the mother and the son requires the interpretation ordinarily put upon it by writers ignorant of the real facts of Rammohun's life. It was not simply the case of an enlightened reformer driven to martyrdom by an obscurantist society. The quarrel between Rammohun and his family and other countrymen was due principally to two reasons. The first of these was his constant association with Muhammadans and affectation of Muhammadan ways, which caused him to be regarded as something of a turncoat and renegade, and the second was the aggressiveness of his monotheistic beliefs. We find confirmation of the first supposition in a letter which Sir Hyde East wrote to J. Harington on 18th May 1816. Referring to the Hindu community's hostility towards Rammohun, Sir Edward Hyde East writes :

They particularly disliked (and this I believe is at the bottom of the resentment) his associating himself so much as he does with Mussulmans, not with this or that Mussulman, as a personal friend, but being continually surrounded by them, and suspected to partake of meals with them. In fact, he has, I believe, newly withdrawn himself from the society of his brother Hindus, whom he looked down upon, which wounds their pride.¹

As regards the aggressiveness of his monotheistic beliefs, it is certainly traceable to his Muhammadan training through which he had imbibed something of the intolerant monotheism of the Semitic peoples. Hinduism is not, and has never been, hostile to monotheism as such. But it has not got the abhorrence and horror of polytheism which characterizes the Jewish and the Islamic peoples, and so would never consent to dethrone its gods. This was more than Rammohun was ready to concede. It is this which drove a wedge between him and his co-religionists.

However that might be, Rammohun defended his case with energy. He engaged Benjamin Turner, one of the foremost solicitors of Calcutta, on his behalf and produced an imposing array of witnesses on his side. The suit, however, was not fought out to the bitter end. Then as now, a poor man had no chance in a law-court against a rich adversary. The expensive litigation ruined the impecunious Govindaprasad, and in the end he withdrew the suit against his uncle and asked his forgiveness. He made his recantation in a Bengali

¹ For the full text of the letter, the reader is referred to my article on "Rammohun Roy as an Educational Pioneer" published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for June, 1930.

letter, dated 29th October, 1819 (14 Kartic, 1226 B.S.), a translation of which is given below :

*At the instigation of other people I lodged a false suit in the Equity Division of the Supreme Court, claiming from you a share of the property. I now realize that owing to my mistake in embarking on this affair I am suffering a good many troubles and also causing you mental worry and expenditure. You are in the place of my father ; therefore, if you will forgive my offences and permit me to approach you, I shall explain all the particulars to you in person.*¹

This abject surrender ended the family feud, and Rammohun, now victorious, took compassion on his nephew and secured for him the post of the Abkari Daroga of Bardwan (1822) by influencing Digby, his friend, then acting Collector of Bardwan. The following passage in a letter of Mr. Digby deals with the story of Govindaprasad :

Govindaprasad Roy his cousin.....ruined himself by an unsuccessful lawsuit in the Supreme Court which he had carried on during my absence in Europe against his uncle Rammohun Roy; the latter, after my return, from compassion for his nephew's distress, was induced to request me to give him a situation to keep him from starving.²

The security for Govindaprasad Roy was no less a person than Dwarkanath Tagore, who must have been induced to accept this responsibility at the instance of his friend Rammohun.

¹ *Calcutta Review* for August, 1831.

² *Ibid.*

SOME ASPECTS OF LABOUR LEGISLATION IN INDIA AND JAPAN¹

By SASADHAR SINHA, B.SC. ECON., PH.D. ECON. (LOND.)

THE economic position of Japan with her limited natural resources and growing population—growing at a rate even faster than that of India—is potentially inferior to that of India. India's agricultural resources, for example, are nearly fifteen times as great as those of Japan, while her population is only a little more than four or five times as great. Moreover, in the abundance of raw materials Japan can stand no comparison with India. The relative growth of population in the two countries is even more significant. It follows that the relative poverty of India, as measured in terms of annual income per head,² cannot solely be explained by the pressure of population on the soil.

The economic conditions of the two countries may be viewed from two points. First, it should be noted that the agricultural productivity of Japan per acre of land is two or three times greater than that of India. This must be attributed to the higher educational level of the Japanese peasantry, for it has facilitated the application of science to agriculture, in spite of the fact that the characteristic rural economy of both India and Japan is similar. In the second place, the industrial progress of India has been small. In 1929, for instance, the number of industrial workers in Japan (including miners and transport-workers, etc.) was nearly three millions, while the corresponding figures for India were about two millions. In other words, had India been industrialised to the same extent, her industrial population (including miners, transport-workers, etc.) would have been something like twelve to fifteen millions; that is to say, judged by the number of industrial workers Japan is roughly six to seven times as

¹ In view of the fact that Japan is very much in the limelight in India at the present time, the writer of this article thinks that the conclusions he reached on the above topic in his thesis: *Post-War Labour Legislation in India—a Comparison with Japan*, submitted for the Ph.D. Degree of the University of London in 1932, may be found interesting. It is the author's belief that the future of Indian industries, and particularly of the cotton industry, lies primarily in the increase of efficiency in Indian labour. The raising of tariffs, as has been tried recently against Japanese cotton imports, is at best a palliative but no solution to our industrial problems.

² According to recent calculation the *per capita* income in Japan is Rs. 294, i.e., almost three times that of India. See Dr. R. K. Das' article, *The Problem of India's Overpopulation*, in the *Modern Review*, November, 1931.

industrialised as India.¹ At the same time, Japan has made striking advance in industrial efficiency. Indeed, in some branches of industry, notably textiles, she is competing on a level with some of the most advanced industrial countries of the world. The industrial efficiency of India is in striking contrast to that of Japan. The poverty of India can now be viewed in a new light. In brief, it must be explained by the fact—and it is an irrefutable conclusion—that the absurdly low level of income per head in India is in the main due to inadequate exploitation, or even lack of exploitation, of the resources of the country.

Bearing this discussion in mind, attention may now be turned to the main enquiry. What progress has labour legislation made in India and in Japan since the war? What effect, if any, has it had on the efficiency of industrial labour?

To begin with, a few preliminary remarks must be made. It should be borne in mind that the course of Japanese labour legislation differs in some important respects from that of the Indian. The latter, for instance, has been primarily concerned with the limitations of the hours of employment of labour, while in Japan greater emphasis has been laid on that aspect of legislation which directly contributes to the health of the workers. This is a difference of capital importance and undoubtedly goes far to account for some of the significant differences—chief among which is efficiency—of the Indian and Japanese labour. On the other hand, the Japanese labour laws bearing on the restriction of the hours of work are defective in as much as they embody special clauses which seriously limit the effectiveness of some of the main provisions of the laws. A characteristic example of this feature of the law is furnished by the provision of the factory law with regard to the abolition of night work for women and young persons. Thus, although night work between 10 P.M. and 5 A.M. was officially abolished from July 1, 1929, what is called "special general" permission was immediately granted to enable factories employing such workers to work up to 11 P.M. The administrative aspect of the Japanese labour laws is even more defective. The seriousness of the matter is obvious. For, in the last resort, the effectiveness of the labour laws depends not on the text of the laws but on how well they are administered and to what degree their provisions are enforced.

¹ See writer's articles: *Some Aspects of Japan's Economic Problems* in the *Modern Review*, December, 1932, and *On Japanese Labour* in "Capital," 28th March, 1933.

The Japanese factory law falls short of the Indian legislation in some of its actual provisions. The first important difference lies in its scope. Thus although it applies to all workers employed in certain factories, the most important provision, *viz.*, the provision with regard to the limitation of the hours of work is confined only to the "protected" classes of workers, that is, women, and male workers under the age of sixteen. On the other hand, under the Japanese law no distinction is made between "half-timers" (*i.e.*, those under the age of fifteen under the Indian law) and adult women workers. Thus in Japan a boy or girl over fifteen (over twelve, if he or she has completed elementary education) may be employed for full ten hours per day like adult women workers. This situation is bound to put India at a disadvantage in so far as the cost of production is concerned. For boys over sixteen years of age there is no legal limitation at all. Similar remarks apply to rest-periods and holidays as in the case of adult male workers. The number of legal holidays, on the other hand, are fewer than in India. Formerly when night work was allowed "protected" workers were entitled to four holidays if they were employed on night shifts. But this arrangement is no longer in force since the abolition of night work in July, 1929. Practice, however, is often at variance with theory. Thus, even where men workers are concerned, the theory of unlimited hours of work breaks on the rock of facts. The majority of male workers does not work longer than the "protected" classes of workers; nor are they denied periodical rests and occasional holidays. On the other hand, in particular industries, such as cotton, labour conditions are certainly superior to that of India. In India the cotton factories work the full statutory hours of work, *i.e.*, sixty hours per week or two hundred and forty hours per month, while in Japan with the almost universal practice of working in shifts of eight hours and a half each the maximum hours of work amount to only two hundred and thirty-eight per month. The energetic agitation on the part of the Indian mill-owners against the "unfair" competition of Japan is at least intelligible. In the first place, they are opposed to any further statutory limitation of the hours of work, while, in the second place, it is probably not unconnected with their desire for a protective tariff against cotton imports from Japan.¹

Two conclusions follow. First, that in comparison with the Indian factory law, the scope of Japanese legislation is restricted, and exception allowed under it coupled with inefficient factory inspection makes it somewhat less effective. But in practice this criticism is less

¹ Recent events have borne out this remark made last year.

forceful, because the actual hours of employment, in the larger factories at any rate, are on the whole less in Japan than in India. Secondly, the reduction of hours, especially in the cotton factories, has been made possible by reason of superior technical equipment, business organisation, and, last but not least, the rise in the efficiency of Japanese workers.

The Japanese mining industry comes next in importance to the factory industry of the country. The total number of workers employed—both men and women—is a little higher than in India. The nature of organisation of the industry is similar in both countries. As in India, little machinery is used, although in Japan productivity per head is slightly greater.

The mining legislation of the two countries bears important analogies. They are both primarily post-war products, and owe their important developments to the Washington Conference of 1919. In both countries half-hearted measures have been found ineffective in coping with the problems of the industry. In 1928—an important coincidence—both countries decided to alter the mining laws in important directions. In the case of Japan, the highest morbidity rate among the miners, which had the effect of appreciably raising the cost of health insurance, must have been an important consideration with the Government.

The daily hours of work in Indian mines have now been limited to twelve, while in the case of the women workers a very important reform has been initiated. The employment of women underground has already been prohibited in mines other than salt and coal, while in the latter prohibition will be gradually completed by 1939. It appears that this change is being carried out without much difficulty, and, as in the case of other social reforms, it has belied exaggerated apprehensions of the evils which the displacement of women was likely to create. In regard to the first reform, it is clear that it has not gone far enough. It is on the face of it impossible for anybody to combine efficiency with the long hours obtaining in the Indian mines. It is true that Indian miners do not usually work long hours nor regularly throughout the week. Nevertheless, it is far from good logic to base reforms on the habits of the workers. The second reform is in the right direction, but care must be taken to see that the excluded women find employment on the surface of the mines. The decrease of women miners since 1929 does not justify hopes that this is being done.

Japan has gone further than India. Since 1930, the working hours of all adult workers—male and female—working underground have been limited to ten including an hour's rest. This change has undoubtedly been facilitated by the extensive practice of working in shifts. Incidentally this should be an object lesson to India, for it shows that an essentially similar type of labour may be made to conform to a certain discipline of work, instead of the habits of workers setting the standard. At the same time, an important amendment of the law contemplates the total exclusion of women workers from employment underground by 1933. On the whole, it would appear that the Japanese mining legislation is in advance of the Indian mining law.

Provisions for payment of compensation for industrial accidents have formed part of the Japanese Factory and Mining Acts ever since 1916. The scope of these provisions have become more generous since the revision of the Factory and Mining Acts. Similar provisions are now being extended to other workers. With the introduction of health insurance, the provision for workmen's compensation has lost its former importance. Nevertheless, a large number of workers and those types of disablement not covered by health insurance are still governed by the workmen's compensation provisions. In India, on the other hand, the principle of workmen's compensation is embodied in independent legislation and the number of persons covered by it is somewhat smaller than in Japan. To begin with, it will be observed that, the scope of the Japanese legislation is more comprehensive. It provides both for medical treatment or its cost and indemnification for the loss of wages during absence of work. Nor is there any stipulation with regard to a "waiting period." On the other hand, there is no distinction made between ordinary workers and salaried officials. Further, the payment of indemnity, at any rate for temporary incapacity, is made on a more generous scale in Japan—the basis of calculation being 60% of the daily wages instead of 50% as in India. To combine medical treatment with payment of compensation should be aimed at in the future amendment of the Indian Law, because there is ground for believing that in many cases, in order to guard against 'malingering,' unnecessary hardship is inflicted on genuine cases of suffering by insisting on an unduly long "waiting period."

Japan's health insurance law is probably the most important piece of social legislation since the war. Its scope, however, is limited to factory workers and miners. It includes, besides its other

functions, maternity insurance comprising medical attendance as well as monetary assistance. The absence from work for ten weeks allowed by the Factory and Mines Acts has thus become a reality. The importance of this measure as a factor of industrial efficiency cannot be overemphasised. In India, the only efforts made in this direction are the Maternity Benefit Acts of Bombay and the Central Provinces. They are, however, both deficient in so far as they make no provision for medical help during maternity. In the absence of this essential provision these Acts are unlikely to fulfil the purpose for which they were primarily meant, namely, the health of the mother and child. As in the case of the Workmen's Compensation Act, serious efforts should be made to implement this reform.

The development of trade unionism has been everywhere an essential factor in the progress of labour legislation. Indeed, the degree of its growth is a measure of its adequate enforcement, while the existence of a vigorous trade union movement is the only guarantee that labour conditions, which fall outside the ambit of legislation, are maintained at a satisfactory level. The Trade Union movement is in its infancy both in India and Japan. The higher educational level of the Japanese workers is reflected in the fact that despite the repressive measures taken by the Japanese Government the movement has made considerable progress, while since the arrest of the radical labour leaders both in India and Japan in 1929 and 1928, respectively, the growth of the trade union has received a serious setback. Nevertheless, it is significant that even in the latter country, where trade unionism is not legally recognised, the Government has thought it wise to tolerate trade union activities.

The Indian trade union legislation has been in force for nearly six years ; in Japan similar legislation has been attempted a number of times but each attempt has ended in failure. The Indian legislation is of a limited character, but it contains a number of useful provisions, such as the requirement regarding the audit of accounts, and the number of privileges conferred upon the trade unions, upon registration, are real. The chief value of the law seems to lie in the fact that this is the only way of reconciling the employers to the inevitable growth of the trade union movement, which although immediately disagreeable, is bound to be of ultimate benefit to both employers and workers. Otherwise the justification for drawing a distinction between registered and unregistered unions is logically untenable and sooner the distinction is done away with the better. In normal circumstances the ordinary law of the country should be

sufficient to combat any undesirable tendency that may appear in the movement.

To sum up, the series of labour laws passed since the war in India as well as in Japan marks a notable advance on the pre-war labour legislation. Indeed, in some directions entirely new ground has been broken. Labour conditions show continuous progress. The question of the limitation of the hours of work, both in factories and mines, however, raises certain difficulties, which unless seriously faced, are bound to lead to a diminution of output with effects disastrous to workers as well as employers. For it is clear that the efficiency of industrial workers is inseparable from the efficiency of the technical and business organisation of an industry. The human aspect of the question is equally important. Long hours of work in every country—far more so in a trying climate like that of India—cannot be maintained without serious detriment to the efficiency of the workers. It can no longer seriously be argued that long hours are productive. “This might be true,” says Professor J. R. Commons, “if human beings were mere machines and not human beings who grow tired.”¹ The greater use of machinery and the introduction of the system of working in shifts must become common in all Indian industries, as in Japan, if the productive level is to rise continually. Indeed, the main economic significance of the reduction of hours lies “in the fact that it stimulates energy on the part of the workers and initiative on the part of the employers.”²

The increased efficiency of the Japanese workers shows among other things that the superior business organisation of the Japanese employers has enabled them to reap the full benefits of legislative efforts. On the other hand, legislation is likely to be of little advantage either to workers or industry unless problems of education, health, and above all of housing are simultaneously attacked. In all these the position of the Japanese workers is superior. This indicates the direction in which improvements in industrial organisation must be sought in India.

¹ Cf. J. R. Commons and J. B. Andrews : *Principles of Labour Legislation*, revised edition, p. 234.

² Professor Edgard Milhand : *The Results of the Eight hour Day*, International Labour Review, December, 1925 and February, 1926.

AMONG THE TARAOS

By SARABJIT SINGH, M.A., B.L.

Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University.

The Calcutta University Anthropological expedition camp in 1932 was pitched at Palel, 26 miles from Imphal, the capital of Manipur. A strenuous march of a day up 3000 ft., at times panting on narrow bridle-paths, getting down gorgeous valleys with loquacious Tarao guides brought our party consisting of Dr. P. Mitra, Dinendra Ray, Tapati Ray-Choudhury and myself to the secluded valleys of the Tarao village cut off by lofty hills all around.

Next morning our work began with an enquiry about the original home of Taraos. They asserted a tradition which brings them from the Poi of Fabam *via* Samgok on the Chindwin. Their ancestor Tarao-Yaima settled as the lord of the present village. The Marings, they said, formed one of their collateral branches descended from one of the brothers of their ancestor. Mr. Gimson's reference (*Man in India*, VI, 4) to a tradition of their origin with the Poi in his note on the Marings, seems to corroborate this to a certain extent. Indeed almost all the Kukis and many of the Nagas trace their original home from the same place, probably by the same route and their affinity seems unquestionable from a study of their language and customs (*vide* J.A.S.B., Vol. XXIV, 1928, p. 17n).

Curiously enough the tribe described itself as the chosen high priests of the High God Rapu or Sankhu of the Meitheis, and showed us some recorded decisions of Manipur Judiciary, which exempted them from 'begar'—compulsory labour for the state, on that ground. The story which brings them as a chosen people was that there was fire all over the universe and all beings were destroyed. Sankhu took pity on the plight of living beings and brought about a deluge. The world was saved, the fire was extinguished and the flood subsided. In the vicinity of the Tarao village at Fingnaupul, he remained, even after the flood sank in level, in a stone as an associate of the Manipuri god of death, the Wangpural, to be worshipped by the people. He created the chosen guardians in the Taraos to adore him every Sunday (is this a Christian influence?) with pigeon or duck besides the annual propitiation and a big-scale worship every six years where the offerings used to come from the Raja of Manipur who even visited it, in the days of yore.

A similar story of a cataclysm of fire accompanied by a flood after the eternal darkness is narrated among the Thado Kukis (W. Shaw, Thadau Kukis). W. Cochrane (*The Shans*, pp. 121-25) tells us about the fire following the flood in connection with the story of the enraged storm-god on account of the neglect to offer him sacrifices which destroyed the world with the kingly Shans. In the tradition of the Santals (J.B. & O.R.S. II, 1916) Rev. Campbell speaks of a fire flood. The song containing the lore was forwarded to me by Mr. P. C. Biswas who was working among them. Flood stories of some sort or other are told by almost all the tribes of Manipur and versions are found all over the world from Columbia to Europe and the interior tribes in India (*Vide* Frazer *Folklore in the Old Testament*, I, IV) with slight variations here and there. Kroeber (*Anthropology*, pages, 201-2) speaks of all these to be "variations of a single theme" which has gradually been differentiated greatly. The origin of the

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flood-myth of the Taraos need not be entered into details; suffice it to say that a study of the geological fauna of the place where they reside and its surroundings might, as Frazer would think (*op. cit.*, IV), suggest a volcanic eruption followed by an earthquake, thence the flood.

Lieut.-Col Dun in 1881 in the Gazetteer of Manipur speaks about the Taraos or Chalaos as a Kom-Kuki tribe with 25 men of whom 7 could fight. In the census of Manipur, 1910, their population was one hundred. But the number has been decreasing and we could not find more than 16 to 18 adults and some 4 to 6 old men in the 20 houses so that the latest census report omits them as a separate tribe. The only account we possess about them in a little detail is that given in Lt.-Col. J. Shakespear's *Lushai Kuki Clans* (page 173 sq.) where he divides them into four clans, namely, Pachana, Tlangsa, Th(r)insa and Khulpuin with restricted marriage regulations. But he seems to have been misled when he takes Khulpuin, the family of the priest, as a separate clan which our repeated enquiries and genealogies found to be a sub-clan (*khulpu* meaning priest) under Tlangsa from which the priest comes. His description of the regulations of marriage at the same time is not corroborated by the facts for a Tlangsa marries a Pachana or Thrimsa girl. Similarly with the Thrimsa whereas the Pachana is allowed to have matrimonial relations with Tlangsa only.

The birth of a child accompanies a feast and merry-making, yet the day of birth is regarded inauspicious and taboo. Marriage to them is a civil contract which merely needs the consent of the girl and her parents. The betrothal is fixed with ceremonial feast of rice, beer, etc. The bride-price is money or a gong or five years' service in lieu. The young man's visit to the girl before deciding to marry is not found fault with as among all other hill tribes. The dead are buried lying in full length dressed, outside the village and on it a hut is erected with the effigy like the Thadau (Carey and Tuck—The Chin Hill). The Tarao knows that he must go to the Land of the Dead, he does not worry as to where it is. It is the land of Thikhu which from varied versions seems to be under the earth like the tradition of the Ao (Mills, p. 27) and Lhota Nagas (Mills, p. 119).

From a confusion of meaning of a Pathian with the Supreme Being which really is a generic name of Spiritual Beings, Col. Shakespear (*op. cit.*, p. 175) has not been able to find out their High God. Rāpu or Sankhu, the Tarten, holds the position corresponding to the High god of Schmidt residing in a stone. This curious association of stone brings them in relation to the Ao, Angami, Sema, Lhota and other Nagas and the old Kukis on the one hand and Bontecs and Ifugaos of Indonesia on the other. The next important deity is the deity of the house called *Markheim* residing on a bamboo post in the house like the Indoi of the Thados and has a very close parallel in the *siap aioh* of the Kenyas of Borneo (Hose and McDugall—Pagan Tribes of Borneo, II, 124). It is associated with everything that happens in the house and is propitiated outside the house near the 'y' like posts with pig, fowl or goat as the case may be. Such a sacrifice of a fatted pig was offered when certain cases of illness arose after our arrival, to ward off the evil which the newcomers were supposed to have brought. The miniature gourd complete the common feature in the Kuki religion in this area accompanied by a thin bamboo stick and "usai" leaves which takes a very important place in their magico-religious conceptions. The soul is the replica of the body residing in the head and was thought to be entrapped when we snapped them with our cameras. Dreams are taken seriously. The loss of a teeth in a dream as amongst the Ao Nagas means death or disease. To see oneself or any other

member of the family dying means death. They believe in the existence of evil spirits or demons whose machinations can only be averted by sacrifice.

Their material culture and the pile-topped dwelling have a very close similarity with those of the Kuki clans in general and have nothing so very striking except a culture-mixture of Dr. Rivers and an eye on the higher culture of the Meiteis, the cynosure of the neighbouring eyes. The Jhumming with the hoe gives an important social status to womenfolk in spite of their being overburdened in work as was perhaps the case among the tillers of hoe all over the world. Their bow and poisoned arrow as amongst the Ainus and other Indonesians bring them games. Their short spear does not seem to be warlike and thus their non-fighting nature was responsible to the loss of their lands on the Manipur hills to other turbulent neighbours. The village political hierarchy consisting of Pachana as *khullakpa* (chief) Thrimsa as *lullakpa* (assistant) and Tlangsa as *meiteilambu* (foreign secretary) and priest gets its stipulated dues from every feast and games. The inheritance goes to the eldest son as amongst the Thados (*op. cit.*, p. 66) unlike many other Lusai-Kuki clans (*vide* Shakespear) and the Meitheis (Hodson, p. 77) which have ultimogeniture in the male line. The property in the land seems to be communal as amongst the Aimols, Chirus and Lamgangs. They are fast disappearing and yet with all their fervid eloquence they wanted to impress us with the fact that they were the 'chosen' people and once owners of the most of the fertile valleys of Manipur—their whole known world.

MODERN ITALY

By COL. CAMILLO CANALI

Calcutta

GENTLEMEN, Indeed, you have bestowed a great honour on me by asking me to speak in this important Institute of Culture, and I wish to convey my sincerest thanks to your organizing Committee.

Indeed, I have nothing to teach you about ancient Rome, Mother of civilization to the world, nor would I have time enough to do it in a short speech like mine. On the contrary, I shall tell you a few words about Rome of Mussolini, the man that to-day (it can be openly said) tries to bring the world to universal peace, with Roman wisdom. And that Mussolini is (though always and above all remaining a man of action) a true apostle of peace, is amply proved by his Four Power Pact which was signed in Rome not long ago.

Few know the chaos both moral and material in which Italy was thrown immediately after the war. Italy, after having come out of the war victoriously and full of glory by making her enemies sign the armistice on the 4th November, 1918. was not given the satisfaction she was rightly claiming to, and this happened through the fault of our weak and incompetent politicians. Both disappointment and strain of the war led her into a terrific crisis, which was moreover fomented by Bolshevik propaganda. In those difficult and precarious days Mussolini sprang up with a handful of ex-soldiers and youths, and he rose to save Italy from the menacing ruin. It would be too long to relate to you the whole history of Fascism or to enumerate all the martyrs of such a Revolution. From its start, Fascism was undervalued and opposed; to-day the whole world admires Italy and acknowledges the progress she has made under Fascism. Nay, many countries already the world over, try to re-establish their sinking unity by adopting the Fascist Doctrine.

Nothing has Mussolini left neglected in order to bring Italy to the highest point of modern civilisation. The recent Atlantic flight from Rome to Chicago performed by 25 seaplanes and a crew of 100 men tells the efficiency that Italy has attained and what her men and her machines are worth. Nor is it a smaller cause of pride for us that the Italian Motor Vessel "REX" should have won us the Blue Ribbon across the Atlantic. The old famous days of Genoa, Venice, Amalfi, Pisa seem to come back again under the flag of united Italy.

Il Duce could and knew how to give life to our aviation, our navy and our souls. In all the fields (science, public assistance, moral and material reconstruction of the country) he has brought Italy to the first rank among the most progressive countries.

As you know, I am now touring Asia in order to make foreigners acquainted with the achievements made in Italy and thus stimulate these foreigners to visit my country. This will create and encourage both cultural and commercial relations, which cannot but lead to better understanding and appreciation among all civilised countries.

Italy has always been the land sung and exalted by all the poets either for her natural beauties and her mild climate or for the wealth of her artistic and musical patrimony. And since it was necessary to help

¹ An address delivered at the Calcutta University Institute on Nov. 8, 1933, under the presidency of Sir N. N. Sircar, Kt.

all tourists by giving them the possibility of fully appreciating these artistic and natural charms. Mussolini, in March 1931, has created an organisation called *Commissariato per Il Turismo* under his direct control. This government organisation deals with all matters connected with Tourism; controls all public and private concerns that have anything to do with the same; co-ordinates and directs all touristic activities; studies and emanates all regulations that are necessary for this development, and vigilates for these regulations to be rigidly observed.

Our organisation looks after and proceeds to the printing of all propaganda publications which may acquaint foreigners with anything that can be of interest to them, from old monuments and excavations to cultural and university education, from musical and theatrical life to the natural beauties of the country, from sports of all kinds to health and thermal resorts. All these publications are edited under the control of the *Commissariato del Turismo* and by a special body named E.N. I. T. in charge of which is His Excellency Suvich, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and himself, Commissary for Tourism. Of course, all these pamphlets are printed in various languages, English, German, French, Spanish, Dutch, Turkish, etc.

Italy is extraordinarily rich in springs of mineral and therapeutical waters. There is no country with such numerous health-giving springs as Italy, where waters of every description and suitable for therapeutic purposes of all kinds are to be found; in more than a thousand spots there are springs or groups of springs with very varied chemical content and degree of temperature.

Many of these have been known since the most far distant days and their old-age fame is proved by the ruins of magnificent *Thermae* which can still be seen and which are mentioned in the writings of those authors who have made them famous throughout the countries. In fact the bibliography of the waters of Italy is the oldest and the most extensive in existence and has been collected and published by the E.N.I. T. in a special volume. The *Thermae* of Italy have at all times been frequented by a great number of patients, because to the beneficent virtues of the waters are added those of a mild climate and attractive surroundings.

The Spas of Italy are now very numerous and range from the largest and most celebrated watering-places, with modern establishments, containing every comfort and convenience, to less costly places, which are however equally well organised both as regards treatment and accommodation and even farther down the scale, to the modest resorts, chiefly visited by local patients. These Spas are scattered through the length and breadth of the land. The number and variety of the thermal waters, of the muds, of the grottos, and hot chambers with varying temperature and the perfection of the hydropathic technique, make it possible to carry out every kind of treatment, with the most satisfactory results.

It may be added that the extremely low cost at the present time of a stay and of treatment at any of the watering places of Italy, is another reason for their popularity. Even to-day, as in olden days, it may be said of Italy—where the beauty of the landscape and the wonderful climate form an incomparable background to the infinite wealth of its health-giving springs: *ibi thermae ubi salus*.

And since Italy for her geographical position is in the way of all that go to Europe from Asia, thus I firmly believe that it can be of interest to you who live in India to know this therapeutical side of Italy also.

Besides, many foreigners already come to Italy to study Fine Arts, Sculpture, Painting, Music, and to read in our Universities, either in

Literature or Medicine or Science. It is scarcely necessary for me to remind you of the names of Bologna, Padua or Pavia, but if these Universities were shining like lighthouses in the darkness of medieval times, our modern Universities are not unworthy of their golden fame. We hope to soon form here in Calcutta a section of the "Dante Alighieri" Association. Everywhere in the world there are branches of the "Dante Alighieri" the aim of which is to promote studies and lectures on our greatest poet; and it is quite natural that here also in Calcutta, where I know there are several admirers of the Poet, should such an association be founded.

My Government has done much to encourage foreign students to go to Italian Universities and let me express the hope that more will be done in the near future. Foreign students are assisted throughout their sojourn in Italy; railway fares reduction is granted to them so that they may visit every part of the country. They enjoy free entrance to museums, art collections, exhibitions, cultural meetings, etc., and our Organisation is always ready to give them all possible support.

There is a spirit of open and friendly companionship in the very Italian student, through which the foreign youth, by going there finds an atmosphere of gaiety and cordiality. If now-a-days Italian Universities are said to be very strict in all that pertains studies and examinations, it is none the less true that the physical training of the student is cared for just as much as the studies themselves. Every University has a sport club, where every kind of sports is practised, and almost yearly there are competitions among the representatives of the various Universities. "Healthy mind in a healthy body" is the programme in our cultural centres. Strength, in Mussolini's words, is a matter of peaceful respect and not of bold aggression.

A NOTE ON "RAMMOHUN ROY : THE FIRST PHASE "

By DR. A. P. DAS-GUPTA, M.A., PH.D. (LOND.)

Calcutta

In view of the coming Rammohun Roy Centenary Celebrations¹ anything that appears in print relating to Rammohun is naturally read with interest by the public. When a contribution comes from the pen of Mr. Brajendranath Banerji we read it with great interest, as Mr. Banerji is a well-known writer on some aspects of Indian History and has been known to have carried on special investigations relating to Rammohun. I was therefore immensely interested to find in this month's issue of the *Calcutta Review* a fresh article by Mr. Banerji entitled "Rammohun Roy, the first phase." Mr. Banerji is to be congratulated on having brought to light hitherto untapped sources of information relating to Rammohun among the revenue records of the Government of Bengal and more especially the judicial records of the Supreme Court which, locked up in the Calcutta High Court, are not as easy of access to the public as the Imperial Government or Bengal Secretariat records. This new information has helped him to present Rammohun as he says, "in a new light" and "in a more correct perspective" (p. 256). Mr. Banerji has come to the conclusion that on occasions Rammohun deliberately made false declarations, that he was shrewd enough to safeguard his property when his father and brother were involved in financial disaster, and that he was an ungrateful son, unfair to his father at a moment of distress. Unfortunately, however, neither the documentary evidence as set forth in this article, nor Mr. Banerji's logic has enabled me to agree with his conclusions. In my opinion Mr. Banerji's evidence is too scanty, and whatever evidence there is does not bear out his conclusions. Besides, in many places his logic is difficult to follow.

Below I am setting forth some of Mr. Banerji's conclusions and my objections to those conclusions

I. In the lawsuit instituted by Govindaprasad Roy claiming a share of the properties in the possession of Rammohun, it was asserted that, though Ramkanta had divided a part of his immovable property among his three sons, they had subsequently reunited. Rammohun denied this assertion. Mr. Banerji is of opinion that the evidence before him "goes against Rammohun's categorical statement that the affairs of the father and the sons were wholly distinct" (p. 241).

His reasons are :—

- (a) The witnesses produced by Rammohun to substantiate his denial of Govindaprasad's assertion were "his relations and friends and persons under obligation to him" (p. 240).
- (b) Rammohun's statement that he and Jagamohun remained co-owners and co-sharers of the Langulpara house, lived together under the superintendence of Tarini Devi and paid equally the expenses of their mother and step-mother, their respective families and religious services at their houses (p. 240).

¹ The article had been received before the Celebrations during the last year-end.—Ed.
* C. B. "

- (c) "There is independent evidence to show" that their affairs "were not as distinct and self-contained as Rammohun tried to prove was the case" (p. 241), viz.,
- (i) Letter of the Collector of Burdwan saying that "Ramkanta Roy is generally supposed to be the actual proprietor of Harirampur, although it is registered in the name of his son, Jagamohun" (p. 241).
 - (ii) Letter of the Collector of Midnapur who says Ramkanta "is said to have had the joint management of all his concerns" (p. 241).
 - (iii) Two Bengali letters from Rammohun issuing instructions in respect of properties which must have belonged to his father (p. 241).
- (d) Rammohun purchased two taluqs called Govindapur and Rameshwarpur for Rs. 4,350 and lent Rs. 7,500 to Andrew Ramsay. With reference to the taluqs Rammohun might have denied that the purchase money was given by Ramkanta from common funds; but where could he have got so large a sum if not from his father?
- For, (i) He had no income.
- (ii) Ramkanta was helping Jagamohun to acquire more property. He might therefore have done the same for Rammohun (pp. 244-45).
- (e) Rammohun occasionally visited his father at Burdwan (p. 242).

I find myself unable to accept Mr. Banerji's reasonings, and to conclude at once that Rammohun's defence was false. As to the unreliability of friends, relatives and persons under obligation as witnesses, it may be said that these are the persons who would naturally be produced as witnesses, for a man in the street cannot have knowledge of such private transactions. Mr. Banerji has not refuted Rammohun's assertion that Ramkanta, he and Jagamohun had separate and distinct servants and establishments for the service, accommodation and ceremonies of each other and of their respective families and that the contributions of the two brothers towards the common expenses were paid into the hands of certain sarkars (p. 240). Mr. Banerji himself sees here the possibility of truth and says, "this state of affairs, though a little illogical and confused, might after all be what actually existed, for even now we come across Hindu families which are separated as regards title to property but united to all outward appearance" (p. 240).

The independent evidence as produced points to nothing. The Collector of Burdwan wrote that it was "generally supposed" that Ramkanta was the actual proprietor of Harirampur. Again the Collector of Midnapur wrote that "Ramkanta is said to have had the joint management of all his concerns." These should be classed with hearsay evidence. As to Rammohun's issuing instructions in respect of property belonging to his father, it may be said that the division of some properties among his three sons by Ramkanta in 1796 was in the nature of gifts to them, and did not preclude Rammohun from taking an interest in properties a portion of which he might inherit. Neither could the transaction of 1796 have had by itself such an estranging effect as to prevent Rammohun from visiting his father. Mr. Banerji sees great difficulty in accepting Rammohun's statement that the money for the purchase of the taluqs, etc., was his own, and believes that his father must have helped him. It is, however, impossible to come to any conclusion unless we have more details about Rammohun and a complete list of his assets. Is it altogether unlikely that he earned part of the sum by dealing in "Company's Papers" (as in p. 250)? Did he not have an income from the lands received from his

maternal grandfather (p. 287)? Again from the fact that Ramkanta made ample provision for Jagamohun, Mr. Banerji at once surmises that he must have done the same for Rammohun. He has no material on which to base such a conjecture. In case he had documentary evidence that Rammohun actually received from his father any property as a set-off against either Jagamohun's Harirampur taluq (p. 236) or against the mauzas which Jagamohun enjoyed for some years (p. 241) this conjecture would have been to some extent acceptable. As matters stand Mr. Banerji is not justified in seeing such a possibility.

II. Mr. Banerji is of opinion that while the Roy family was involved in financial disaster, Rammohun "alone escaped this ruin through his astuteness and enterprise" (p. 246). He sought to protect his most valuable properties Rameshwarpur and Govindapur "against being involved by any chance in the general débâcle" (p. 248) by making a *benami* transaction (p. 246). The explanations offered by Rammohun regarding this transaction "is highly coloured and on the face of it not quite straightforward" (p. 248).

Besides Mr. Banerji's description of Rammohun's activities about this period, though narrated without any connection with the question at issue, leaves upon the mind of the reader the impression that while Rammohun was in affluence and lent sums of money to civilians (p. 250) he did not come to the assistance of his father and brother.

On the other hand, the documents placed before us show Rammohun's affairs to have been at this time in equal mess. Unable to pay the revenue for Rameshwarpur and Govindapur (p. 246) Rammohun had executed a Kistibandi bond for Rs. 17,989-6-1 in the Bengali year 1206 (corresponding to 1799). Besides Mr. Banerji tells us that he was now searching for employment (p. 246). While he was thus involved his father got into heavy arrears in respect of his holdings to the Maharaja of Burdwan (to whom alone he was indebted to the extent of Rs. 80,000) as well as to the Government and was put in gaol (1800). Again Mr. Banerji points out that Rammohun was so affluent that he was able to lend Rs. 5,000 to Woodforde in 1802 (p. 259). But he also informs us that about this time Ramkanta entered into a Kistibandi arrangement with his creditor and held a farm of a lac of rupees per annum (p. 251).

Nor are there sufficient reasons for us to conclude at once that the *benami* transaction was to safeguard his property from the general ruin. As affairs stood, Rammohun having separated in property, the Maharaja of Burdwan or the Company could have had no claim against Rammohun for the debts to them of Ramkanta or of Jagamohun. The Government it seems actually instituted an enquiry about the resources of the family (pp. 241 and 245) and had Rammohun been liable he would not have escaped a charge of fraudulent transaction by the Government;—at any rate he would not have escaped payment. It is also significant that his other transactions (as in p. 250) have not been proved to be of a *benami* character. Rammohun's defence that he had made the transactions referred to in order that, in the event of his death during his absence from Calcutta, he having at that time no child, his nephew might "inherit or become entitled to the said two taluqs of Rameshwarpur and Govindapur" and that this nominal transfer is usual amongst Hindus, is considered by Mr. Banerji to be "not quite straightforward." He is of opinion that the transaction conferred no real title upon his nephew, that the obvious intention was to keep the title of Rammohun to the taluqs in the background, that he was actually expecting a child, and that his wanderings were "neither so long nor so risky as is implied in his statement." He further points out that Rajiblochan and Gurudas deposed

that the transfer was made with the object of better and more convenient management (pp. 247-248).

As to Gurudas's legal title to the taluqs I am not competent to say, anything, not having had any legal training. But I fail to understand why, Mr. Banerji regards a journey to Patna and Benares in 1800 (which Mr. Banerji states Rammohun undertook—p. 248) to be "neither so risky nor so long." In those troublesome days a journey of four or five hundred miles was certainly risky and long. Moreover Rammohun might have had at the time the intention to undertake more distant journeys involving further risks than he was actually able to do. The theory of convenient management does not, in my view, clash with Rammohun's statement. He possibly made the *benami* transaction in favour of a "confidential friend" for the "better management of the properties" during his absence in distant places, with the ultimate object that, in the event of any accident befalling him, his nephew might inherit them. Besides, Mr. Banerji informs us that for some time at least these two taluqs were registered in the name of Gurudas in the Burdwan collectorate. On the 7th September, 1814, Rammohun got possession of them on a joint application from himself and Gurudas. (*Vide* Bangaree, Vol. I, Part II, No. 5, p. 572) Again, even though he might actually have been expecting a child, the child would not have been left unprovided for, as those two taluqs were not his only properties. Since the child was expected to be born in his absence, Mr. Banerji might have taken into account the many eventualities which intervene between the expectation of a child and its actual birth.

III. Rammohun had mentioned to William Adam that he was present at the deathbed of his father (p. 256). Mr. Banerji however feels that "it is established beyond doubt" that Rammohun was not present there (p. 251).

His reasons are:—

(a) In the special interrogatories prepared for Tarini Devi on behalf of Rammohun we find this question, "Where was Rammohun Roy, as you know, have heard or do believe, at the time of the death of the said Ramkanta Roy?" As the same question was also asked with reference to Jagamohun Roy (who was in Midnapur Jail) "it implies that both the sons were absent at the time of their father's death"

(b) Deposition of Radhakristo Banerji that Rammohun was at some foreign place (p. 251).

On this point too it seems that with the available evidence we shall go too far if we say that Rammohun's absence has been established beyond doubt. To argue that since the same question asked regarding an absent person was also asked of Rammohun, Rammohun too must have been absent is very queer. The only evidence therefore is that of the plaintiff's witness, the orthodox family priest, sore with the heterodox Rammohun championing at the time of the suit the abolition of the age-honoured custom of sati; and even he does not remember where Rammohun was at that time.

IV. Again Mr. Banerji says that Rammohun's assertion that after his father's death he inherited no portion of his father's property, "is both incorrect and unfair." It is technically true that Rammohun did not inherit, because when Ramkanta died "there was no property left for his sons to inherit," but Rammohun "did receive his share of the paternal property and there was no discrimination against him on any ground whatever" (p. 255).

The statement that Ramkanta left no property to inherit is contradicted by what Mr. Banerji himself says on p. 252. There he says that

three years after Ramkanta's death "it was discovered that Ramkanta had certain moneys owing to him and that he had certain judgment decrees from the Zillah Courts of Burdwan and Hughli." This sum of Rs. 3,000 was obtained from the courts by Jagamohun as his father's heir "in the absence of other claimants." Mr. Banerji's documents have more references to provisions made by Ramkanta for Jagamohun than to provisions for Rammohun, and the learned writer referring to the Harirampur taluq of Jagamohun says that "Rammohun got nothing half so profitable" (p 245). Ramkanta may or may not have made discrimination against Rammohun. But in the absence of more documents it is not possible to assert that there was no discrimination against him. Mr. Banerji admits that Rammohun was technically right. The point arose in connection with a lawsuit, and was a purely technical one. Statements in a lawsuit do not contain extraneous matters.

Though I have thus been unable to agree with some of Mr. Banerji's deductions from the materials produced here, I congratulate him on having been able to bring out some very interesting documents which have thrown light on Rammohun as a man of the world. I am not aware of any biographer who has attempted to picture Rammohun as a recluse. Neither has anybody sought to establish a position for him among the saints. We have always thought of Rammohun as a great social and religious reformer, a man of outstanding abilities and a person endowed with an immense width of vision and rare foresight.

Miscellany

THE CREATION OF SMALL LANDOWNERS IN FASCIST ITALY

The *Duce* (Head of the Government) has approved the general share-tenancy contract for the settlers who are now making their home in the Agro Pontino on the lands belonging to the National Ex-Servicemen's Institute.

The text of the contract has been drawn up by agreement between Deputy Cencelli, Government Commissioner for the National Ex-Servicemen's Institute, and Deputy Razza, Commissioner for Internal Settlements.

The general lines of the agreement make it possible for the settler under the share-tenancy (*mezzadria*) system, to become owner of the land entrusted to his care. As a result of the contract, the work of the redemption of the Agro Pontino is entrusted to the steady toil of the Italian worker under the watchful care of institutions founded by the regime in the interests of the people, and in particular of the ex-servicemen.

The approval of this contract by the Head of the Government represents the faithful fulfilment of the promise which he had already given, when, in December last, he solemnly inaugurated the new township known as "Littoria" which has sprung into being on lands which formerly were nothing better than unwholesome marshes.

On that occasion, in addressing the workers, who came to make their homes in the district and to render it fertile by their labour, he was able to say that the first and perhaps the sternest battle waged by Fascism had been already won. Speaking of the work that lay ahead for the development and completion of the reclamation scheme, he stated that the settlers had every reason to regard themselves fortunate in starting on their labours, particularly as they had the prospect of becoming, in fifteen or twenty years' time, the actual owners of their holdings. Hence, with all the proud spirit of the soldier, and the dogged diligence of the husbandman, they could face with courage and confidence their daily tasks that have so high a purpose.

To-day this promise has been realised as an accomplished fact with the improved terms of the contract as now ratified by the Head of the Government.

The contract itself is particularly noteworthy on three grounds. In the first place, no one can avoid remarking the high significance, apart from its practical importance, of the fact that the share-tenancy contract has been drafted by agreement between the Government Commissioner for the Ex-Servicemen's National Institute and the Commissioner for Internal Settlements, and also that it is to be applied to settlers who are making their homes on lands belonging to the Ex-Servicemen's Institute. The grant of land to soldiers, on their return from the trenches, provided a specious argument for the demagogue in the disturbed period immediately following the war, inasmuch as the grant was thus connected with the campaign that had been started against the institution of property. Now, however, the land is entrusted to those that have fought in the War with the intent that they may themselves become owners, not through any act of seizure, but through two essential elements, their labour and their

savings, which justify property as an institution and bring out its social and moral values.

A second important feature, exemplified in the contract, is the value of an organization which makes it possible to move workers in large numbers from one district to another, thus at one and the same time assisting in getting the fullest advantage, both from the Italian soil and from the population that it supports. In the present case this organization has made possible the migration of workers from the districts with a surplus of labour to the Agro Pontino, where they will find their fixed homes and convert the former marshlands into fertile fields.

Finally, it is worth while to call attention to the actual type of contract whereby the workers will become one day the owners of the land they cultivate. This is the boon conferred by the contract of share-tenancy, one of the oldest of Italian agricultural institutions, which makes the worker feel no stranger to the soil he tills, but bound to it by a direct interest which urges him gradually to ascend on the social and economic plane and converts him into a conscious instrument of enhanced national prosperity.—*Corriere della Sera* (Milan)

RAISING THE PRICES

It is necessary clearly to distinguish the long-term tides of prices, each lasting perhaps for twenty, perhaps for two hundred years, from the short-term waves of the trade cycle. History shows that the tidal drift depends chiefly or entirely on the relative amount of money available, an increase in world-money bringing a rise in prices and, on the whole, prosperity, a shortage causing a fall in prices and economic adversity. But, put in monetary terms (other terms are possible), the short cycles of trade depend more on the velocity of circulation of money than on its quantity. Thus to increase the stock of credit is not enough alone to enable us to escape from a temporary depression—a movement of money, produced by renewed confidence, is necessary. Hence comes the justification of the recent insistence on public works as a means, not of absorbing all the unemployed (which is absurd), but of starting the trade cycle on the upward course.

Attempts are being made to raise the prices of certain commodities by the restriction of production, or tariffs, or control of imports by quotas. Such measures may be useful as temporary expedients, and may produce indirect secondary effects on the turnover of money through their psychological influences. But if the amount of money and its velocity of circulation remain unaltered, restriction, tariff, or quota cannot directly change the average level of prices. If some prices are raised others must be lowered.

First, we must get out of the immediate cyclic depression. Here a number of measures may be used to help smooth out the natural wage. Part of the cause of our continued unemployment after each fall of prices was the rigidity of our wage system. When wholesale prices fell, very little reduction in wage rates was made, especially in sheltered trades. For instance, taking the figures for 1924 as 100, in March, 1933 the index of wholesale prices was 59, that of retail prices 79, and that of wages 94. Hence, it appears that those wage-earners who remained in employment were absorbing a continually increasing part of the proceeds of shrinking industry, and were preventing the fall in wholesale prices from reaching retail trade and thus cheapening the cost of living. Moreover, unsheltered trades, having to use the high-priced sheltered goods and services in their low-priced struggle with world competition, suffered severely.

The analogy with a private individual, who should not overspend, is not applicable to a nation, and still less to a world. The individual, by saving or spending, cannot affect the value of money, but, if a cautious world starts to save too much in comparison with its rate of new remunerative investment, its prices may so fall that its industry is killed. And if, at one stage of the cycle the world spends freely in a manner which, in an individual would be rash or ruinous, it may so stimulate trade and accelerate the circulation of money that it puts down the commodity value of its currencies till its debts become less onerous, and its real income actually rises by spending. In the trough of a depression, expansionist measures are necessary. Works, remunerative either economically or from the aspect of amenity, should be put in hand, though they should be stopped at once if any sign appears of a rise in sheltered wages. Possibly a lowering of Income Tax might stimulate private enterprise. A subsidy to the railways, to be returned by them in lower transport charges, might improve the amenity of the roads and help trade. Cheap credit for housing might destroy the slums. Further, open market purchase of securities by the Bank of England would put up the price of gilt-edged stocks, that is, lower the normal rate of interest, and thus encourage by cheap money the use of the currency and credit created.—W. C. Dampier in the *Lloyds Bank Monthly Review* (London).

SAVINGS BANKS IN NAZI GERMANY

The Reich Government promulgated an Act on May 17, 1933, regulating the so-called "definite-purpose" savings associations (*Zwecksparkassen*).

Among the chief provisions of this law the most significant is that which forbids these undertakings of a speculative nature to use from now on the designation Savings Bank (*Sparkasse*). They may call themselves "savings undertakings for a definite purpose" or such like, but may no longer disguise themselves under the glorious name of savings banks. This prohibitory measure, on which German Savings Banks have insisted so much through the medium of their central organ, constitutes another step along the road to the realization of a wish, which was expressed in the form of a resolution adopted at the first International Thrift Congress in Milan (1924) and repeated at the Second Congress held in London (1929).

As to other provisions of the law in question mention may be made that from now on these undertakings must take on a determinate commercial form (joint-stock company, limited partnership, company limited by guarantee); their original capital must amount to at least 50,000 Rm; their balance and profit and loss accounts must be published in the *Official Indicator of the Reich*. They are, moreover, subject to supervision by a special commissioner of the Reich, who will scrutinize their working and will have power to dissolve them. Infringement of the law is punishable with fine and imprisonment up to one year.—*Sparkasse* (Berlin).

THE NON-RECOGNITION OF A NEW STATE

An outstanding development in the field of international relations during the years 1932 and 1933 has been the adoption, development and application of various policies of non-recognition. The policies have now been defined with sufficient clarity to permit analysis, and a period of time has elapsed since the statement of the policies of non-recognition which makes possible tentative conclusions regarding the effects of the policies.

The chief application of a policy of non-recognition has been the non-recognition of the "situation" of Manchukuo; that is, the non-recognition of a new state. The following questions arise: (1) is a state entitled under international law to refuse to recognise a new state, (2) what are the legal consequences of non-recognition of a new state and (3) what are the incidental consequences of non-recognition of a new state?

A state is under no obligation by international law to recognize a new state. Therefore, the policy of non-recognition of a state brought about by means contrary to the Pact of Paris is compatible with existing international law. Recognition of a state is an act by which a state signifies the intention to conduct relations with another state on the basis of the rights and obligations established by international law. The policy of non-recognition of a state signifies, therefore, that a state does not consider itself obliged to deal with the new state on the basis of the rights and obligation established by international law.

The courts usually follow the executive regarding the recognition of a new state. The courts of different states have taken different views of the legal consequences of non-recognition of a new state. In general, however, they apply the following rules when a new state has not been recognized by the Executive. The new state cannot sue as a plaintiff. It may be sued as defendant. Contracts made with the unrecognized state are void. Acts tending to favour rebellion of the new state against the parent state are illegal. Agents of the unrecognized state do not enjoy immunity for acts accomplished in the exercise of their functions. Goods of the state are not immune from seizure. Account need not be taken of acts of administrative authorities of the state as regards physical or moral persons or as regards acts relative to property such as confiscations on land or sea. The law of the parent state at the time the revolution occurs is considered to remain in force. The parent state continues to be recognized in its original limits. Inhabitants of the new state retain the nationality of the parent state.

Although the two states may exchange views through unofficial representative or by other methods normal diplomatic representation is lacking. The two states are unable to define rights and obligation by treaty. The new state may be prevented from acceding to important international conventions.

As a result of these legal consequences of non-recognition of a new state, the states and their nationals may be affected considerably. The extent to which non-recognition of a new state affects the parties depends upon many factors; for example, the number of states adopting the policy; the degree in which the new state is dependent upon military, financial or diplomatic support of other states; the amount of support supplied by states which have recognized the new state, etc. The injury to the state applying the policy of non-recognition, and the injury to its nationals will depend in part upon the attitude taken by the new state. Non-recognition may have psychological, as well as legal, effects. It may discourage the new state, and encourage the parent state to continue to struggle to subdue the province in revolt. The conclusion is obvious that generalizations upon the effects of the non-recognition of a new state, without reference to the circumstances of concrete cases, have little value.—Chesney Hill in *International Conciliation*.

Reviews and Notices of Books

[*World Economic Survey, 1932-33* (J. P. NIXON)—*The Principles of Logic : an Introductory Survey* by G. A. MACE, M.A. (A. N. MUKHERJEE)—*A Source Book of Indian History* by K. SRINIVAS KUMAR, B.A., L.T. (H.C.R.C.)—*The Catuhśataka of Āryadeva* by Vidhuschhara Bhattacharyya (P. C. BAGCHI)—*The Riddle of the World* by Sri Aurobindo (PRIYARANJAN SEN)—*A Manual of Practical Inorganic Chemistry* by E. H. REESSENFELD and P. RAY, M.A. (J. N. MUKHERJEE)—*Curries and other Indian Dishes* by Mukk Raj Anand (P. R. SEN)—*Bāṅgālā Prācīn Puthir Vivaran, Vol. III, Part II*, by Tara-prasanna Bhattacharyya and Chintaharan Chakravarty (PRIYARANJAN SEN)—*The Uṛāḍisūtras with the Vṛtti of Srīmatanandāśin* by T. R. Chintamani, M.A. (MONOMOHAN GHOSH)—*Bāṅglā-chander Mūla-sūtra* by Amulyadhan Mukhopadhyaya, M.A. (SUKUMAR SEN)]

World Economic Survey, 1932-33, published by the League of Nations, Geneva, 1933, pp. 311.

Not the least of the valuable work done by the League of Nations is the compilation of international statistics relating to the varied aspects of the economic life of nations. Perhaps no publication better illustrates this than the volume under notice. It is the second of an annual series published on the basis of data collected by the Economic Intelligence Service of the League. The Survey covers the period 1932-33 and deals with such problems as prices and production, foreign trade and balance of payments, wages and unemployment, currency and exchange. International statistics have been presented in the background of historical events, thus facilitating an understanding of the major economic problems of the day. In compiling this volume the Economic Intelligence Service has utilised all available sources of information and the services of the experts at its command.

The picture presented in this Survey is more or less one of unrelieved gloom. By the middle of 1932 the world presented a dismal spectacle. The fall of national income between 1929-32 was variously estimated at 40-50% in most countries. The volume of unemployment was computed at 25 millions, while foreign trade had shrunk to about 40% of its value in the first half of 1929. There were no doubt signs of recovery in the autumn of 1932. It was believed that the downward revision in the rate of interest initiated by the Bank of England in February, 1932 and the conversion of public debts on a large scale in England and France would lay the foundations of industrial revival. These operations made the first definite breach in the long-term rate of interest, thus removing the disparity between the long- and short-term rates. In U.S.A. the banking crisis had been tided over by the inauguration of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in February, 1932, and the passing of an Act designed to give greater powers to the Federal Reserve Board for the creation of credit. Action along similar lines had also been taken in other countries. All these measures, it was hoped, would go a long way towards lifting the veil of depression.

But these hopes were doomed to disappointment. For the upward trend in business cycle that became pronounced in the autumn of 1932 was a short-lived phenomenon. Gold prices began to fall and by December, 1932 all the earlier gains had been lost. International trade

resumed its downward trend, securities and currencies began to weaken and the spirit of optimism that had been gaining ground gave way to one of pessimism. It was then that expert opinion realised that the obstacles to recovery lay in the sphere of international action and that these barriers must be removed if any recovery was to be made at all. The World Monetary and Economic Conference which met in June, 1933, attempted to remove some of these obstacles. But the discussions revealed such fundamental differences in outlook among the participating nations, that nothing tangible resulted from its deliberations except a number of agreements on matters of second-rate importance.

J. P. NIYOGI

The Principles of Logic: an Introductory Survey, by C. A. Mace, M.A., Reader, London University. Longmans, Green and Co 1933. 12s. 6d. net.

This is a volume in which the author attempts to combine the exposition of the main doctrines of Traditional Logic with that of the recent developments in Modern Logic. The book is more than "an introductory survey": there are chapters which give evidence of careful, original thinking. It is a book the contents of which cannot be crammed. It will compel the student to think for himself.

But we are afraid the occurrence of so many symbolic formulae and schemes might scare away the more timid students, particularly those who have not had any special mathematical training. Though "the author has said nothing in symbols that he has not also said in prose," let us hope with the author that "with a little cool thinking, the strangeness of these symbols would disappear." We quite realise the advantage of employing formulae, as they secure conciseness and precision of expression. There are some chapters, for instance that on "Universalisation and Functional Dependence," which would require the help of a personal teacher. The bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter would prove very helpful.

A. N. MUKHERJEE

A Source Book of Indian History, compiled by K. Srinivas Kini, B.A., L.T. Published by the Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository, Mangalore, 1933. Price Re 1-8.

In this little book covering 203 pages the author has collected from various sources, including religious and historical works, books of travel, inscriptions, royal, ministerial and viceregal announcements and sundry other documents of an official character—quite a large number of extracts illustrative of the social, political, commercial and constitutional history of India, from the earliest Vedic times to the second decade of the twentieth century. The volume that he has produced is both interesting and informing and shows on the whole a due sense of proportion in treating of the different epochs. There are, however, some important omissions and the selection of extracts in some cases leaves room for improvement. The first few pages containing passages from the Vedic and Jataka literature might easily have included some extract or extracts from the two epics. In the pages that follow, one of the great republics of antiquity—say the Licchavis or the Yaudheyas—could have been given a place side by side with the Mauryas, Sungas and other imperial dynasties. As we have a "Vedic Hymn to the unknown god," a few extracts regarding the great religious movements of the sixth or succeeding centuries would

have been apposite. The inscription of Pulakesin II included in the volume is certainly not so important as the Aihole record of that monarch written by Ravikirti. There is not a single extract illustrative of the history of Northern and Eastern India in the days of Bhoja, Dharmapala and Hussain Shah, though we have details about Jatavarman, Sundara Pandya I, Rajendra Kulottunga and Ahmadnagar. There is a passage from Bilhana's Vikramanka Charita, but none from Kalhana's Rajatarangini. In the pages dealing with the early British period one misses an extract about Warren Hastings. The omissions, however, do not take away from the value of the work as a whole which is really a very useful compilation. There can be no doubt that the study of this little volume will be of great help to all serious students of India's chequered history.

H. C. R. C.

The Catuḥsataka of Āryadeva, reconstructed and edited by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Viśva-Bhārati Series No. 2, price Rs. 8. Visva Bharati Book Shop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

The Sanskrit original of the *Catuḥsataka* was discovered from Nepal in a fragmentary condition by the late Dr. H. P. Sastri in 1914 and published by him as a memoir of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The manuscript discovered by him contained also the commentary by Chandrakirti. The publication of the work formed the basis of a more profound study made by Dr. P. L. Vaidya in 1923—*Études sur Āryadeva et son Catuḥsataka*. He studied only the Kārikās of Āryadeva filling up the lacunas with the help of the Tibetan translation of the work. In his study he dealt only with the last nine chapters of the work (VIII-XVI). The last eight chapters of the work of Āryadeva with Dharmapāla's commentary on it were translated into Chinese by Huan Ts'ang in 650 A. D. The Chinese translation became the subject of study by Prof. G. Tucci published in 1925 in the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*.

The restorations made by Dr. Vaidya were inaccurate in many cases and this is why Pandit Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya thought it fit to undertake the study of the *Catuḥsataka* anew. With his deep knowledge of Tibetan and Sanskrit he has restored, not only the lost Kārikās with greater accuracy than had been possible for Dr. Vaidya, who was after all the pioneer in the work, but also the lost portions of the Commentary of Chandrakirti from the Tibetan translation. His edition of the work and restoration of the lost portions certainly mark a great progress in its study.

For the present the editor has confined his study of the text to the last nine chapters of the work as all previous studies also relate to that portion of the work, but he proposes to publish his studies on the first seven chapters as soon as possible. All students of Buddhism will certainly owe him a deep debt of gratitude when the work will be completed.

P. C. BAGCHI

The Riddle of the World, by Sri Aurobindo, Arya Publishing House. Calcutta, November, 1933.

People to-day show an aversion for profound ideas; civilisation in modern times has come to be synonymous with speed, and readers look out for books which can be devoured greedily and quickly. To them the present volume will seem to be a veritable terror, and the subtle gradations of the over-mind, the higher mind, the illumined mind and the supramental

will frighten away many. But those who are eager to hear the weighty thoughts that, for them, affect the very core of life, will doubtless find in this small volume of 109 pages peeps into the world beyond and helps to the solution of the riddle that is presented to generation after generation.

The volume, though small, covers a vast range, but there is no elaboration; statements are made in a matter-of-fact way, without any descent into the commonplaces of human knowledge. The graded worlds, western metaphysics and yoga, the valley of the false glimmer (the fool's paradise in which dust is mistaken for gold), the difference between *samatā* and equality,—these and many other weighty topics have been dealt with here. The prefatory note tells us that the writings were originally issued by Sri Aurobindo in answer to questions from disciples or others interested in spiritual life or were comments on letters from outside submitted for the purpose. It is difficult to pronounce a preference; the intermediate zone which hints at the programme, or the valley of the false glimmer; the splendour of the goal almost shines through the lines that run with a silvery tinkle in them.

The reader regrets to find there is no index nor any table of contents: how were the topics arranged? Is there a link that binds them together and leads one from the other? If the different discourses are in reply to some queries, was it not fair to the reader to have these put in before his replies, to enable him to understand the full force and significance of the latter? The reader longs, moreover, to read something from Sri Aurobindo more spontaneous than mere replies, and ventures to suggest that at least some of his writings in the "Aryya" may be reprinted: they would certainly be found very useful by those who want to study his writings and understand him and his *sādhana*.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

A Manual of Practical Inorganic Chemistry: Qualitative Analysis and Inorganic Preparations, by Dr. E. H. Riesenfeld. Translated by P. Ray, M.A., pp. xxiii, 471. Chuckervertty, Chatterjee & Co., Calcutta, 1938. Rs. 6 or 9s.

The reasons which have prompted Mr. Ray to undertake the translation of Prof. Riesenfeld's book are stated to be "the excellence of its method, judicious selection of up-to-date information compressed in a small volume and the clarity of expression needed for the beginners."

"The translation is based mainly on the tenth German edition. The eleventh German edition, however, reached the translator when this book was in the press. The improvements and changes that occur in the latest edition have, as far as possible, been incorporated into the English version. Further, a few tests and reactions, evolved in the translator's own laboratory and found quite reliable, have also been added." The popularity of the book amongst German-speaking teachers and students is testified by the number of editions it has gone through. The translation is excellent. The book is an introduction to qualitative analysis and inorganic preparations. It gives a systematic and connected treatment in which all essential details are included. The theoretical physico-chemical principles, which have been treated at some length, should enable the student to follow the reactions with interest and intelligence. Taken as a whole the book will be found very useful by both teachers and students. The printing is not satisfactory and the numerous defects in this regard could have been avoided with a little care.

J. N. MUKHERJEE

Curries and Other Indian Dishes, by Mulk Raj Anand. Desmond Harmsworth Ltd., 44, Great Russell Street, London, W. E. 1. 3s. 6d. 1932.

This is an original attempt to establish a cultural contact in one direction between the East and the West. Dr. Anand has given recipes for 140 dishes, curries, sweets, chutneys and varieties of rice and bread, for the benefit of the English housewife. Food is not a despicable commodity, certainly not even for the educated and spiritual Indian, and the directions given by the author, given in clear and terse language, may be a blessing to those who are attentive to the palate. The frontispiece, *Radha in her kitchen*, is an attraction, and the book is sure to prove a valued contribution to gastronomical literature. The typography is good, and get-up decent.

The author's knowledge of Sanskrit seems to be wholly inadequate, as may be seen from his ingenious explanation of *habya* ("made with clarified butter"), "*kābya*" (lit., "a poet") on page 16 of the Introduction, and his mention of *vāmprath* for *vanaprastha*. Is this a chip of the old block—a relic of "*utra*" for "*ushtra*?"

P. R. SEN

Bāṅgālā Prācīn Puthir Vīvaraṇ. Vol. III. Part III. (A descriptive catalogue of Old Bengali manuscripts preserved in the Library of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishat). Compiled by Sjt Taraprasanna Bhattacharya and with an introduction by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarty. 1339 B.S. 178 + vi pp. Price 8 to 10 as. per copy for members and outsiders.

The Bangiya Sāhitya Parishat has at last succeeded in bringing out another part of the descriptive catalogue of the manuscript library attached to it. The work will come as a great help to all who study Bengali literature from the historical view-point, and many passages have been cited from the MSS. catalogued to give the reader a vivid idea of the contents. The first MS. contains some *padas* which are anonymous, but these are not the ones which have been cited, as a hurried reading might induce us to suppose; for, the six *padas* which follow clearly mention their authors in the last colophon. In the introduction which is interesting we find an attempt made to evaluate these MSS. from different angles; but a word or two may be said with regard to some of the statements that appear there. That *even* the members of the *yogi* sect read and wrote on Vaishnavism should not occasion any surprise as the influence is clearly shown in a well-known book like the *Gorakshavijaya* where Radha and Krishna are cited as parallels in a familiar fashion. The names Balia and Indra-prastha lead Prof. Chakravarty to imagine that the MSS. may have been copied outside Bengal; but the supposition is not guaranteed, specially about Balia, for Jay Balia, we learn from the catalogue, was situated in Mallabhum (p. 112), and Balia may be a place quite close to it.

The MSS. mentioned and described in the list stimulate curiosity and prompt suggestions, and this is high praise; we learn from the preface that only about one-eighth of the total number of MSS. in the Parishat library has been described in this and the preceding catalogues, and that financial reasons block the way to a speedy compilation and publication of the rest. This is a disagreeable truth to learn and we may express the hope that the Sāhitya Parishat will not be allowed to languish for money, when it has done, and seeks to do, so much appreciable good to the country by reviving an interest in her glory and pride—her ancient literature.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

The Uṇādi-sūtras with the Vṛtti of Svetavanavāsin.—Edited by T. R. Chintamani, M.A., pages xii + 286 + 46. Published by the University of Madras, 1933.

This has been a happy idea of the Sanskrit Department of Madras University to publish neat editions of important Sanskrit works. The volume under review constitutes Part I of a bigger work, the Uṇādi-sūtras in various recensions announced as publication No. 7 of the Madras University Sanskrit Series. The entire work, we learn, will run into seven parts. We may hope that this work, when completed, will place much excellent material at the disposal of the critical students of the Uṇādi-sūtras which is indeed a very old and important work.

The commentary or rather the gloss of Svetavanavāsin though not very old will be of great interest to all orthodox students of Sanskrit etymology and will not be without its use even to a modern philologist. This work seems to have been edited with considerable care and attention, but in spite of this some unfortunate errors have crept into it. For example, Pāṇini's *सो षुना षुः* (VIII. 4. 40) has been printed in the *vṛtti* (p. 37) as *सोः षु ना षुः*; and the index (p. 8) refers to the *sūtra* as Pāṇini III. 4. 40. But this however should not take away the merit of the work which is furnished with four very useful indices and the editor deserves our best thanks for bringing out the work in so neat a manner.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

Bāṅglā-chander Mūla-sūtra (The Principles of Bengali Metres), by Amulyadhan Mukhopadhyay, M.A., P.R.S., Professor of English at Rangpur Carmichael College. Price Re. 1. The Book Co., Ltd., 4-3 B, College Square, Calcutta.

The monograph under review is a very welcome and opportune work being the first systematic and scientific study of Bengali Metrics. The earliest attempts on the subject were some brilliant papers by Rabindranath. The next remarkable attempt on the proper study of the subject was Satyendranath Dutt's *Chandaḥ-sarasvatī*, a paper published in the Bengali journal *Bhāratī* (1925 B.E.). This was a magnificent article written in a poetic vein and framed in a beautiful imagery by one who was undoubtedly one of the best metricians Bengal has ever seen. In one sense *Chandaḥ-sarasvatī* can be taken as the first fundamental work on Bengali Metrics. The next worker on the field was Mr. Prabodhchandra Sen who has done much by the analysis of Bengali metres.

Mr. Mukherji's work, however, is unique as he propounds his theory on scientific observation and careful and critical analysis, and as such it should be read carefully by everybody who is interested in Bengali Metrics. But though Mr. Mukherji's monograph (first published in the pages of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat Patrikā, 1338 B.E.) has been published for near about two years it has not drawn as much attention of Bengali scholars as it should.

Mr. Mukherji's theory, on the whole, is quite plausible and will ultimately be accepted as the true one. But I am afraid some of his minor premises may have to be modified on further observation and scrutiny.

Mr. Mukherji is undoubtedly wrong when he posits that it is not true that the moraic quantity has always and everywhere a fixed time-value. (সর্বত্র এবং সর্ববিধে যে শুদ্ধ কাল পরিমাণ অক্ষরে বাছির হিসাব করা হয়, তাহা নহে [পৃষ্ঠা ৭]).

In absence of detailed explanation and appropriate instances the following statement in the same connection vitiates Mr. Mukherji's previous arguments: কোনরূপ সন্দেহ বা অনিশ্চিততার ক্ষেত্রে ছন্দের আদর্শ অনুসারেই শেষ পর্যন্ত অক্ষরের যাত্রা স্থির করিতে হয় ("in any case of doubt or uncertainty the metrical model should determine the quantity of a syllable" [p. 8]).

The scansion of some of the examples adduced by Mr. Mukherji is either faulty or wrong. Thus for instance, Example 10 (p. 8) should be scanned like an ordinary *payāra* line. Example 25 (p. 11) should be thus scanned—

অবিজ্ঞানের স্থখ। করেছে অর্পণ—The line দুয়ে থাকিয়া গ্রহস্ত রাবণে নোরায় বাধা (p. 14) is really a *nācārī* or *lācārī* line. So also is the line সর্বদা জলে' গেল অগ্নি দিল গায় (p. 26).

Some of the examples adduced by Mr. Mukherji are not quite happy or appropriate. This is certainly owing to Mr. Mukherji's peculiar attitude that everything that has ever been written or uttered as Bengali verse is always metrically justifiable or correct.

SUKUMAR SEN

The following books were also received for Review :

1. *Patna College Chāṇakya Society's Nineteenth Annual Report (with a supplement)*, 1931-32.
2. *India's Prosperity: The Rupee and the Reserve Bank Bill* by Sir M. DeP. Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E. Price One Rupee. The Daily Gazette Press, Ltd., Karachi.
3. *The Mission to Lepers: A Report of the Fifty-ninth Year's Work in India* issued by the Indian Auxiliary, Purulia, Bihar.
4. *Annual Report on the Police Administration of the Town of Calcutta and its Suburbs* by L. H. Colson, Commissioner of Police. Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Calcutta, 13 as.
5. *Doubt the Liberator* by Serge Brisy. 6 as.
6. *The Occult Teachings of Christ* by Josephine Ransom. 4 as.
7. *Authority* by G. S. Arundale. 3 as.
8. *Ancient Ideals in Modern Masonry* by C. W. Leadbeater. 4 as.
9. *Notes on the Gospel according to John* by H. P. Bharatsky. 4 as.

Nos. 5-9 are published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

Gleanings

RAMMOHUN ROY AND FRANCE

Raja Rammohun Roy was one of the most conspicuous international personalities of his time. In his days when international fellowship was yet a thing of the future, Rammohun dreamt of a Comitia of Nations to settle questions of international dispute, and cultivated friendly relations with foreign peoples and countries, and sympathised, almost instinctively, with their hopes, aspirations and activities in the cause of an all-round liberal freedom movement. He was everywhere received with sincerest respect and cordiality and was very much esteemed as a man of wide culture, broad sympathies, and a giant intellect, by those who by position and influence and personality, counted in those days in England and Europe. It is well known that from England he crossed over to France where he was presented to King Louis Philippe. The two important dates in the history of Rammohun's relations with France refer to this interesting incident and to his nomination as a member of the Asiatic Society of Paris. Madame L. Morin in a short note in the "India and the World" (Calcutta) refers to these two incidents and tries to bring some precision to these two important dates.

"In the sitting of the *Société Asiatique*, dated the 7th June, 1824, there was the question of nominating some Associate-Correspondent and MM. Le Comte d'Hauterive and Baron de Sacy formally proposed the conferring of the title to Pandit Rammohun Roy and that proposal was referred to a commission composed of MM. Lanjumeau, Burnouf and Klaproth.

"On the 5th of July, 1824, 'M. Klaproth in the name of the commission made a report on the literary titles of Pandit Rammohun Roy proposed as an Associate-Correspondent. The conclusions of that report were submitted to the deliberation of the Council and the title of Associate-Correspondent was conferred on Rammohun Roy.' (*Process Verbaux des séances*; the same text was printed in the *Journal Asiatique*. Tome 5, page 62, July, 1824.)

"Miss Carpenter in the appendix to her book *Last Days of Rammohun Roy* (pp. 23-24, Calcutta ed., 1915), communicates a letter of a retired English officer, Mr. Lachlan, who is reported to have been charged by the Asiatic Society of Paris to hand over to Rammohun Roy the diploma of an Honorary Member. From the proceedings of the Society, dated 3rd January, 1825, we know that MM. Abbé Dubois, retired missionary, and Captain Lachlan were proposed and accepted as members of the Society. Is it possible that Captain Lachlan was charged at that moment to transmit the diploma to Rammohun Roy? "

Presentation of Rammohun Roy to King Louis Philippe

"I found the following entries of interest in *Journal des Débats*:
'Prince Talleyrand arrives to-day in Paris' (30th September, 1832)
'Prince Talleyrand departs for London next Tuesday' (Saturday 6th

October, 1832), 'Talleyrand leaves for London' (10th October, 1832) 'Prince Talleyrand was still in London on the 27th October, 1832.' On the 22nd December, 1831 from 48, Bedford Square, London, Rammohun Roy thought of 'applying to Prince Talleyrand for a passport.' On the 27th September, 1832, he was writing from England a letter to his son in Bengali which has been reproduced in facsimile in Miss Carpenter's *Last Days*. In December, 1832, Mon. Pauthier published a long article on the works of Rammohun Roy referring at the end to Rammohun Roy's staying in Paris, *retrospectively*. Hence his stay in Paris may be placed between September and December, 1832.

"From two contemporary papers, *Journal des Débats* (15th to 19th October, 1832) and *Le Constitutionnel* (15th October), we find definitely that the *Radjah*, Indian Brahmin, had the honour of being presented to the King by Mr. de Saint-Maurice, usher of the Ambassadors (Neuilly, 14th October). Prince Talleyrand was therefore not present, being away in London, while Rammohun was presented to the King. It is interesting to note 4 days after, *Journal des Débats* (19th October, 1832) printing the following note on Rammohun Roy: This is what Mon. Victor Jacquemont wrote from Simla in the Himalayas, on the frontiers of Tibet, on 25th October, 1831, on the Hindu *Radjah* who had recently the honour of being presented to the King: 'The journals (Gazettes) of Calcutta bring to my notice that Rammohun Roy has embarked for London. He is a Bengalee Brahmin, the most learned among Orientals. He knows perfectly Greek, Latin, Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit. He writes English admirably. Although high above the superstitions of his country he never took to Christianity as has been alleged. On the contrary he seemed to have converted to unitarianism some clever priests of the English Episcopal Church. I used to meet him often in Calcutta where he enjoyed the highest esteem for the extent and diversity of his knowledge. It is probable that he will not leave Europe without having visited France and I shall be very happy indeed to meet him again in Paris on my return.' "

EDUCATING THE CHILD

In course of a paper entitled *Peace and Education* appearing in the "Prabuddha Bharata" (*Calcutta*) Dr. Maria Montessori observes:

"If we wish to set about a sane psychical rebuilding of mankind, we must go back to the child. But in the child we must not merely see the son, the being in whom our responsibilities are centred: we must consider the child in himself and not in his relation to us, which is that of dependence. We must turn to the child as to the Messiah, an inspired being, a regenerator of our race and of society. We must succeed in effacing ourselves till we are filled with this idea, then go to the child, as the wise men of the East, loaded with power and with gifts, and led by the star of hope.

"When the independent life of the child is not recognized with its own characteristics and its own ends, when the adult man interprets these characteristics and ends—which are different from his—as being errors in the child which he must make speed to correct, there arises between the strong and the weak a struggle which is fatal to mankind. For it is verily upon the perfect and tranquil spiritual life of the child that depend the health or sickness of the soul, the strength or weakness of the character, the clearness or obscurity of the intellect. And if, during the delicate and precious period of childhood, a sacrilegious form of servitude has been

inflicted upon the children, it will no longer be possible for men successfully to accomplish great deeds.

"Now, the struggle between the adult and the child finds its expression—both within the family circle and at school—in what is still called by the old name of "education." But when the intrinsic value of the child's personality has been recognized and he has been given room to expand, as is the case in our schools (where the child creates for himself an environment suited to his spiritual growth), we have had the revelation of an entirely new child, whose astonishing characteristics are the opposite of those that had hitherto been observed.

"We may therefore assert that it would be possible, by the renewing of education, to produce a better type of man, a man endowed with superior characteristics as if belonging to a new race: the superman of which Nietzsche caught glimpses. Herein lies the part that education has to play in the struggle between war and peace, and not in its cultural content. Above all it is to be noted that the child, a passionate lover of order and work, possesses intellectual qualities superior by far to what might have been expected. It is very evident that, subjected to the usual education, the child has had not only to withdraw within himself, but to dissimulate his powers, in order to adapt himself to the judgment of the adult who lorded it over him. And so the child performed the cruel task first of hiding his real self, then of forgetting it, of burying in his subconsciousness a wealth of expanding life whose aspirations were frustrated. Then, bearing this hidden burden, he encountered the errors current in the world.....

"The school child, being continually discouraged and scolded ends by acquiring that mixture of distrust of his own powers and of fear which is called shyness and which later, in the grown man, takes the form of discouragement and submissiveness, of incapacity to put up the slightest moral resistance. The obedience which is expected of the child both in the home and the school—an obedience admitting neither of reason nor of justice—prepares man to be docile to blind forces. The punishment, so frequent in schools, which consists in subjecting the culprit to public reprimand and is almost tantamount to the torture of the pillory, fills the soul with a crazy, unreasoning fear of public opinion, even of an opinion manifestly unjust and false. In the midst of these adaptations and many others which set up a permanent inferiority complex, is born the spirit of devotion—not to say of idolatry—to the *condottieri*, the leaders, which for this repressed personality, are the father and the teachers, that is to say, the figures who imposed themselves on the child as perfect and infallible. Thus discipline becomes almost a synonym of slavery.

"The child has never been able to try and follow the moral paths which his latent vital urge would have sought out eagerly in a world new to him; he has never been able to put his own creative energy to the test. But he has succeeded in setting up within himself an order that has resulted in a sure and unchanging discipline.

"When he has attempted to find out the path of justice, he has wandered and become perplexed and has finally been punished for having tried to accomplish deeds of love by helping schoolfellows still more oppressed and obscure than himself. On the contrary, he has received tokens of approbation when he turned spy and tell-tale. The virtue worthy above all others of public encouragement and of reward has always been the triumphing over one's schoolfellows in competition and the gaining in examinations of the decisive victory allowing one to pass from one year to another of a monotonous existence of perpetual servitude. Men brought up in this way have been prepared neither to fight and be

victorious, nor to conquer truth and possess it, nor to love others and join with them in striving for a better life."

THE FASCIST EXPERIMENT IN CIVIC EDUCATION

Conscious and determined attempts are being made in Italy under the Fascist regime to stimulate Italianism and to promote allegiance to the Fascist creed and ideals through educational institutions. Writing in the "Indian Review" (*Madras*), Dr. J. M. Kumarappa relates, how the whole educational system in Italy has been reorganised to that end.

Civic Education in Elementary Schools.

"In the second year, during the time allowed for various recreational and intellectual occupations, the teacher must 'relate episodes of civil, religious and military valour' explaining the faith necessary for making sacrifices for the country. In the third year the teacher must read or relate stories to the children to develop their historical and national consciousness, drawing most of his material from the lives of Italy's great men, such as Garibaldi, Battisti; and in the fourth and fifth years the teacher must give a series of reading to illustrate the regional contributions to the life of the nation, especially during the period of Italian unification. During the gymnastic period the life of a soldier must be portrayed as an example of strength, discipline and courage. During the geography lessons especial attention must be given to a study of the city, historical places in the region, the physical and political nature of Italy, and of foreign countries with special reference to those to which Italian emigrants have gone.

"The study of history begins in the third year with Italian history from 1848 to 1918, the general course being supplemented by the readings of the most significant proclamations, letters and memoirs of national martyrs. In the fourth year ancient history is prescribed with emphasis on ancient Rome. In the fifth year the pupils study the period of foreign domination with emphasis on the history of the province, the works of Italian artists, events of Italian history during the nineteenth century, the Italian army and navy, and a comparison of national wealth with that of other countries. After the fifth year the pupils must read at least one popular but well known history, study the Italian colonies and foreign countries. Even in religious instruction special attention must be given to Italian saints. In addition to all these, there are the reading lessons which, from the programme, might not seem to be nationalistic but are in reality extremely patriotic."

Text-books and National Symbols.

"As a further guarantee that the instruction shall be of the kind desired, a decree was issued prohibiting the use of text-books which had not been approved by the State. A Text-book Commission headed by a highly competent scholar, Giuseppe Prezzolini, was appointed to censor all the texts and to frame recommendations. The Commission presented an elaborate report on the whole question of content of courses and recommended among other things systematic instruction in Italian patriotism. It also maintained that all the historical periods of contemporary history should be rewritten on account of the disproportionate emphasis given during the post-War period to Colonial wars, earthquakes, etc., as though they were great national events. It desired further that the rural classes as well as labour, industry, commerce and all the forces of Italy be given the place

they legitimately deserve, and that men and events be pictured in just proportions.

"In addition to the influence of patriotic material in text-books, Italian school children are surrounded with nationalist symbols. The licitor's rods, emblem of Imperial Rome and Fascism, must now be worked into every new educational building. In the class-rooms of both elementary and secondary schools, there must be a crucifix, a picture of the king, and a picture of Mussolini. Many of the class-rooms have the announcement of victory drawn up by General Diaz. The black shirt and the black flag, Fascist uniforms and rituals, the salute, the national cry *cia, cia, a-lu-la* are all the creation of a new time and a new spirit. The Fascists desire that every day's work begin with a prayer and a national hymn; that the schools have pictures of the heroes of *risorgimento* of the Great War, and of the masters of Italian culture; that every school has its flag; and that on the eve of every vacation a patriotic speech be made and that the children respond with the Roman salute. These are all parts of a vigorous effort to build up a Fascist symbolism to typify the new spirit, of the new political entity and furnish an emotional colour for the picture of the new loyalty."

Selection of Teachers and Youth Organization.

"Despite this patriotic environment and patriotic text-books, the education of the children would not necessarily be nationalistic if the teachers were not nationalistic. The Fascists have realized this and have taken special pains to see that the instructors have the desired political views. A law has been made whereby teachers may be discharged if they have political views contrary to those of the government. In order to be appointed to a teaching position one must pass competitive examinations preference being given first to those who were decorated in the War, secondly to those who have passed other competitive examinations, thirdly to those who have published their works, and fourthly to those who have other qualifications. Further no Italian teacher could be accepted if he had not read such books as *Da Quarto al Vatturmo*, or *La Storia dei Mille* as related for youths by Abba; *Ricordanze* by Settembrini; *Villa Gloria* by Pascarella; *I Matiri di Belfiore* by Luzio, the most patriotic works of Italian historical literature. Further, an attempt is also made to bring the teachers into the National Fascist Association of Primary School Teachers which has a membership at the present time of over 80,000. It aims 'first, to encourage the general cultural education of the teachers; and secondly, to expound the new concept of life, of history and of the Nation which Fascism has affirmed to be the keystone of its action and of its future'. There are also educational reviews and journals which bring the nationalist ideas of the educational leaders to the rank and file of the teachers. Thus Fascism attempts to control the nationalist sentiments of the teachers."

IS BUDDHISM MERE PESSIMISM ?

Combating a common misapprehension of Buddhism that it is mere pessimism and that as such, it cannot bring peace to the human mind, Dr. B. R. Chatterjee gives in the "Mahabodhi" (Calcutta) the opinion of some French savants and orientalists on this question.

"Buddhist people of different countries give foreign travellers the impression of having a particularly cheerful outlook on life. It is a rather singular trait for the votaries of a religion so often taxed with pessimism.

However, this comment of foreign travellers in Buddhist land might perhaps enable us to grasp one of the essential points of Buddhist civilisation. A civilisation is a conception of human life translated from the language of philosophy into all the activities of an organised society. Buddhism does not make of human existence a tragic drama, a dividing line between two infinities—an eternal paradise and an eternal hell. According to Buddhism life is an event of a transient nature in a very long series of similar happenings. Nature is not merely an ornamental background of this life. Animals, plants, and even inert matter are like humanity itself only temporary stages of this universal metamorphosis of life. All things existing from the highest heaven down to the lowest hell are bound together in a great communion; and all are subject to the same law of *karma* which transmits to infinity the moral consequences of acts once committed. This law of *karma* would have been indeed an inexorable, an implacable law but for the fact that the great cardinal virtues of wisdom, love and charity have the power of annulling this blind force and of assuring bliss in the peace of *nirvana*. This is, if I mistake not, the inspiration which permeates Buddhist civilisation, which makes it a living force and which assures it a glorious position among other world civilisations" [Sylvain Levi in the concluding portion of the chapter 'Humanisme Bouddhique' in the book *L'Inde et le Monde*]

"It is an essentially Buddhist art—all the actors, human beings or animals, are grouped round the sacred symbols of Buddhism. Yet this art interprets for us not so much extinction of desire as the freshest, the simplest love....Never even in the classic art of Greece has there been expressed with such success the innocent and spontaneous joy of life." [Rene Grousset commenting on the Buddhist Art of Sanchi, in *Histoire de l'Extreme Orient*, p. 50].

That which distinguishes the Sanchi and Ajanta artists, who have depicted these animal scenes, from other classic artists, who have also dealt with animals, is the almost fraternal sympathy with all living creatures—a sentiment which is derived both from the Indian conception of transmigration of souls and the Buddhist conception of universal love." [Foot-note, pp. 51. *ibid.*]

THE WORKING OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The "Modern Review" (Calcutta) publishes the account of an interview that took place between Rabindranath Tagore and Professor Zimmern on the activities of the League of Nations, from which extracts are given below.

Tagore: "Naturally the question that comes to my mind while I am here is what is the character and mission of the League of Nations—and whether it must develop an exclusively political character. I realise that it inevitably assumes a strong political aspect because politicians are running this institution, but politics is only a part of the human mind. We have to deal with the psychology of humanity, not merely political machinery, and in trying to adjust even diplomatic difficulties the whole mind has to be taken hold of. Politics changes its character according to the temperament of the people; it has its local organisations, its historical traditions. I do not know whether any attempt has been made to deal with this intricate problem in a complete manner. I myself have often thought it incongruous that the League of Nations should only have politicians to represent the Nations. Should not others who are thinkers, dreamers, who are organising great institutions all over the world for the same purpose of bringing

peace among human races, have their place in the League? I know that the League has a Committee of International Intellectual Co-operation but I am afraid it does not go deep enough in this most difficult mission of bringing the spirit of goodwill among human races.

I should think there should be outside the League other movements which would bring together in this place the idealists who know that the whole problem of this present age is how to make true the fact that human races have come together; not merely those nations who have their place in the political world to-day, but also other races who may not have their political sphere but have also their aspirations, their intellectual life and their own philosophy. They are vitally affected by what is happening in world politics in which they are not allowed to take part."

Professor Zimmern: "I do not think those who work in the League regard the League merely as a political institution... One of the chief achievements of the League has been to broaden our conception of politics, to show that the old bureaucracy is much too narrow to enlarge our conception of international relations, to cover practically every sphere of organised public life, and I think it will interest you if Dr. B. told you a little about the varied activities of the Health Section in the League whose work extend to all parts of the world, to Asia and also to Africa. Nor is the League a western institution.... There has been continuous daily co-operation between officials and Committee members of different races and representatives of different cultures and civilisations, and I do not think those who have worked in that co-operation have discovered any fundamental difference (between the Eastern and the Western mind).... Science, of course, has given us all common problems; when we get together to know one another better we are allowed to venture into the deeper mysteries of government. we learn to know the soul of each nation through its chosen representatives in this place, and that is one of the great privileges of working in the League of Nations...."

Tagore: In bringing the interview to a close, Tagore describes the spirit of restlessness and the search for new ideals and values which he had noticed among the young generation of the West. He says:

"Though their condition was pitiable, though their faces bore signs of privation, and were emaciated by famine, there was a glow of idealism. Something you felt was there, the feeling that some great future was before them and it was for them to build it up. It was said by most of them, 'we have lost our faith in our teachers, we want something more satisfying, than they have supplied us with.' I could feel that they had that adventurous spirit which seeks freedom for its creative mind in building up the future. Also I found how widespread had the student movement become all over Germany. I do not know about other countries, but what I saw there has given me the idea that not through organisations of big people will the mission of age be fulfilled. It seems to me that spontaneously this mission has begun, by the young, and it will mature into wisdom even through their blunders and occasional set-backs. These people are living simple lives, going to the root of things, and following a new ideal of living, and not treading the old way of custom which brought them to disaster. A real movement of spirit I have seen among the new generation...."

FOLK-DANCES OF NORTHERN INDIA

Writing in the "*Hindu Weekly*" (*Madras*) on *Dancing as an Art—need for revival in India*, Dr. Syed Mujtaba Ali gives an instructive summary of folk-dances of Northern India and their characteristics, which

will serve as a useful introduction to a study of the subject in fuller details. He writes :

"So far as folk dances are concerned we have the Manipur and Santhal dances, *Garba* dances of Gujarat, bravery dance of the Dahomans and the *Hooler* of the Bhil tribes in the Vindhya Hills, ecstasy dances of the Bengali *Bauls* (mendicants, singing and dancing minstrels) and the Sufis (devotees not belonging to any particular religion but more allied to Persian mysticism), *Jari* and *Muharram* procession dances, and *Ghatu* dance. Among Manipuris both in their native home and in the districts of Sylhet and Cachar where they settled down in large numbers since the Manipur expedition, dancing has to be learnt by every maiden (*Laisabi*) and she has to help in the religious dances of the Swing, New Year's day, and Spring festivals till she attains marriageable age. The *Laisabi* dances, as they are called, are appreciated on account of the effect produced by a group of girls with their rhythmic movements to music. The dances are highly ornamental and consequently they appear to be rather monotonous, lacking in variety of movements, hardly spontaneous but nevertheless graceful. The *Garba* dance of the Gujarati women is more a social function. The songs sung in accompaniment are homely and melodious. Bravery dances of the Dahomans and the *Hooler* of the Bhils are illustrations of mimic fights almost universal among tribes to whom war is of great interest in life. The latter seems to have been reduced to an amusement conducted by professionals who go from village to village—the battle being engaged in by women with long poles on the one side and men with short cudgels on the other. The Sufi of Sindh dances out of ecstasy of love for divinity and it is scarcely anything more than an accompaniment of the devotional song he sings and the one-stringed instrument he plays. Excepting the feet and the hands—one of these holds the instrument—hardly any other limb plays a rôle in the dance. The devotion with which the sage sings, plays and dances makes him forget the outer world and he continues for hours without any sign of physical exhaustion. Even the sceptic cannot but be impressed by the spectacle. The wildness of the dancing *Derrishes* has however nothing to do with the calm dance of the Sufi. *Baul* dances have the same religious motif and except for the variety of movements and zeal displayed both the *Baul* and Sufi dance can be classed together. Santhal dances are often talked of and it is in fact a beautiful folk-dance of a primitive people. The maidens of the whole community, sometimes even women with children in their arms, take part. They stand either in lines or in a circle; the young men play the drums and flutes. The foot, hip and the waist play the most important roles. Although the dance is primarily meant for the dancers and danseuses it has its spectacular beauty too. When the Santhal girls are dancing accurately to time the advancing curved line they form gives the impression of a huge wave rolling towards the shore. The newly introduced *Rumbha* (*Rumbha* fox-trot) movements sometimes have a slight similarity with the Santhal hip and waist dance. Every one has seen the professional dance with torches lighted at both ends in Muharram, as also, perhaps, the dance of the *lathi*-players. *Jari* is an obscure religious dance, also connected with the *Muharram* festival, in which chiefly women take part and lament over the loss of the martyrs Hassan and Hossain through music and dance.

At Home and Abroad

[A monthly Record of News relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities and other Cultural and Academic Institutions.]

Nagpur University

At the annual meeting of the Nagpur University Court held on December 1, last, Mr. Bhawani Sankar Niyogi was re-elected Vice-Chancellor for another term. Dewan Bahadur V. M. Kelkar was elected Treasurer for the fifth time. Mr. N. K. Behere moved that honorary degree of Doctor of Letters be conferred on Rai Bahadur Hiralal for his research and scholarship in oriental learning which the House adopted unanimously.

Sir C. V. Raman addressed the Convocation of the University which was held on December 2, last. Addressing the graduates Sir C. V. Raman said that the day marked a definite stage in their careers. India, he added, was passing through times of turmoil but he hoped the time would come when opportunities would present themselves. He did not belong to the categories of pessimists who valued education measured by the current coin, for education and culture had both a value of their own. Sir C. V. Raman exhorted the graduates not to lay excessive emphasis on Utilitarianism as it would defeat its own purpose for the great discoveries of the world were made by those who were devoted to science for its own sake and not by those who were bent on money-making. He concluded with the observation "Logic and intellect should govern your life and not passion or emotion and then you will have a good life in future and a good place in your country."

New Honour for Sir Mohamed Iqbal

Sir Mohamed Iqbal has received an invitation from Lord Lothian on behalf of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University and Rhodes Trustees to deliver the Rhodes Memorial lectures next year in the Oxford University. The Rhodes Memorial lectureship was established some years ago in order to bring to Oxford from other countries persons of outstanding distinction, partly to lecture and partly in order that Fellows and undergraduates may have the advantage of personal contact and discussion with them. Sir Mohamed is probably the first Indian to be invited to deliver this course of lectures. General Smuts and Professor Einstein were previous lecturers.

Andhra University Convocation

The seventh convocation of the Andhra University was held at Waltair on December 7 last, His Excellency Sir George Frederick Stanley, the Governor of Madras, presiding as Chancellor. Degrees were conferred on 389 candidates in person and 137 in absentia including two lady graduates.

Addressing the Convocation, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor, said that, if the University was to be a potent factor in national evolution, it should reflect and in a sense, fashion the contemporary requirements, social and economic. "Oxford and Cambridge produced clericals in the ages of faith, efficient administrators and directors of industry in modern times and specialists in all periods as by-products.

To-day, in our country, it is increasingly felt that the purely literary type of education should be supplemented by the technological, if our graduates are to prove less barren and more useful to the society. Though we may appear to lay a little more stress on the study of sciences and Technology, we are aware of the danger of an exaggerated emphasis. To fatten on scientific tradition and achievements in the main will be to foster a secular culture, without depth and without roots. To avert this danger of a sense of homelessness, of mongrelisation, it is necessary to emphasise the humanities, Literature and Philosophy, History and Politics, which connect us with the past."

Sree Rajah Vikramadeo of Jeypore executed the day before his deed of gift of a lakh of rupees as annual contribution to the University for scientific and technological education.

Rangoon University Convocation

Addressing for the first time the Rangoon University Convocation held on December 6 last, the Governor said that the Rangoon University had got to be correlated with the definitely pressing needs of Burma as economically as compatible with meeting those needs. For the next few years the Government appointments would be very much decreased in number. The list of unemployed graduates was even now deplorably large. The essential aim of the University now should be to shun isolation and get into as close a touch as possible with Government activities and with the realities of life in Burma. "Let us research into social conditions, into material advancement and conditions increasing Burma's prosperity, while in the meantime we turn out graduates who by their training and character are capable of carrying out the results of that research." His Excellency advised the recipients of degrees not to look upon degrees as a marketable commodity, but as the hallmark of training. "Do not attempt a division of work into work which is suitable to the dignity of a graduate and work which is not. Don't drift but seize your opportunities and put your heart and soul into any work that comes to your hand."

On Co-education

At the annual celebration of the Scottish Church College Day held on December 2 last, under the presidency of Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, both Dr. W. S. Urquhart, Principal of the College, and Sir Sarvapalli dwelt on one of the most important educational problems of the day. "While I am on the subject of the successes of our women students," said Dr. Urquhart, "may I say that our experience of this last year has made us more convinced than ever of the value of co-education. It seems to be the only possible solution of the educational problem of Bengal, unless you are practical to forbid University education to women. Colleges exclusively for women, whatever intrinsic excellences they may have, are too expensive to be practicable under present financial conditions, and the device of having classes for women in men's colleges at separate hours from those of the men, is of very doubtful value. It provides practically no general academic life either intellectual or recreational. It crowds the lecture periods into an abnormal part of the day, and leaves the students unoccupied with regular study during the remainder of the time, and unoccupied also by any other interest at least for those who are residing in hostels and not in their own homes."

In course of his presidential address, Sir Sarvapalli said that in our country the opportunities for women were steadily on the increase. In the legislatures, academic bodies, in senates and syndicates, and local, bodies everywhere they were now having women representatives. So far as services were concerned, whether medical, legal or educational they were also now being thrown open to women. In cultural and political spheres also their part was not inconsiderable. In all their later life they were thrown together with men and he saw no reason why women should not be trained to that situation earlier in their lives. In this country, Sir Sarvapalli continued, there was necessity for co-educational institutions and developing these as far as possible. But if they took into account the different stages of social development there was need for separate institutions but as a transitional measure there must be facilities for co-education.

Ban on Madras Students

The Syndicate of the Madras University recently considered the letter of the Registrar, Bombay University, about the refusal to admit Madras University students into Bombay colleges, and decided to address the Registrar, Bombay University, drawing the latter's attention to the hardships of the students of this University, who had already been admitted into Bombay colleges and had put in attendance for one term, if they were expelled from those colleges at this stage. This subject and the question of reciprocity between Universities are likely to be discussed at the ensuing session of the Inter-University Conference in March next.

New Honour for Sir P. C. Ray

At the ordinary meeting of the Chemical Society, London, held on Nov. 2 last, Sir Prafullachandra Ray was "unanimously elected an Honorary Fellow of the Chemical Society." It may be mentioned that Sir P. C. Ray was given this high honour and special distinction, in spite of his being an Ordinary Fellow of the Society. Honorary Fellows are elected by the Chemical Society only on rare occasions. This time 7 Honorary Fellows of international reputation have been elected and they represent England, France, United States, Germany, Holland and India. Of these two are Nobel prizemen, namely, Sir F. G. Hopkins of Cambridge, President of the Royal Society, and Prof. Adolf-Windaus of Göttingen. Two other recipients of this distinction are Prof. Camille Matignon and Prof. Behal, both of Paris and members of the Institute. The conferring of this rare distinction on Sir P. C. Ray is a recognition of his life-long services to the cause of chemical research and industry in India although, in some English circles, it is regarded as "too long deferred."

Patna University Convocation

The prospects of the Patna University transforming itself as a residential and teaching University securing adequate resources for higher education and research, and means for tackling the problem of unemployment of the educated classes were among the points dealt with by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, in his last convocation address to the Patna University. He said: "You may have to face some radical change when Orissa is made a separate province, for it will then surely soon have a University of its own with the college at Cuttack as a nucleus. In that case, if you think it desirable, you will have a good opportunity of transforming your University into a residential

and teaching University of the type of recently created Indian Universities without giving rise to the many local jealousies and heartburning." He said that the future Indian university was bound to be of the unitary type, and the type they should aim at was that of the provincial Universities of England, the Continent and America. "Provincial Governments in the future, he said, "would have to make largely increased provision for education of all branches."

Education for Depressed Classes

The Secretary of the All-India Servants of the Untouchables Society, Delhi, has drawn the attention of various Universities to a resolution of the Executive Council of the Nagpur University regarding the exemption of students belonging to the depressed classes and aboriginal tribes from payment of all examination fees up to and including the year 1940 and has suggested that similar concession may be granted by other Universities.

At a recent meeting of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University the question came up for discussion but no decision was arrived at.

Education Activities of Calcutta Corporation

The Annual Report on the Municipal Administration of Calcutta for the year 1931-32 (Vols. I and II) which has just been out is an interesting study.

By far the most important part of the activities of the Corporation is the work of its Education Department. During the year under review the total expenditure by the Corporation on Public Instruction amounted to Rs. 11,67,517 and odd annas against Rs. 10,33,421 and Rs. 9,13,936 in the two previous years respectively. An amount of Rs. 1,95,893 was spent on grants-in-aid to Primary and Secondary Schools. The total amount of grants-in-aid paid to Technical Schools was Rs. 1,09,230. The rate of annual expenditure per pupil in the Corporation Free Primary Schools was Rs. 23-2 against Rs. 23-3 and Rs. 23-4 in the two previous years. The figures for the number of schools and pupils show a steady progress. The year under review closed with 30,064 pupils on the rolls in 229 schools. The corresponding figure at the end of March, 1931, was 27,802 in 220 schools showing an increase of 2,262 pupils showing an increase of 1,262 pupils against 1,242 pupils in the previous year. The average number of pupils per school was 131 3/4. Of the total number of pupils on the rolls, 17,415 were boys and 12,649 girls as compared with 16,217 boys and 11,585 girls at the close of the previous year. During the year the number of boys increased by 1,198 and the number of girls by 1,664 as compared with the increase in the number of boys by 655 and girls by 587 in the preceding year. On the 31st March, 1932, there were 939 teachers in 229 Corporation Free Primary Schools as against 945 teachers in 220 schools at the end of the previous year. Of the total number of teachers 627 were men and 362 women.

Punjab University Jubilee

A distinguished gathering of delegates from over forty Universities and learned societies of the world and prominent men and women of the Punjab were present at the special Jubilee Convocation of the Punjab University on December 4 last, when His Excellency Sir Herbert Emerson, Chancellor, conferred the hony. degrees of LL.D. on Sir Shadilal and Sir Fazli Hussain, Doctor of Oriental Learning on Sir Sikan-dar Hayat Khan and Sir Sundar Singh Majithia, Doctor of Literature on Sir Mahomed Iqbal and Mr. A. C. Woolner, Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University.

The University had decided to confer the Honorary Degrees of LL.D. on the Maharajas of Kashmir and Patiala and the Nawab of Bahawalpur also, but their Highnesses were unable to be present and the degree will later be conferred. In connection with the jubilee celebrations an exhibition of old manuscripts, antiquities and coins will open in the Punjab University Library, Arabic Section, on Tuesday, December 5. About 500 manuscripts have been collected from all parts of India, including Indian States, and the India Office, London. The oldest manuscript in the exhibition, as far as script is concerned, is Kitab-ul-Itk, written by Abdul Rahman Ainsayed-al-Farsi and is on skin. It is of about 200 pages and is as old as 412 A. H. (11th century A.D.). There are some fine manuscripts in Arabic and Persian which represent the history of Muslim calligraphy from Kufic down to India Shikasta (hand). The Qoran written by Mustasmy, in the 13th century, and another of the same type from Prof. Sherani's collections furnish perfection in decorative art. One of the oldest and most beautiful Qorans including a Persian translation of the holy book, which is of considerable size, has also been lent by Prof. Sherani.

Imperial Library, Calcutta

The number of readers who visited the Reading Rooms of the imperial Library on 358 days on which they were kept open during 1932-33 and the number of books requisitioned by them from the stock room were 48,448 and 31,386, respectively. The daily average comes to 121 readers and 88 books, states the annual report of the working of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, for the year 1932-33.

A comparison of the figure for the last three years shows that the number of visitors during 1932-33 fell by 3,528 and 1,350, respectively, and that of requisitions was less by 1,269 as compared with 1931-32 and more by 1,417 than in 1930-31.

While the daily average of readers fell by 12, that of requisitions was smaller only by 4, as compared with the average in the previous year. This leads to the conclusion that a better class of readers have been making use of the Reading Room to the exclusion of those who come to read only newspapers and journals.

The propensities of the reading public visiting the Reading Rooms are an interesting study. Literature continues to be most popular with the reading public, and to an extent that the number of volumes of the next best subject History is only one-third of literature. Religion has regained its lost position of being third on the list. Botany, of which only 113 volumes were consulted in 1931-32, thus being last on the scale has all of a sudden made itself so popular that it can, with 557 volumes to its credit, claim a fairly high position in the list. Its allied science Zoology occupies the last position (112 vols.) with Sports and Games just above it (181 vols.). Calcutta is well-known in the country for its eagerness for all manly sports, and having regard to that fact, it seems strange that the number of volumes consulted in Sports and Games should be lower and lower every year. Numismatics is making itself quite popular, for the number of volumes requisitioned is nearly three times that of last year. Other scientific subjects as Physics, Chemistry, Geology and Mathematics have been all well patronised in preference to Politics, Administration and Biography, etc.

Hindu University Convocation

The sixteenth Convocation of the Benares Hindu University was held on December 11, last, in a beautifully decorated amphitheatre, amidst scenes of enthusiasm in the presence of a huge gathering which included

distinguished Indian educationists and a large number of ladies. The Maharaja of Benares, Pro Chancellor, presided. An honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred on Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, who was presented before Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Vice-Chancellor for acceptance of the degree by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dean of the Faculty of Law of the University. Honorary degrees of D.Sc. were conferred on Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose and Sir Praphulla Chandra Ray. Over five hundred students including several lady students received various degrees, Medals and prizes were awarded to ten distinguished students.

Sir Praphulla Chandra delivered the Convocation address in course of which he observed among other things: "I am afraid, in the mad and insensate imitation of the West—in attaching palatial residential quarters to our universities with all the amenities of modern luxuries—we are doing incalculable harm. We are turning out helpless nincompoops utterly unfit to face the matter-of-fact world. This fact should not be overlooked by our educationists and every university in this country should steer clear of these shoals."

Andhra University

Sir George Frederic Stanley, Governor of Madras, formally opened on December 8 last, the Jeypore Vikramadeo College of Science and Technology named after the Raja of Jeypore and the University College of Arts of the Andhra University in Waltair before a distinguished gathering. The Governor expressed gratification at the expedition with which the buildings were completed and congratulated those concerned.

Allahabad University Convocation

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in the course of his address at the convocation of Allahabad University held on December 15 last, declared that much as he valued the benefits of academic learning and much as he would like to see some of the young men of India live dedicated lives in the service of culture, he felt that, generally speaking, the interests of the country would be better served if the universities laid greater emphasis on, and made better provision for, practical scientific education which would enable Indians to stand the stress of modern competitive life. "Good as university education may be for some," he went on, "I fear it is not good for all and sundry. From a purely cultural point of view, from the point of view of the advancement of knowledge and learning it does not seem to me to be desirable that our universities should consciously or unconsciously allow themselves to be used as so many factories for manufacturing candidates for deputy collectorships, tehsildarships and munsifships, not all of whom can fulfil their ambitions. Again what good does it do to the nation or to the young men themselves to turn out year after year so many hundreds of young Bachelors of Law? It is literally true of the legal profession—more true of it than of any other profession—that many are called but few chosen ... In order to relieve the pressure on the university and at the same time to make university education more efficient from a practical point of view, it seems to me to be necessary to provide more and better equipped secondary and vocational schools, so that after the completion of the school education it may be possible for the vast majority of our young men, in whose case the earning of a livelihood is a necessity and the pursuit of culture at the university a luxury, to settle down in career and trade, business or industries, and thus save that wastage of our youth which to my mind is one of the most alarming signs of the times."

Ourselves

[I. *Two Great Bengalis* ; II. *The late Mr Muralidhar Banerjee* ; III. *Principal of Bethune College* ; IV. *Board of Economic Survey* ; V. *Prof. Ganesh Prasad* ; VI. *A Munificent Gift* ; VII. *Employment Advisory Bureau* ; VIII. *A New Prize* ; IX. *New Fellows* ; X. *Mr. Kshitishchandra Chatterjee* ; XI. *Arbitration Board* ; XII. *Teaching of Italian* ; XIII. *S. L. C. Examination, Nepal* ; XIV. *Results of Medical Examinations* ; XV. *Faculties' Representatives on the Syndicate* ; XVI. *A Lady Research Scholar* ; XVII. *Two University Notifications* ; XVIII. *An Indian Debating Team.*]

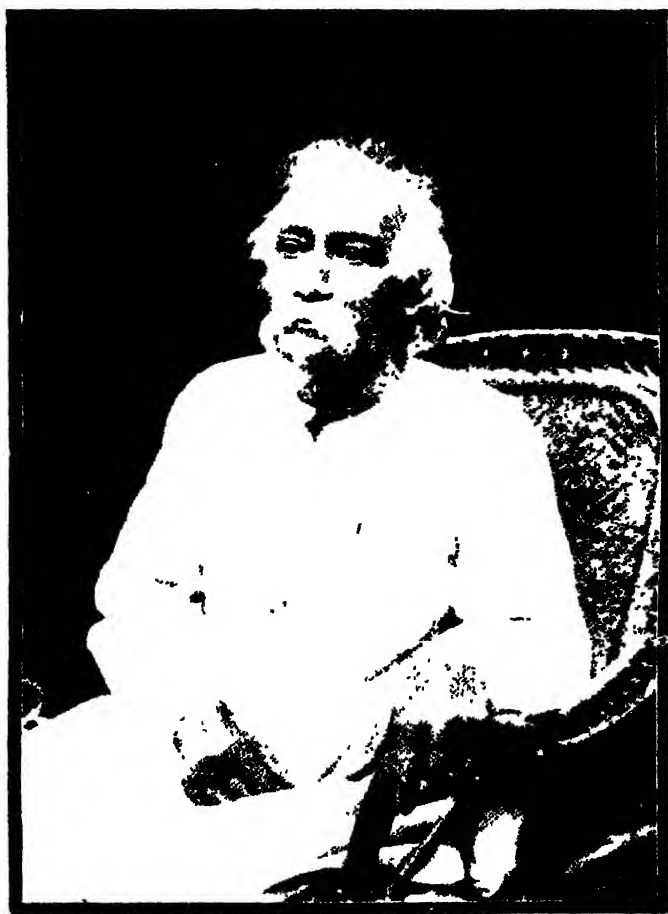
I TWO GREAT BENGALIS.

Calcutta is now celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the death and the birth respectively of two illustrious Bengalis whose memory time has not been able to obliterate. Both Raja Rammohun Roy and Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar were inspired by a lofty idealism to raise the status and improve the condition of their country, but their reforming zeal was eminently practical in nature.

Raja Rammohun was a true pioneer and he laid the foundation of those vital elements which have gone to the making of a new India. His contributions to progress were as solid as they were diverse in character. Education, religion, social reform, equality of rights between man and man, political liberty for his country, a better understanding between the East and the West—nothing escaped his versatile genius. He went to England to fight for his country's cause and succeeded in establishing for himself a position of usefulness and influence which was indeed remarkable. In England he breathed his last, one of the principal causes of his early death no doubt being the strenuous and hard-working life he led in furtherance of his country's progress. He did not live to witness the results of his great labours but even after the lapse of a century we recall his name to-day with pride and affection as one of the master-builders of the Indian nation.

Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar also was a pioneer in his own sphere of work. His name is honoured most for his distinguished services to education. He was intimately connected with this University as an active member of the Senate and the Syndicate. He was recognised as one of the foremost physicians of his day. Dr. Sarkar won great distinction in western medical science but later on took to homeopathy which he considered after mature study and examination to be a sound method

The Calcutta Review



Born Nov. 2, 1833] MAHENDRALAL SIRCAR [*Died Feb. 23, 1904*

of treatment. In those days it was regarded as an act of rare boldness and this is a fine example of the courage of his conviction.

But the greatest achievement of Dr. Sarkar was the foundation of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. He realised more than fifty years ago that the future of India's progress was closely bound with the spread of scientific education. With the vision of a seer he established an institution whose chief object was to provide facilities to capable Indian youths for carrying on original research work in various branches of science. We may be tempted to overlook the national importance of his work and the far-sightedness displayed by him, for during the present generation Bengal can boast of brilliant men of science who by dint of their scholarship have truly shed lustre on their university and their country. But we must not forget that fifty years ago Indians were branded as generally incapable of undertaking higher academic pursuits in the domain of science. When Dr. Sarkar founded his institution, he boldly but quietly took up this challenge and it is to the lasting credit of Indian scholarship that history has recorded its verdict in favour of Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar.

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II. THE LATE MR. MURALIDHAR BANERJEE

We have to announce with regret the death of Mr. Muralidhar Banerjee, M.A. Mr. Banerjee was a distinguished graduate of the University and a first-rate Sanskrit scholar. He served as a Professor of Sanskrit in several Government colleges with great distinction and ability. The best part of his career was spent at Sanskrit College which he joined in 1903 as Professor of Sanskrit and left in 1920 after serving the institution as its Principal. He was also closely associated with the University and for fifteen years worked as a Lecturer in Sanskrit in the Post-Graduate department. He helped the University in editing several important Sanskrit books and the University Grammar. Mr. Banerjee possessed an ideal character. It may truly be said of him that he had no enemy and everyone who came into his contact was deeply impressed by his in-born courtesy, his great devotion to duty and his transparent honesty. We offer our sincere condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

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III. PRINCIPAL OF BETHUNE COLLEGE

The appointment of Mrs. Tatini Das as Principal of Bethune College will be hailed by all who are interested in the future progress of girls' education in Bengal. Mrs. Das had a brilliant academic career. She also spent some time in Europe studying educational problems in various institutions. She is at present on the staff of Bethune College as Professor of Philosophy. She is also connected with several educational organisations in the city and has already given ample proof of her ability as a teacher, an organiser and an administrator. We have no doubt that during her principalship the college will be restored to that position of usefulness and eminence it occupied in the past.

IV. BOARD OF ECONOMIC SURVEY

Professor Pramathanath Banerjea has been appointed by the Syndicate the University representative on the Board of Economic Survey which the Government of Bengal propose to establish.

V. PROFESSOR GANESH PRASAD

Professor Ganesh Prasad has been re-appointed Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics till he attains his 60th year in the middle of November, 1936.

VI. A MUNIFICENT GIFT

D. Harendracoomar Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., Inspector of Colleges, has addressed a letter to the Vice-Chancellor offering to create a fresh endowment in memory of his mother, the late Srimati Prasannomoyee Devi. The first endowment was made by him about a year ago in memory of his father and was of the value of rupees one lac and fiftythousand. The present endowment will consist of one lac of rupees. Out of its income at least two scholarships will be created for the purpose of encouraging studies in Applied Commerce and Business Education, one tenable in a foreign country and the other in India. The scholarships are open only to Bengali Protestant Christians. The first endowment was for providing a band of well-trained youths who could develop the

industrial and agricultural resources of the country ; the object of the present endowment is, to quote his own language, to train side by side with them another band equally well-qualified in order to take charge of the out-turn of the former's labour and dispose of the same with efficiency and profit. As Dr. Mookerjee says, his object is to help in the training up of a body of traders and not teachers, of business-men and not speculative economists and financiers. He conceives that young men who will be helped by this endowment are expected to take their part in the industrial and agricultural development of our country—(1) by finding, creating or organising proper markets for the raw materials of India like jute, cotton, rice, wheat, tea, coffee, etc. ; (2) by providing banking and financial facilities to sound well-managed Indian concerns engaged in promoting the economic welfare of the country ; (3) by selling, distributing or otherwise profitably disposing of finished products made out of Indian raw materials by Indian labour with Indian capital and under the direction of Indian experts ; (4) by establishing commercial houses, banks, insurance companies, financial syndicates, building societies, investment trusts, co-operative societies, industrial bureaus, museums and exhibitions with the primary object of stimulating interest and enterprise on rational and well-directed lines in respect of Indian products.

It need hardly be added that no more laudable an object could have been devised by the donor. The programme which he has outlined is however one of vast magnitude and none recognises better than Dr. Mookerjee himself that his efforts can never achieve success unless they are followed by a systematic policy of co-operation from all sides. Dr. Mookerjee has shown the path to India's economic regeneration and we confidently trust that his example will be followed by others.

We cannot conclude without recording once again our deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Mookerjee for his generous benefactions. Those who did not know him intimately often wondered why he chose to live a life of stern simplicity and loathed to spend for himself more than what was barely necessary. They know the reason now and the remembrance of his lofty ideal would deepen their sense of gratification. We believe his gifts are in one sense of an unparalleled nature because they emanate from one of the officers of the University itself who has devoted sixteen years of solid work to its academic progress, and who now, towards the end of his active service, offers to place at the disposal of his *Alma Mater* all that he has amassed in furtherance of the truest interests of his Motherland.

VII. EMPLOYMENT ADVISORY BUREAU

The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Education Department, has addressed a letter to the University on the desirability of establishing an Employment Advisory Bureau at Calcutta and Dacca Universities. The object of such a Bureau, which is commonly attached to Universities in England, would be to establish a closer connection between the University and employers who are likely to require the services of its graduates. It is stated in the letter that such a bureau would enable employers to obtain more easily the exact type of men they wanted and it might also influence the courses of studies in the University so as to make them more useful and practical. In course of time the Bureau might perhaps extend its functions and bring into closer relationship the research facilities in the University and business firms or individuals requiring research work to be done.

The Syndicate have appointed a committee to consider the proposal and favour the University with a report. The committee consists of Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, Mr. C. C. Biswas, Professor P. N. Banerjea, Mr. S. P. Mookerjee and Professor P. N. Ghosh.

VIII. A NEW PRIZE

Babu Rajendranarayan Acharyya Chaudhuri of Muktagacha, Mymensingh, has offered to create an endowment of the value of Rs. 2,000 in memory of his father, the late Hemendranarayan Acharyya Chaudhuri, for the award of a prize of books to the girl student who obtains the highest number of marks at the Matriculation Examination and continues her studies in an affiliated college.

IX. NEW FELLOWS

Lt.-Col. F. W. O'G. Kirwan, I.M.S. and Mr. Jitendralal Banerjee, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., have been appointed Fellows, *vice* Dr. Birendranath Ghosh, M.B., and Principal Rabindranarayan Ghosh, M.A., respectively. Lt.-Col. Kirwan has been attached to the Faculty of Medicine and Mr. Banerjee to the Faculties of Arts and Law. Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee has resigned his fellowship and his place has been taken by his son, Mr. Birendranath Mookerjee, M.A., A.M.I.E.E., who for several years has been an added member of the

Faculty of Engineering. Sir Rajendranath had served the University in many directions for a long number of years and it was in the fitness of things that the Syndicate should have recorded their deep appreciation of his valuable work.

We extend a cordial welcome to the new Fellows.

X. MR. KHSITISHCHANDRA CHATTERJEE

On the recommendation of the Syndicate the Senate have appointed Mr. Khsitishchandra Chatterjee, M.A., an Honorary Reader, to deliver a course of lectures on *the History of Sanskrit Grammar*. Mr. Chatterjee is a Lecturer in Sanskrit in the Post-Graduate Department and has made a special study of the subject he proposes to deal with. By reason of his scholarship and attainments Mr. Chatterjee fully deserves this recognition.

XI. ARBITRATION BOARD

On the recommendation of the Syndicate, the Senate have extended the term of the Arbitration Board for a further period of one year from January, 1934.

XII. TEACHING OF ITALIAN

The Royal Consul-General for Italy has addressed a letter to the University stating that for the encouragement of the study of Italian he will offer two scholarships of Rs. 10 each per month tenable for two years to the two students who obtain the first two places in Italian at the Matriculation Examination and take the same language as a subject for the Intermediate Examination. The Italian Government have placed at the disposal of the University the honorary services of a capable Italian Scholar, Dr. C. Riaudo, who takes regular classes in the subject. The Consul-General has informed the Registrar that in view of the fact that the University have not to contribute anything towards the salary of the lecturer, the University might agree not to charge any tuition fees from *bona-fide* students who may read Italian. It is needless to add, the Syndicate have thankfully accepted the offer and also the suggestion.

The Principals of affiliated colleges in Calcutta may kindly bring this matter to the notice of their students who may obtain further information from the Registrar or the Secretary to the Post-Graduate Department.

XIII. S. L. C. EXAMINATION, NEPAL

On an application made by the Director of Public Instruction, Nepal, the Syndicate have recognised for a period of two years the S. L. C. Examination of Nepal as equivalent to the Matriculation Examination of this University on the same conditions as applicable in the case of the Patna Matriculation Examination.

XIV. RESULTS OF MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS

The following is a tabular statement of the results of the different Medical Examinations held in November, 1933 :

Examination .	No. Registered.	Absent.	Expelled.	Passed	Percentage.	
					(i) This Exam.	(ii) Last Exam
Pr. Sc. M.B. ...	71	2	Nil	58	84.1	71.2
1st M.B. ...	96	1	1	53	56.3	63.7
2nd M.B. ..	88	1	Nil	54	62.2	71.2
3rd M.B. ...	71	Nil	Nil	51	71.8	83.7
Final M.B. ...	204	2	Nil	65	30.7	23.5

None obtained honours in any examination except one who obtained honours in Forensic Medicine and Hygiene at the Third M.B. Examination.

It will be noticed that a high percentage of failure at the Final M.B. Examination continues to be a marked feature of the results. The attention of the examiners was drawn to this matter in June last and certain proposals made by them are now under consideration of the University. There are only two Medical Colleges affiliated to the University in Bengal and it is hardly creditable to the institutions themselves that after six years of continuous training, such a large number of students should be unsuccessful at their final examination.

XV. FACULTIES' REPRESENTATIVES ON THE SYNDICATE

The Faculties of Arts, Science, Law, Medicine and Engineering have elected their representatives on the Syndicate for 1934. The members are the same as before, except that Mr. A. H. Harley, M.A., Principal, Islamia College, has gone back to his old place, being nominated by Maulvi A. F. M. Abdul Kadir, M.A., the sitting member. An unusual feature of this year's elections was that there was no contest for any of the seats. One additional name was proposed in the Faculty of Law but the member ultimately withdrew his candidature.

XVI. A LADY RESEARCH SCHOLAR

The Senate have sanctioned the creation of an additional Research Scholar for one year on a salary of Rs. 75 per month. This has been awarded to a brilliant lady graduate of the University, Miss Roma Bose, who passed the M.A. Examination in Philosophy in 1933, having stood First in the First Class. Miss Bose comes of a talented family. Her grandfather was the late Mr. Anandamohan Bose, one of the greatest Bengalis of his generation, a true lover of his country and an eloquent speaker, whose services to the cause of education Bengal still remembers with gratitude. We offer our cordial congratulations to Miss Bose and we trust this recognition shown to her by the University will inspire other lady graduates to devote themselves to higher academic pursuits.

XVII. TWO UNIVERSITY NOTIFICATIONS

(i) *Devendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal* .

Applications have been invited from candidates for the competition for the Devendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal for the year 1933. The competition for the medal is limited to M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., D.Sc., M.D., D.L., M.E., M.O. and M.S. of not more than three years' standing, and the standard of physical fitness will be determined by the examination of the health of the competitors by the Students' Welfare Department of the Calcutta University as well as by application of such tests as may be decided upon by the Committee appointed

for the purpose by the Syndicate. Such applications from the entrants for the competition must reach the office of the Controller of Examinations by the 15th January, 1934.

(ii) *Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship*

Applications have also been invited for the Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship for study outside India to be awarded in the year 1934, which must be submitted in the prescribed form to the Registrar, Calcutta University, not later than the 1st February, 1934. The scholarship is intended for such young men as may desire to specialise in some subjects of Arts or Science, the cultivation of the knowledge of Agriculture and of the Industries of Europe and America or the East. Information regarding qualifications of a candidate for the scholarship is contained in the Calendar (pages 444-448, edition of 1933). The prescribed form may be had on application at the office of the Registrar.

XVIII. AN INDIAN DEBATING TEAM

We republish below a letter which recently appeared in the columns of the *Statesman* written by Mr. T. S. Sterling, M.A., who was for many years Professor at Presidency College and for a short period its Principal. Those who knew Mr. Sterling would recall with pleasure the genuine interest taken by him in the welfare of Bengali students. We are in entire agreement with the proposal of Mr. Sterling; in fact a similar suggestion was made in these columns last month while we had the pleasure of commenting on the debate held at the University between Bengali students and the representatives of the British Universities. It is generous on Mr. Sterling's part to offer a donation of Rs. 100; we believe some donations may also be raised in this country. But we should like to know how the proposal will be received by the British Universities themselves. When their representatives visited this country, the Indian Universities contributed towards their expenses and also arranged for their board and lodging. Perhaps Mr. Sterling may persuade the Bureau of the Universities of the British Empire to take up this matter; he was for some time its secretary and also possesses first-hand knowledge of the equipments of the Indian student.

Mr. Sterling's Letter

To—The Editor of the "Statesman."

SIR,

I note, in a recent issue of the Overseas Edition of the *Statesman*, that an English debating team has recently visited Madras and Calcutta.

I beg to suggest that a team of students from the University of Calcutta be sent to England. Such a team would give students in English Universities some idea of the proficiency in English which is attained by Bengali students. It is a pity that the high standard reached by Bengalis is not more widely known.

If my proposal is put into effect, I consider it eminently desirable that the team should spend a week in Egypt where it will be warmly welcomed by my old pupils of the Egyptian University. The high standard of education reached by Bengalis is insufficiently known in Egypt.

I am prepared to contribute Rs. 100 (one hundred) to the cost of the tour.

Yours, etc.,

T. S, STERLING,

Retired I.E.S. (Bengal).

Nice, December 5.

A CORRECTION

"*Kāliya-daman*," the tri-colour frontispiece of our last December issue (1933) as well as two other mono-coloured pictures included in the article, "Artistic Renaissance in India," of the same number were reproduced by kind permission of Mr. G. S Dutt, I.C.S., from an old scroll-painting in his possession.

Calvin Coolidge was right

Calvin Coolidge, ex-President of the United States, had something to say about the way advertising. He described his personal experience as a boy to illustrate how advertising widens one's horizon and creates those desires which lead to material and cultural progress.

“WHEN I was a boy in the hills of Vermont twelve miles from the railroad the only merchandise I saw was in the country store. But my horizon was widened by certain publications containing pictures and descriptions of things that appealed to youth. I read and bought. The man who supplied them became rich and died a great philanthropist. **He advertised.**

“It is essential in the first instance to make good merchandise. But that is not enough. It is just as essential to create a desire for it. That is advertising.

“The person or association of persons who can produce that combination of excellence and demand is performing a real public service. They enlarge the mental horizon and provide new forms of utility and beauty. The material benefits pass over into spiritual benefits. Culture and charity are the by-products.

“.....The only way for the people to become acquainted with what they want is through judicious advertising. Goods not worth advertising are not worth selling.”

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

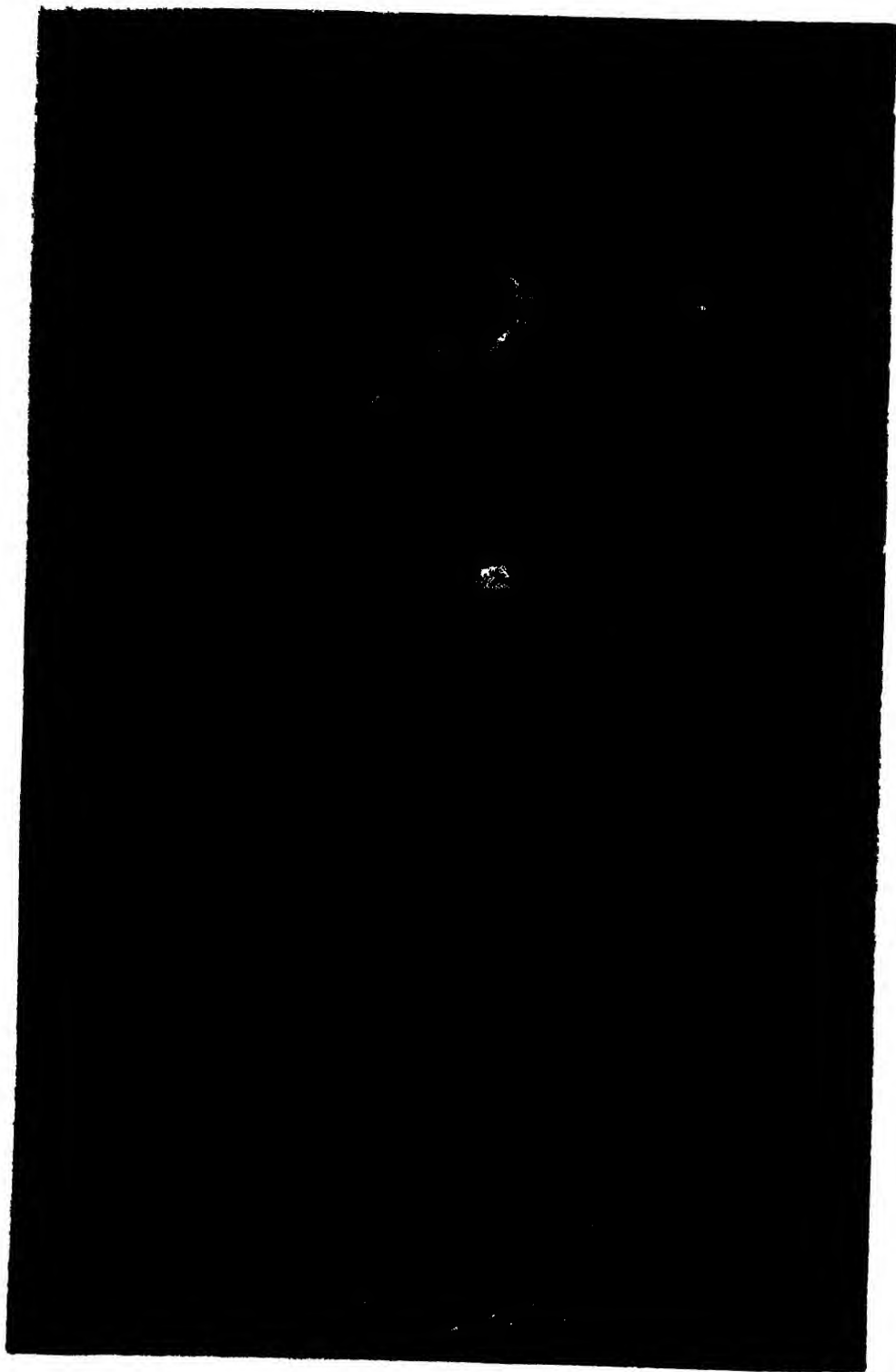
—and the most direct and economical way to advertise is in magazines that concentrate in the fields you want to reach, such as **THE CALCUTTA REVIEW** as examples of high class publications.

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LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

By PROF. G. MONTAGU HARRIS, O.B.E., M.A.

London

AS the subject upon which I am to speak to you is "Local Self-government" it would seem desirable that I should in the first place say what I mean by that term. I do not include the government of any Federated States and therefore the different states of America or Australia or the provinces of Canada or the cantons of Switzerland do not concern us, for each of these states or provinces, as the case may be, has its own system of local government. What I shall be mainly dealing with will be what we may describe as Municipal or County government in those countries in which the local authorities administering such government have a representative character and a definite responsibility.

Now most of these bodies have to deal with practically the same matters whatever the country may be, but the form of their constitution depends very largely upon the history and traditions of the people, the geography, the climate, and other circumstances of that description. Therefore, it can never be said that the form of government which is suitable for one country is necessarily suitable for another. At the same time every country can learn, from others, ways of dealing with municipal problems which may in some respect or other be adapted to their own circumstances, and therefore a knowledge of

what is going on in local government in other countries must be of value to every local administrator.

In order to supply information of this character, the International Union of Local Authorities, at first called the International Union of Cities, was established in Brussels in 1913. Since the War it has grown rapidly and now includes some 40 countries. It holds periodical congresses at which specific subjects are discussed, but its chief value is as a clearing house of information, which enables it to reply to questions put by any member as to the method of administration of any branch of local government in any country affiliated to it. It must be clearly understood that the International Union does not advocate any particular form of government—it merely supplies information, and it is from this point of view that I shall describe to you, merely as information, some of the principles and broad methods of administration practised in different countries,

I wish particularly to impress upon you that, if I should appear to mention any detail as being good in itself, I do not mean to imply that it would be necessarily good for India, for I am too ignorant of the circumstances of India to have any opinion myself on the subject, and it is for you to judge whether and how far the information which I may give you will be of service. I am quite certain of this—that it would be useless to import any administrative method from England, Germany, or any other country simply because it works well in England or Germany. You need to examine and find out whether it would be suitable to your own circumstances and in accordance with your history and traditions—if not, it is highly probable that you would be better without it.

There are, in my opinion, four main systems of local government—the British, French, German and American—and I propose to give you the main principles of these four types.

Great Britain is almost universally looked upon as the home of local self-government and yet the most characteristic features of its system have not been adopted by European countries. These characteristics are—the election, practically by adult suffrage, of large councils for each local governing unit, the members of which are unpaid, the councils themselves having full responsibility both legislative and executive. The Mayor or Chairman has no greater powers than those possessed by any other member of the council except the right to preside at their meetings. The paid officials are permanently appointed by the councils, whose servants they are, obliged to carry out the

councils' orders. The councils work largely by committees, which meet more frequently than the councils themselves and often have certain executive powers. The paid officials attend the meetings both of the councils and committees, but are never members of either.

As regards the areas of administrations, 70 or 80 of the largest cities are known as County Boroughs and are completely independent of the counties in which they are situated. The remainder of each county is governed by a County Council which exercises powers over both the urban and rural areas in it with the exception of the county boroughs, but the minor authorities in the county—that is to say, the non-county boroughs and the Urban and Rural District Councils, have certain powers of their own mainly relating to public health, whilst the rural districts are again subdivided into Parishes, which themselves have councils with certain limited powers. The powers of every local authority are defined by statute and no authority can do anything for which it cannot show express attribution of the power in an Act of Parliament.

Recent developments, especially the invention of the motor car leading to long distance road traffic, have made it clear that for many purposes large areas are required for local government purposes, and as a result the most recent Local Government Act, that of 1929, conferred upon the counties and county boroughs all the powers relating both to roads and to Poor Law which had previously been exercised by smaller authorities.

In England there is only one form of local tax available—the tax on the annual value of land and buildings, known as the rate. No other taxes may be levied, but the amount of the rate is entirely at the discretion of the local authorities, except in the case of the parish councils. It is said sometimes that it is not fair that owners of lands or houses should be the only people to pay for the expenses of the local administration, but this unfairness is relieved by the system of Government grants, since these grants are paid out of the general Exchequer funds, which are fed mainly by the income-tax.

Now, four years ago a very great change was made in the form of the government grants. Formerly, these were given for specific services and they were given, as Americans put it, on a matching system, or "pound for pound." In other words the central government contributed an amount equal to what was raised by the local authorities out of their own resources. But it was found that this told heavily on the poorer bodies with their limited resources, while the rich ones could draw larger amounts from the central authority,

and therefore those authorities which most needed financial assistance got the least. This was not at all satisfactory for the country. Therefore a new system was adopted in 1929 under which these separate grants for specific purposes were abolished, except for police and education, and a new grant was substituted, which is called the block grant. The amount of that grant is based primarily on the population of the district, but other factors are taken into consideration of which one is the number of insured men and women unemployed. Another factor is the rateable value per head of population. Another is the number of children under school age in population, and a fourth, in the country districts, is the mileage of public roads.

When the central government gave grants for specific purposes it was considered necessary to see exactly how that money was spent in every detail. Now the block grant is given without such meticulous examination. Power is still reserved to the Minister of Health to refuse grants, if the administration of local authorities is not satisfactory, but it is very unlikely that that power will be used. Whether with all these factors the new system will result in the poorer districts getting the financial assistance they need, it is not yet possible to say, but the system will be revised in five years' time.

Now the question of the control of the central government over the local authority is a matter which is of interest. I know there are some people who say that centralisation is increasing in England. I do not believe it. I have been a servant of the local authorities for 17 years and of the central government for 12 years and have therefore been able to look at the matter from both sides and I think that the tendency is to reduce rather than to increase centralisation. Inspectors go about from county to county for different purposes but the local authorities do not seem to take any objection, and the relations generally between central and local officials is one of partnership in a common undertaking. The audit of the accounts by some unprejudiced persons outside the local authority itself seems an obvious necessity in order to ensure compliance with the law. The boroughs of England have still the right to nominate their own auditors, which, to me, seems anomalous. The business of the government auditors is merely to see that the finance is properly carried on. If anything is proved to be wrong, the members of the council are individually responsible and may be surcharged. It is necessary to have something of that sort. It would be no good to have an audit unless somebody were made responsible. So far as I know England is the only country where there is a complete audit system by government, but audit is

carried on by the government in some countries while in others an audit system is organised by the unions of towns.

The British system of local government is generally followed in the British Dominions, Canada, Australia and South Africa, although they have smaller councils, and as a general rule, the control by the central government is not so great as in England.

Now in France on the other hand the local government is marked by complete centralisation. The great desire is to make the nation one, and for that reason everything has been centralised in Paris. The whole country is divided into communes and departments the latter corresponding to the English counties, but there are distinctly subordinates to the head of the department, who is called the Prefect and is appointed by the central government. In fact he represents within his department each department of the central government. The appointment is distinctly a political one. As soon as government changes every prefect might be dismissed and a new one put in his place but this does not happen in practice. As government nominee the prefect is expected to support the government that is in power. He has enormous power, not only over the department as such but over every commune within it, even including the largest cities, for these are as, "county boroughs," as in England, independent of the department, with the exception of Lyons. Every budget estimate has to come to the prefect to receive his approval. He appoints a large number of officials. He appoints all school teachers in the department. The control he exercises is therefore very considerable. The Mayor is for police and certain other purposes an agent of the central government and can be suspended by the prefect of the District. Therefore, though elected by the people, he is distinctly under the control of the central government.

The main financial resources of the French local authorities (as in most European countries) has hitherto been additions to certain of the national taxes, known as "certain additions" and the assignment of certain proportions of the produce of other national taxes. It is intended, however, next year to abolish this system and to base the local revenues mainly on a land and building tax.

Changes of far-reaching importance in the domain of local self-government have taken place in Germany since Herr Adolph Hitler came into power. But I wish to say something about the former local government in Germany, because it compares in an interesting way with that in England and in France and its ancient system is one which Germany has reason to be proud of. In Germany there

is one side of local administration which was not carried on as part of local self-government. I mean the Police or "Polize," an organisation not only concerned, like our police, to prevent or detect and punish crimes.

There are in Germany many different kinds of police, building police, market police, morals police and so forth. All these are under the central government or its agent, the country being divided for this purpose into very large districts, each of which has at its head a President, who is a state official himself subordinate to the head of the province, who is called the Over-president while in the towns the Burgomaster, who is elected for 12 years, occupies a dual position, for he is on the one hand the head of the local authority, while on the other he is a state official, locally responsible for the police. He therefore was always the real governing power in the town, even when there was an executive body of paid officials called the Magistrates, for the elected council had in the main only advisory powers, except as regard control over financial policy. In the rural communes much the same system existed but in the circles, or *kreise*, which correspond to the English counties, the head called *Landrat* is even more definitely than the burgomaster a state official, corresponding to the French prefect. In Germany, however, the larger towns are independent of the counties and resemble the English county boroughs in this respect.

In view of the "police" system, the extent of German local self-government is not so wide as in England but on the other hand in one respect it is freer. The town council can do anything it likes which it thinks for the good of the community (outside police functions) provided it is not expressly forbidden by law. That is contrary to the position in England, where local authorities may exercise only such powers as have been expressly granted by Parliament. In Germany, therefore, it was much easier to run trading concerns of all kinds, shops, factories, theatres, hotels, and so forth, while in England for any such purpose it is necessary to promote a bill in Parliament.

In Germany it is held to be essential to have one single person responsible. The idea of a whole council being responsible as in England, is incomprehensible to the human mind. Moreover, it is the practice to have a whole hierarchy of officials one above the other, which results in great complication.

As regards finance, the position as between the central government and the local authorities was completely reversed by the revolution.

Formerly the local authorities had original powers of taxation independent of the Reich. By the Weimar constitution of 1919 the central government was given power to deal with all forms of taxes which could in any way affect the Reich. There have been various methods of financial organisation in the subsequent years. The main principle is that the central government, having taken what it wants, give grants to the provinces and through them to the "*kreise*" or counties and the communes get what is left. The local income-tax, which was formerly the main source of local revenue, has been abolished, but a poll-tax has been recommended in its place. The communes are finding it very difficult to get enough to carry on the essential administration and have been obliged to cut down many of their services.

Since Hitler came into power, I understand that great changes have been made, though having been travelling since February last, I have not been able to get the details. For the time being at any rate local self-government seems to have been completely abolished, for I am told that not only are all burgomasters now appointed by the central government instead of being elected, but that there are now no elected councils of any kind. In this Hitler seems to be following the example of Italy, where, since the Fascist regime, every commune is absolutely ruled by a single person called the "*podesta*," who is appointed by the central government. There is also, in each commune, a "*consulta*" or council, but the members of this are also appointed by the higher authority and it has only advisory powers.

Now I come to the American system. The United States is a very large country and each state has its own system of local government, which is fixed by the state constitution. In many cases these constitutions are serious obstacles in the way of provincial reform. They were drawn up when social life—and, in particular, means of communication—were completely different from what they are to-day and yet it seems often impossible to alter them so as to make them suitable to modern conditions.

Another difficulty in the way of reform is the adherence of the American people to the principle of the separation of legislative and executive powers which we in England do not think to be conducive to good government. Election of officials by the people for short terms of office is a standing evil. Because of the party system election and appointments depend upon a man's political proclivities instead of on his fitness for the post. Corruption has been rampant and unfortunately people do not seem to object to those in office accepting

bribes, yet dishonesty of this kind is completely fatal to good government.

Happily there is at the present time in America a very strong movement in favour of the reform of local government. Many organisations exist for this purpose and many cities are able to show that they can carry on really satisfactory, honest and efficient administration. Until recently the most usual form of municipal government was a mayor elected at large and a council or commission of five to seven members, similarly elected. The scope of powers and duties of the local authority was laid down by the state constitution and the charter of the particular municipality, but apart from that the municipalities were very free of outside control, the mayor being the "executive" with very wide powers. Local finance in the United States is based almost entirely on a tax on the capital value of land and buildings—not the annual value as in England.

The most recent method which has been introduced and is growing in popularity is that the people elect a commission consisting of 5, 6 or 7 persons, which appoints a City Manager to serve for a term of years according to the provisions of the charter adopted. The city manager, as soon as he is appointed, is responsible for the day-to-day administration and for the appointment of subordinate officials. He can be dismissed by the council and in some cases he may be called upon by the majority of electors to resign, but so long as he is there he is the one man responsible. I had the privilege of attending the annual convention of city managers at Chicago, when for two days we had five-minute speeches from one after another and I was therefore able to judge the different types of men and their attitude towards their work. Each seems to wish to make out his city the best and that is the sort of spirit one likes to see.

I am not prepared to say that the city manager system would be good everywhere. I am sure it would not be accepted in England, for it would overthrow some of our most cherished traditions, but there is no doubt that, in almost all those American cities in which it has been tried, it has proved a success and has resulted in an efficient, economical and pure administration.

I was constantly asked in America whether it was true that our councillors served without pay and yet made nothing out of their position. I was able to reply that, generally speaking, our government was nearly free of graft and corruption, though of course, human nature being what it is, incidents of the kind sometimes do occur. I was then asked the reason for this freedom from corruption,

and I said that I thought it was due to the force of public opinion. Of course one might have laws against improper action by members or officials of local authorities and those laws must be strictly administered, but they will be of little use unless there is a public opinion which condemns such members or officials if they are false to their trust. Such a public opinion has existed in England for a long time, but the Americans have already shown that it can be inculcated by deliberate efforts within a short period. This was done, for instance, in the case of Cincinnati. There a sound public opinion has been deliberately created and maintained, with the result that one of the most corrupt municipalities has, within ten years, been turned into a model for the world. Whether or not the precise form of government which Cincinnati has adopted (that of the city manager) is suitable elsewhere does not matter. The point is the value, for good local government, of sound public opinion.¹

¹ Being the first of a course of three Readership lectures on "A Comparative Study of Local Self-government and Regional Planning" delivered at the University of Calcutta in January, 1934.

CONVERSION AND RECONVERSION TO HINDUISM DURING MUSLIM RULE

(From Persian and Arabic Sources)

By PROF. SRI RAM SARMA, M.A.

Lahore

I

It used to be the common belief even among students of history that Hindus never admitted people belonging to other religions to their fold. But a more careful study of our sources has now changed that view and it is no longer fashionable to think of Hinduism as a religion wherein only those had a place who were born into it. Most of the evidence from the Hindu period in this connection has been brought together by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in his article on *Foreign Elements in Hindu Population*¹ and those interested in the subject may turn to its pages for fuller information.

But it is still commonly held that Hindu admissions of non-Hindus stopped with the advent of Muslims in this country. The following pages make an attempt at investigating this problem from the pages of Muslim chronicles intent more upon recording the victories of their co-religionists than the conversions of non-Hindus to the Hindu fold. They were not at all interested in this question and when we get some light shed upon this aspect of affairs it is but accidental. Another thing must be remembered in this connection. Under Islamic law the conversion of Muslims to other faiths was a capital crime.² One can therefore very well appreciate the courage and the fate of those Hindus who may have any intention of converting Muslims to their own faith. Even the reconversion of converted Hindus from Islam was a crime, and thus if we do not find any great movement for the conversion or reconversion of non-Hindus to the Hindu fold we should not be very much surprised. We should hold these artificial barriers created by Muslim law responsible for this state of things rather than hold Hinduism responsible for its being forced to shut its doors to non-Hindus.

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, 1911, pp. 7 to 37.

² Tritton, *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects*, pp. 181 to 185.

But the surprising thing is that even under these adverse conditions we do find recorded examples of conversions of non-Hindus to the Hindu fold, and the reconversion of the Hindus to their old religion after they had once accepted Islam. The cases recorded by Muslim chroniclers are no doubt few and far between but they make for the belief that a larger number of cases might have occurred which these annalists did not try to record. Any way it is no longer possible to believe in the face of the instances quoted below that Hinduism had exhausted its proselytizing energy before the advent of the Muslim in India.

1. The Arabs conquered Sindh in 712 A.D. Under Caliph Umar II (717 to 724 A.D.) many Hindus in Sindh were converted to Islam. But when under Caliph Hisham (724 to 743 A.D.) Tammim was the Governor of Sindh, many of these Hindu converts to Islam were reconverted and admitted into the Hindu fold. We have no details of these conversions, the Arab chronicler of the early conquests of Islam, Al-Biladuri is content to record the fact that Tammim's successor, Hakim, found that the people of India except those of Kassa had returned to idolatry.¹ Thus there was no bias among the Hindus at this time against the reconversion of their co-religionists if they once changed their religion.

2. But the Hindus in Sindh were not simply content with welcoming their erstwhile Hindu brethren alone. They converted many—how many we have no means of estimating—Muslims as well to their faith about this time. 'After the recall of Muhammad bin Qasim,' says Sir Denison Ross, 'the Muslims retained some foothold on the west banks of the river Indus, but they were in such small numbers that they were gradually merged into Hindu population.' In Mansura (the capital of Sindh) they *actually adopted Hinduism*. Under Hakim the Muslims retreated from Sindh as "they had no place of security in which they could take refuge." He built a town on the other side of the lake facing India. 'This he made a place of refuge and security for them and gave it the name of Al Mansura, the secure,'² we can well imagine what must have happened. When the retreat was ordered many of them may have either been left behind or cut off from the main army. Naturally they had to make the best of their position. Thus cut off from their co-religionists they could not, so they may have argued, exist in security. Their only salvation, it must have appeared to them, lay

¹ Elliot, Vol. I, p. 126.

² Sir Denison Ross, *Islam*, p. 18.

in their absorption into the Hindu population among whom they were dwelling. Contrary to popular belief the Hindus must have been prepared to welcome them in their midst and thus they were converted to the Hindu faith. Again we know nothing of the actual process that preceded their admission into the Hindu fold but they were admitted into Hinduism no doubt and the Hindu population received a Muslim element.

3. One may argue that Hinduism was still virile enough in the first half of the eighth century. But when we next turn to Mahmud's expedition to India, we find history repeating itself. When Subuktigin defeated Jaipal in 986-87 A.D., the latter surrendered certain hostages to Subuktigin. One of them was his grandson Sukhpal. Subuktigin made no attempt to convert him. Sukhpal accompanied him in his expedition to Nishapur in 994 and remained there with Mahmud. In April 995, Abul Ali expelled Mahmud from Nishapur and it was probably at this time that Sukhpal fell into the hands of Abul Ali who converted him. In 996 however Abul Ali was taken prisoner. This or the subsequent death of Abul Ali in 997 A.D. provided Sukhpal, now a Muslim, the chance of re-entering Mahmud's service where he soon rose to eminence. In 1006 A. D. he accompanied Mahmud on his expedition to India against Daud of Multan and was appointed Governor thereof in succession to Daud who fled away. Hardly a year had passed when Sukhpal gave up his new faith and was reconverted to Hinduism. This news reached Mahmud after January 5, 1008, in Khurasan and he hastened to India to meet this new danger. Sukhpal was defeated, a heavy fine was extorted from him, and he was imprisoned. But he did not give up his Hindu religion.¹

Now Sukhpal's mere lapse into idolatry would never have made him such a danger as he is represented to be if his reconversion to Hinduism had not been accepted by his contemporary co-religionists. All contemporary or semi-contemporary accounts of Mahmud's reign are agreed in representing his readmission into the Hindu fold as a great challenge to Mahmud's power. His reconversion therefore must have been accepted by the contemporary Hindus as a matter of course.

4. Our next example of absorption of Muslim population among the neighbouring Hindus comes from the south. Commercial relations between Arabia and India had been established at an early date and some of the Muslim traders or their followers seem to have settled in

the districts bordering on the Arabian Sea. One such group of isolated settlers lived in Madura early in the fourteenth century and was very nearly absorbed among the Hindus. When Malik Kafur attacked Madura under its ruler Ravivarman in 1311, he fled away to Kadur. Malik Kafur followed him there and ordered a general massacre. Here he met with those Muslim settlers—or descendants of early Muslim settlers—who had almost been absorbed among the Hindus and who on that account very nearly lost their lives along with other Hindu inhabitants. But fortunately for them some of them succeeded in repeating the *Kalima* and were thus spared.¹

5. This was soon followed by another instance where a very large number of people were involved. Ala-ud-Din Khilji was followed by Mubarak Shah on the throne of Delhi. Mubarak was infatuated of a Hindu youngman from Gujerat who originally belonged to the Mahar Caste, the sweepers of Gujerat. This youngman had been converted to Islam and was given the exalted title of Khusru Khan Hassan. He gained so great a control over the king that he was at last able to murder him in his palace. He now assumed the title of Nasr-ud-Din Khusro Shah. What followed may best be given in the words of Barni. 'Preparations were made for idol worship in the palace. Idols were set up.....It was Khusro's desire to increase the power and importance of the Hindus.....Through all the territory of Islam the Hindus rejoiced boasting that Delhi had come under Hindu rule and Muslims had been driven away and dispersed.'² This episode has not received the attention it deserves. Khusro was a Muslim convert, he could not set up Hindu idols before becoming a Hindu himself. Thus not only must he have been reconverted to Hinduism but accepted by the contemporary Hindus as such. How otherwise could Hindus boast that Delhi had come under Hindu rule. His reconversion was accompanied by the reconversion of many thousands of Hindu converts to Islam whom he had sent for from Gujerat and enlisted as his personal troops. One of his uncles, we are assured, actually re-assumed a Hindu name. Here was Hinduism re-admitting into its fold many thousands of Hindu converts to Islam.

6. Our sixth case illustrates the difficulties those had to suffer who undertook to convert Muslims to Hinduism. When Firoz Shah Tughlaq was reigning at Delhi, he received a complaint, some time

¹ Amir Khusru, *Tarikh-i-'Alai*, Ulir VII, p. 90.

² Barni, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 44, 412.

after 1375, against a Brahman at Delhi. He had set up, so it was reported, some idols made of wood. These were publicly worshipped by Hindus and some Muslims who could have been admitted to Hindu worship only if they had been converted to Hinduism. All doubts on this point are removed by the further assertion that some of these Muslim worshippers, ladies mostly, had been converted to Hinduism.¹ Thus here is a record of a Brahman converting Muslims to Hinduism and admitting the converts to public worship in his temple.

With his fate we are not here concerned. Firoz Shah burnt him at the stake with his idols.

7. Another case involving the reconversion of 2,000 Brahman girls occurred in the south about the end of the fourteenth century. The Rajas of Vijayanagar were always at war with their Bahmani neighbours. In 1398-1399 (801 A.H.) Dev Rai of Vijayanagar invaded the territory of his Muslim neighbour. He was defeated in the struggle that ensued and 2,000 Brahman girls were made captives by the armies of Feroz Shah Bahmani. This compelled the Raja to sue for peace as the Brahmans demanded that their girls be restored to them from their Muslim captors. A treaty was at last signed, 1,00,000 Huns were paid by Dev Rai and the girls were then released.² Now it stands to reason that as soon as the girls were made captives they must have been converted, however, nominally, to Islam. That the Brahmans should not only re-admit them to the Hindu fold but actually demand their restoration proves that the present ideas about the attitude of the Hindus to readmission of converts is of recent growth.

8. The next case occurs in the fifteenth century and involves the reconversion of thousands of Hindu converts to Islam. Zain-ul-Abdin who ruled in Kashmir from 1424 to 1460 allowed the Brahmans to reconvert those Hindus who had been forcibly converted to Islam during the reign of his predecessor or who were otherwise willing to be reconverted. It is necessary to remember here that as a result of the lifting of the ban, many Hindus were re-admitted into the Hindu fold. Further it proves that the real reason why such conversions were not more common was not the reluctance of the Hindus to re-admit their co-religionists to their fold but the religious policy of the Muslim kings which made such reconversions a capital offence. So shocked are the Muhammadan annalists at the liberality of this

¹ Asib, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p.

² *Pirishia*, p. 311.

king, that a story had to be invented to explain it.¹ We are told that Zain-ul-Abdin who allowed these reconversions was in reality a Hindu Yogi who had, at the death-bed of the king, projected his own soul into the body of dying Zain-ul-Abdin. If anything this explanation strengthens the contention that there was no strong feeling among the Hindus against the reconversion of their brethren who may have previously given up their faith.

9. Shah Jahan's reign contributes several interesting examples of the conversions of the Muslims to the Hindu faith. While Jahangir was returning from Kashmir he discovered that Hindus married Muslim wives who were burnt at death. Thus it is clear that at their marriage they were regularly admitted into the Hindu fold. Shah Jahan imposed a fine if such Hindus as had married Muslim wives did not abjure their faith and accept Islam. This source of admitting non-Hindu element into the Hindu population was responsible for the conversion of a large number of Muslim women. For we find that when Shah Jahan ordered that the Hindus could keep these wives only if they accepted Islam, 5,000 conversions to Islam took place in Bhadnor alone.²

10. But this custom was not confined to Kashmir alone. Down in Gujerat Shah Jahan again discovered the same complaint. Here the disease was not so widespread for only 70 women were found living in the houses of Hindus having been admitted to the Hindu fold.³

11. But other places in the Punjab were also found where this custom of marrying Muslim girls was prevalent among the Hindus. From the rest of the Punjab 400 such cases were reported on investigation.

This happened in his seventh year.⁴

12. In the 10th year he again discovered Dalpat Rai, a Hindu of Sarhand, indulging in this forbidden practice. He had admitted one man and six women to Hinduism, and gave these converts new names. On the complaint of the Qaḍi, Shah Jahan asked him to embrace Islam which he declined to do and was executed accordingly.⁵

13. We have another case for Aurangzeb's reign. A Hindu of Hoshiarpur in the Punjab was converted to Islam and lived as a

¹ *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh*, pp. 388-389.

² *Qarvini, Badshahnama*, f. 444 h, 445 a

³ *Ibid*, f. 445 h.

⁴ *Ibid*, f. 562 a and b.

⁵ *Ibid*.

Muslim for a long period in Jullundur. He was subsequently recon-verted to Hinduism. This was reported whereupon he was imprisoned. The Hindus of Hoshiarpur observed *hartal* thereon.¹ This case proves that the Hindus not only tolerated the conversion of converts to Islam back to their original faith but sympathised with those who suffered on account of their re-conversion to Hinduism.

14. Another case of the conversion of Muslim women to Hinduism is reported in *Subeh-i-Sadiq* of Muhammad Sadiq. Puran Mal, governor of the fort of Rai Sen in Sher Shah's reign is reported to have converted many Muslim women and this is held there as one of the causes that induced Sher Shah to attack him.² This history was composed in the year 1048 A.H. (1638-39 A.D.) within a century of Sher Shah's death and there is no reason to believe that it would invent such a tale without there being any foundation for the same.

15. Another case is reported by the same author from Kalpi. Nasir Khan, a son of Abdul Qadir, ruler of Kalpi, adopted the style of Nazir Shah and gave up Islam. Sultan Mahmud of Malwa invaded his territories in order to punish him for his apostacy. Nasir Khan thereupon declared himself a Muslim. But as he had deluded his Muslim neighbours by such a move before and had again adopted Hinduism, Mahmud decided that he would get Kalpi back if after four months' his conversion to Islam proved serious.³ Here is a case of a Muslim ruler, son of a Muslim father, renouncing Islam and adopting Hinduism openly to the scandal of the neighbouring Muslim rulers. His conversion to Hinduism must have been accepted by Hindus before it could become a danger to the Muslim faith to the extent of compelling his Muslim neighbours to invade his territories.

16. But Hindu enthusiasm was not curbed even under Aurangzeb. He received complaints on April 9, 1669, that in the province of Thatta and Multan and particularly at Benares Hindus were using their temples as schools for Hindu and Muslims alike, teaching them their own religious books and thus taking them away from their own belief.⁴ We are not concerned here with the steps that Aurangzeb took for the purpose of remedying such a state of things. But this statement deserves double notice. Muslims were accepted as their pupils by Hindu teachers who so gladly taught them Hindu religious books that the matter became a scandal for a king of Aurangzeb's

¹ Inabai, *Hamid-ud-Din*, p. 91.

² *Subih Sadiq*, l. 1710 a.

³ *Ibid.*, l. 1756 b.

⁴ *Ma asir-i' Alamgiri*, p. 81.

puritanical temper. The Hindu teachers, presumably Brahmans, did not teach their Muslim students in their own houses but along with their own Hindu students in the temples themselves. Thus they did not overlook the possibility that this teaching of Hindu beliefs to the Muslims might incline them towards Hinduism. They prepared them for such a contingency by holding their classes in the precincts of Hindu temples thus familiarizing these likely converts with Hindu atmosphere.

Thus from Sindh to Madura, from Gujerat to Kashmir, from Penares to Thatta, everywhere an almost continuous stream of conversions and reconversions seems to have been running all through the first ten centuries of Muslim rule in India. Hindus not only welcomed their brethren back to their fold from Islam but were prepared to admit Muslims into their faith and did admit them as a matter of fact. Thus another element was added to the make-up of the present Hindu population.

In a subsequent article we shall deal with our non-Islamic sources and see how far they bear out this erroneous impression that the Hindus never tried to convert others to their own faith.

REACTION AGAINST THE ROMANTIC CRITICISM OF SHAKESPEARE

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ROMANTIC criticism had made Shakespeare into a god. It revered his text as a Bible. The German commentators had taken to, and introduced the habit of, discovering in it a philosophy which went deeper and deeper on examination. For him who knows how to read these works, all truth lies contained there and nothing is there in them but the truth. The characters of his pieces were creations as real as living beings, while they were superior to them by the light which the poet's genius had shed on their consciousness. The question was not so much to criticise them, as to interpret and understand them. Coleridge, Lamb, Hazlitt had given an English voice to a like admiration. Victor Hugo, heightening the note, had gloried in admiring Shakespeare "*commune bête* as a beast would." A hundred spirits, more moderate by nature, had repeated in a minor tone this hymn of confident adoration. And the sounds of the cult continue to make themselves heard to-day in many and many a page, where the echoes of romanticism are still perceptible.

Yet, when romantic exaltation became weaker and the realistic spirit waxed in strength, it was inevitable that there would be reaction in the matter of Shakespearean criticism as in all other things. The God of the Theatre was brought down to human dimensions. No more superstitious cult. His text, his intrigues, his scenes, his characters appeared before the tribunal. It was admitted that his work was the work of man, therefore faulty and that it had its wear and tear. The poet was undoubtedly superior to his contemporaries, but, after all, of the same substance with them, resorting to the same artifices and to be tried by the same laws.

What was high-flown and excessive in romantic criticism now roused suspicion or provoked a smile. In place of the dithyrambs people required statistics. They paid homage to the biography of the

¹ Translated by Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University, with permission of the author from an article which appeared in the *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, Vol. XIII.

poet by Sidney Lee because it was, above all, documentary, re-assuring by the platitude of its details and by the all-ordinary physiognomy that it imparted to the hero. Towards the same time an analysis, more and more meticulous, persistently forced itself on the very text of that Bible, the first folio of 1623. If this text is to-day held by many as suspect in many of its pages, if one admits that it has mixed up scenes truly Shakespearean with those which the poet has only retouched, with others also which contain nothing of him, then how can one reason on this medley as at the time when the first folio was accepted on the face of it and without reservation? How can one base on the moving ground the enthusiastic commentaries formerly devoted to the genius which was supposed to have presided at the organisation of each drama and at the presentation of each character? Undoubtedly, this scepticism without regard to the text may be reconciled with the highest admiration for the author. One is even justified in saying, that in the case, for example, of Mr. J. M. Robertson, the cult is all the more fervent for being purified by repeated exclusions. Mr. Robertson wishes in fact to snatch away from Shakespeare everything in the folio which appears to him unworthy of his exalted idea of the poet. He exaggerates in a sense the romantic dogma of Shakespearean impeccability, but he is convinced at the same time of the extreme inequality of the work wrongly attributed to Shakespeare in its entirety and he holds as detestable many passages which had long shared in the eulogies freely addressed to the poet. He is, on his part, the worshipper of the supreme Shakespeare who would have produced nothing but the exquisite essence of the work associated with his name. For him, as for some people, the romantic cult then lives, but on the condition that the book should be thoroughly recast, purged of improper additions, weeded of errors and superfluities—a curious combination of scepticism and enthusiasm, from which it may be asked if the figure of a divinity comes up anew or if the god of the past does not fade into an impalpable smoke.

But the rupture with the romantic past is the neatest in the recent studies on the characters of Shakespeare's plays by Levin L. Shücking¹ and by Elma Edgar Stoll.² With them one has often the impression of a return to the judgment of the classical school. We are snatched from the ecstasies of the nineteenth century. From the

¹ *Die Charakterprobleme bei Shakespeare*, Leipzig, 1919. English Translation under the title of *Character Problems in Shakespeare's Plays*, London, 1922.

² *Shakespeare Studies*, New York, 1927.

height of Metaphysics we fall down again to the plain of good sense. We express our satisfaction at escaping from giddiness but wonder at times whether the re-assuring tranquillity of a march along the ground is not bought at the expense of higher and larger views.

The remarkable book of Shücking has already been read by many ; it has been commented upon, approved and criticised. The eulogy and the reservations that it has suggested to the specialists have been admirably summed up in an article by Albert Feuillerat.¹ The book of Stoll has only just appeared and calls for an examination in its turn.

To speak the truth, it is the result of studies followed for 15 to 20 years with a unity and firmness of purpose which tells. The author holds as chimeras the current notions on the psychological profundity of Shakespeare's heroes. He sees in them only stage creations which follow a tradition, are subjected to the artificial conditions of the theatre and whose successive apparitions in the same play are separately treated by the poet in an independent manner, in view of the maximum of immediate effect, without any great anxiety to establish an exact concordance between them.

Shakespeare proceeds in this respect like his contemporaries and if he is their superior (as Mr. Stoll, who is not sparing of his admiration, thinks him to be), it is above all for merits of form; he has more of poesy, more of eloquence, more of verve, than the others, and no one better than he knows how to give to his creations a tone, a stamp of voice which individualises them. To concede more to him is an imposition. It is an illusion to see natural living beings in his heroes, and to reason about them as if they had a real existence. They are simply expressive figures, partly conventional, acting and speaking according to certain processes expected by the audience.

A sensible idea holds the mind because it has something of the positive and well-balanced. It is presented with an abundance of evidence and a wealth of argumentation which are not far from carrying conviction. Mr. Stoll has a perfect knowledge, not only of Shakespeare but also of the contemporary English stage. But he does not stop there. He has the ancient theatre, that of the Greeks and the Romans, present before his mind. He has read most of the French, Italian, and Spanish dramas of the Renaissance. He has seen many a dramatic work of our days staged or played, and never, it seems, without making some new observation, with which he has strengthened his conception of the Shakespearean theatre.

¹ *Litteris*, Lund., April, 1926.

He is fertile in suggesting analogies. He abounds in smart formulas which are apt to check the tendency to pour out either too modern ideas or too personal sentiments, into the works of the Elizabethan poet. Here are some of the sentences which can, if need be, serve as useful examples.

The following bear on the characters in the plays:

"Not psychological consistency, but dramatic effectiveness is Shakespeare's aim" (p. 439).

"(Shakespeare's) mind was creative and archaic, not critical; synthetic, not analytic" (p. 145).

"His (plays)...involve processes which disclose primarily not characters but events, and at the end, except for casual conversations, his characters are pretty much what they were in the beginning" (p. 410).

The following aim at limiting and restraining the bearing of Shakespeare's philosophy:

"The impression we have of Shakespeare is one of tolerance, geniality, common sense, imaginative power and fervour, rather than of extraordinary enlightenment" (p. 247).

"Not only does he laugh as all England laughed, but he believed as all England believed" (p. 186).

"Not a single ideal, ethical judgment, custom of the time does he question" (p. 186).

"In his pages there is not the faintest echo of the scorn of (Reginald) Scot, the sarcasm of Harsnett, or the sceptical philosophy of Plutarch or Montaigne; and all the abundance of Elizabethan superstitious lore appears in his text with never an ironical accent or lifting of an eye-brow" (p. 250).

"Always our poet stands by public opinion" (p. 428).

"For (the villains) is reserved the stigma of scepticism: it is Edmund and Iago who pooh-pooh Providence and the stars" (p. 394), etc.

I do not say that these maxims represent the whole truth, but surely each of them conceals a fragment of it. It is good to read a book so rich in views. The criticism of Stoll is sane; he is on guard against subtleties or systematic excess. It introduces a fresh air, somewhat raw, into the library of Shakespearean commentaries. One feels much obliged to it for the work of good sense which it accomplishes. Even if one is allowed to formulate some reservation, it is but just to render homage to so vigorous and healthy a work.

II

But the battle which Mr. Stoll wages with so much ardour against romantic criticism has perforce put into him the spirit of the combatant. Though his book may not have been composed as a systematic treatise and offers itself as a small, discursive series of articles, it is a veritable thesis that he maintains in it. He takes up the rôle of the advocate, not of the judge. He is not impartial on all occasions. He does not always pay to adverse arguments the attention they deserve. From the beginning in order to establish that Shakespeare's dramas were not held in high esteem by his contemporaries, he undervalues the evidence of contemporary admiration which we possess. He only speaks in a parenthesis of the famous judgment of Meres and seems to hold it sufficiently cheap. It is nevertheless rather safe to conclude from the fact that he who was socially a mere actor was placed in the first rank by a Master of Arts of Oxford and Cambridge, that Shakespeare must have been quite popular as early as 1598. Thus may one, without reading new ideas into old texts, consider the reiterated cavile of Ben Jonson, together with his magnificent final tribute, as so many signs that he found in Shakespeare the greatest of the rivals. But Mr. Stoll, for the needs of his cause, rather stifles these strong presumptions, in order to insist on the contrary indications.

When Mr. Stoll gets to the core of his subject, he shows still, on more than one occasion, his partiality of an advocate. He does not find in Shakespeare, it seems, any superiority over his rivals for what is there in him of profound observation and psychological truth. The idea that any of his characters may, by sheer intuition, reveal a soul independent of the purely theatrical intentions of the author, appears to him quite ridiculous. He rallies Mr. Hudson for having put forward the idea that, in certain moments when he appeals to our common humanity, Shylock got "too much" for Shakespeare. In fact, for Mr. Stoll, Shylock is and should remain, from the beginning to the end, without hesitation, a villain odious and at the same time grotesque. At least he was nothing else for Shakespeare and for his audience. It is only our sentimental age which would have some gleams of the pathetic in the character.

Is it necessary to accord this to him? Has there been between the generations that gulf which such an idea presupposes? Would the 20th century be the first to be capable of shaking off now and then the conventions of types or the weight of prejudices? The question presents itself on two occasions for the personage of the Jew on the

Elizabethan stage. Before Shakespeare, Marlowe had conceived a Barabbas who was to be a monster, both physical and moral. He had fitted him out with a gigantic red nose and had given him a soul capable of all crimes. From the beginning, however, he had not been able to refrain from transfiguring him into a sort of lyric poet exalted by the idea of his wealth and the infinite power which flows from it. Better still, during the scene where the Governor of Malta lays an imposition on the Jews to supply the ransom of the isle, only by themselves, this same Barabbas, strongly protesting against such spoliation, found a language so eloquent and arguments so strong that he suddenly assumed the part of a noble victim while the Christian Governor appeared as a despot applying, like a hypocrite, an arbitrary rule in the name of public safety. The force which guided here Marlowe's pen was not perhaps so much, it is true, the need of truth as the joy of venting by the way his hatred of Christianity and of unmasking moral sophistry. But the result was not doubtful: at this moment the scale of the balance trembled. Afterwards, nothing short of the abominations of Barabbas was needed to compensate for that momentary impression of grandeur.

Something similar occurs with Shylock, with this difference, however, that Shakespeare is not like Marlowe carried away by lyric or satiric spirit, but driven by the irresistible life-likeness of the character that he has drawn. The reader of to-day perhaps puts more emphasis on the famous passage: "Hasn't a Jew eyes.....?" than was put by an Elizabethan and may unduly see there a formal pleading for a persecuted race. But if the words have any sense, they evoke suddenly the common humanity of all living beings, good or bad, Jew or Christian. That Shakespeare has not precisely wished it, would then be a clear proof of the logical force with which the human truth imposed itself on his imagination, either unknown to him, or against his original design.

The case is not isolated. Such a thing comes to all great minds that work in a fixed groove, subject to strict custom. Whatever Mr. Stoll may say about it, neither Cervantes in his parodies nor Molière in his farces allow themselves to be completely hide-bound. They are superior only in being able to break at moments the convention which chains up the ordinary run of authors. If the wronged husband or the dotards of Molière happen to show themselves at moments more pathetic than ridiculous, it is without doubt because they are so. It is the same with Chaucer. The old poet cannot help taking the most cynical attitude of the *Fabliaux*, that of the Pear-tree, without letting the truth

penetrate at places, transforming the old jealous husband an object devoted to merciless laughter, into a being who really suffers and becomes touching through his suffering. Listen to the words which poor January, old and blind, addresses to his young and beautiful wife in the garden where she makes herself ready to receive her lover :

“ Now, wyf,” quod he, “ heer this but thou and I ;
 Thou art the creature that I best love.
 For, by that Lord that sit in heven above,
 Lever ich hedde dyen on a knyf,
 Than thee offende, trewe dere wyf ;
 For goddes sake, thenk how I thee chees,
 Noght for no coveityse, douteless,
 But only for the love I had to thee.....
 And though that I be jalous, wyte me noght,
 Ye been so depe enprented in my thoght.....” ¹

When to these earnest and moving words of old January the pretty May responds by false protestations, all the time winking at the lover concealed close by, sympathy is reversed in spite of the rules of the *fabliau*. Still more touching is the cry of sorrow of the old man to whom sight has just been given back to make him witness with his own eyes his wife's breach of faith :

“ And up he yaf a roring and a cry
 As doth the moder whan the child shal dye.....”

Chaucer, who had not till then spared mockery for his January, suddenly breaks with the comic tradition. One would impute incredible clumsiness to him, by supposing that he meant even in the places just described, to make January stick to a purely ridiculous rôle. The mask has suddenly dropped ; the real sorrow of the old man is revealed to him and to us.

If Chaucer in the *fabliau*, Molière in Comedy, thus transgress at times the limits fixed by tradition, how more probable yet that Shakespeare may have crossed them, he who wrote the composite plays where he constantly passed from the comic to the tragic, soliciting by turns laughter, enthusiasm, fright and pity ! Is not this just the case with his *Merchant of Venice* ?

One cannot grant to Mr. Stoll that the Shakespearean characters are, for the sake of dramatic clarity, all inscribed with a distinct category : good or bad, heroic or grotesque. Without that, he tells us, the spectators that want to know what to look for, would be at a loss how to

¹ *The Merchant's Tale* V. 916-40.

² *Ibid.*, 1120-1.

follow. Now, it so happens that the poet has stepped over the barriers on many occasions. Some of his characters, and not the least characteristic, are justly placed on the uncertain border-line of the comic and the sentimental. *Est-il-bon, Est-il-mechant* ? (the title of Diderot's dialogue) may be perfectly applied to the character such as that of Melancholy Jaques.

The Duke who sees, without blindness, the defects of the strange fellow, yet admits that his misanthropy is "full of matter." The railing cynic is now sympathetic, now makes himself scoffed at. He has bursts of feeling, where it seems indeed that he has the poet with him. For the flying stag he shows the same pitiful tenderness as the author of *Venus and Adonis* for the poor, chased hare. If his eccentric ways invite a smile more than the banal manners of the Lords who surround him, his words more than theirs induce reflection. He is no doubt wrong to pour sarcasm and pessimism on all things, but he has the advantage of having reflected on life. It is possible for him to have been in his youth a sensual epicurean and his wisdom may be nothing but a form of satiety, but he has drawn from his experience a goodly number of observations, which certainly we are not asked to take as pure foolery. Now we feel drawn towards him like the Duke, now repulsed like Rosalind who slashes him with the sallies of her wit. Upon the whole we think of him "he is an eccentric." We do not go, like George Sand, so far as to make of him the beneficent philosopher of the comedy, full of comedy, full of virtues and wisdom, but we cannot withhold from him a certain esteem. It is not sentimentalism to see in him a being made of diverse threads, a mixture of good and bad. Jaques is certainly not the creation of a simplifying spirit, of a dramatic author who is afraid of making himself unintelligible to his public by the complexity of the characters he puts on the stage.

As was inevitable, the case of Hamlet has occupied Mr. Stoll a good deal. For him, given the primitive theme, there is no hesitation; Hamlet is a hero, that is to say, a man of action who accomplishes his purpose, which is vengeance. Thus the public expected him to be, thus does Shakespeare paint him. The dreamer prevented from action by his meditation, paralysed by his conscience, is a modern conception, an illusion transported to the past by the men of to-day who have been too much a prey to doubt. In fact Shakespeare wants us to admire the young prince's energy and does not take him in any way for a falterer. He attributes to him in each circumstance a perfect cleverness, an ingenuity renovated without cease. If the

act of vengeance is retarded it is so, because it was necessary to fill out the five acts. Thus does Mr. Stoll argue.

Really, in his anxiety for brushing aside the vagaries of romanticism, Mr. Stoll comes to forget the very confessions of Hamlet. He who, moreover, summons us always to accept the Shakespearean monologues as so much correct and sure information given to the public, makes here short work of the speeches of Hamlet wherein the prince rails at his own discreditable temporisations and analyses their causes. And note that almost all the passages of the monologues in which he does it did not exist in the first quarto of 1603. According to probabilities they are additions of Shakespeare completing and commenting on a previous play, or on his first sketch of his subject. Almost all the philosophy which these monologues contain has been most consciously superimposed on the bare canvas of the earlier work.

Now, this is no modern invention. It is Hamlet who blames himself for being inactive and who attributes the cause to an excess of reflection. Nothing is more expressive or more explicit than the passages which, according to Mr. Stoll, should not, in any way, trouble the spectator's idea about the decision of the hero. Is it a romantic commentator who has joined into the famous monologue these verses :

“ Thus Conscience does make Cowards of us all
And thus the native hew of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of Thought.
And enterprizes of great pith and moment
With this regard their Currents turne away
And loose the name of action.....? ”

Moreover, is it the subtlety of the 19th century which has lent to him the scruples which paralyse the arm of vengeance, is it Hamlet himself who scolds himself while beholding the military march of Fortinbras ?

“ Now, whether it be
Bestial oblivion, or some craven scruple
Of thinking too precisely on the event,
A thought which, quarter'd hath but one part wisdom
And ever three parts coward, I do not know
Why yet I live to say “ this thing's to do ” ;
Sith I have cause and will and strength and Means
To do't.....? ”

Mr. Stoll is surely not ignorant of these reflections of Hamlet, but he persists nevertheless in reasoning as if they had no existence and were the inventions of our age. One might reply to him that if the Elizabethan spectators took no notice of them as he affirms (a gratuitous conjecture) it was the worse for them, having been duly warned by the poet.

III

These examples show that in his reaction against romantic criticism Mr. Stoll allows himself very often to be drawn to the opposite extreme. The oscillations of the pendulum continue and equilibrium is not yet restored.

In brief one may follow him in every part of his argument and convince him almost every time of having drawn an exaggerated conclusion from a principle where there is much of sense and wisdom. He justly draws our attention to the fact that Shakespearean characters are dispersed across a complicated history and that they appear successively in diverse circumstances and in the face of different interlocutors. The poet, thinks he, is preoccupied in each of the scenes to produce the greatest effect possible, comic or tragic, but he is not at all anxious to connect the successive manifestations of each character. It matters little to him that they imply contradiction and lead to a certain psychological incoherence.

Let us grant him the dispersion and variety of aspect that results from it. But can we grant that there has not been under these diversities a plan of unity, a possibility for analysis to harmonise the disparities and conciliate the contradictions? Is it not from there that comes the illusion that we have to do with real men and women in his dramas? Is it not due to that plausible complexity of his creations that he is distinguished at the same time from Ben Jonson who generally solved the problem by an inhuman simplification, as well as from those of his contemporaries who worked on the same dramatic tradition as the author of *Hamlet*? The irremediable inferiority of Beaumont and Fletcher has no other profound cause. These last have not aimed at more than mere dramatic effect and one is often incapable of reconciling the traits of their heroes and heroines. Let us examine from this point of view one of the most striking of the latter, Evadne in *The Maid's Tragedy*. It is an admirable rôle, but it is only a rôle. One cannot at all conceive the nature of that woman on examination. She is an ambitious and not an amorous character; how then could she accept the pact with the king which

obliges her to hide her dishonour and thus lose the prestige of the declared mistress ? Because she is only an ambitious woman, her conversion seems to be on the other hand incredibly sudden and too thorough. We understand that she yields to the virile force of her brother, but not why she returns with gusts of tenderness towards her husband, Aminto, who is so pliant. Her ferocity in the scene where she kills the king is ill presented by what we know about her ; we know too little of the way she yielded to him to admit this explosion of hatred. Was there, then, in her heart a sentiment deeper than this ambition which alone had precipitated her into her first crime ?

If there are no such incompatibilities in the works of Shakespeare, it is probably because he follows across successive scenes the laws of an interior development conforming to the experience which we have of human nature. If he admits changes of temper or attitude, it is within certain limits, while maintaining the identity through the modifications. It is precisely because he did what others were little capable of doing, that his dramas have obtained universal recognition by their consistency and their life-likeness, at least those which he has taken the trouble to lead firmly from beginning to end, not plays like *Measure for Measure*, where powerful scenes are followed by an artificial and botched conclusion.

Considering that in his dramas Shakespeare makes frequent use of phantoms, sorcery, and omens, Mr. Stoll is inclined to believe that the rationalism of more recent times has wrongly attributed to him a spirit superior to the superstitions which he presents on the stage. He does not examine if it was not sufficient for the poet to find these superstitions in many of those who surround him, to be induced to draw them, and to be aware of their scenic efficacy to make the most of them in his plays. He does not stop to consider that if we are tempted to believe him disengaged from surrounding credulities, this is due to the quality of his free thought which almost every page attests. In the diligent reader of Montaigne there is a fund of sagacity and reason which is hardly to be reconciled with such blind beliefs. One cannot well live with the other. The simplest way is to admit that he only gave to these things a poetic faith.

Wherever Mr. Stoll attempts to confine Shakespeare within the narrow frame of tradition, he raises the same objection, because we feel that his greatness precisely comes from his power of breaking more than once from tradition or again of vivifying while accepting it. For example, girls are often represented in his comedies as paying court to men. "Very true," says Bernard Shaw, making once a

commendation of Shakespeare. "Not so," rejoins Mr. Stoll. "It is just the opposite of life." It is a romantic fiction flattering to men and on account of this, very popular in literature and on the stage. The heroine in a page's costume travelling through the world in search of her lover, this is an old subject and mere fancy." True, but it remains to be known if Shakespeare has not been able to employ the trite process to express the same human truth as Shaw puts in a crude form in his *Man and Superman*. Rosalind and Helen unconsciously foreshadow Ann Whitfield; Benedict and Bertram prefigure Tanner.

In short, we may concede to Mr. Stoll that romanticism had not sufficiently taken into consideration the stage conventions which limit the truth of Shakespeare's characters, but we have good reasons to reproach the critic for having too often represented Shakespeare as a slave or victim to these same conventions. Mr. Stoll is right in recalling to us that Shakespeare was a man of his times, but he is wrong in making us believe that he was incapable of raising himself above the mean level of his times. If Chaucer were Gower, he would not be Chaucer. If Shakespeare were Heywood or Fletcher, he would not be Shakespeare.

Mr. Stoll is right in denouncing many mystical ravings about men of genius, but he is wrong in reasoning as if he did not believe in the exceptional power of genius.

It is right to accuse romanticism of a frequent departure from commonsense, but romanticism may very well retort that Shakespeare cannot be measured with the sole foot-rule of commonsense.

EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY IN GERMANY.¹

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ONE of the most remarkable modern events in the history of Science is the rapid progress of Scientific Psychology and its increasing application in the various walks of life. The story of this development is as interesting as it is instructive. I shall in this paper try to tell the story of how the Psychology of the ancient pagans and the medieval priests gradually came, mainly through the influence of German savants and scholars to transform itself into Experimental Psychology of the modern age. I shall then try to enumerate some of the various fields where Experimental Psychology has been applied with immense profit both to individuals and to society.

No event in history ever happens suddenly, just as a physical phenomenon never occurs by chance only. When we invoke the aid of chance to explain a particular thing we only betray our ignorance of the conditions of its appearance. Patient research always reveals those preliminary phases, those apparently trivial incidents of the past which remained perhaps unnoticed at the time of their occurrence but which nevertheless led finally to the present incident which has arrested our attention and has therefore become the topic of our discussion. The rise of Experimental Psychology is no exception to this general rule. And though we have been accustomed to date it from the year 1879 when that great German scholar Wilhelm Wundt, founded at the University of Leipzig, the first psychological laboratory of the world, it was surely not a sudden and isolated phenomenon. Various influences worked on all sides and there was a whole series

¹ Public Address under the auspices of the *Bangiya German Vidya Samsad* (Bengali Society of German Culture) on Nov. 21, 1933, last.

of preliminary events which prepared the way for its advent and enabled Wundt to take the momentous step that we have mentioned above.

Mental states of men had been studied for generations and generations. Indeed the curiosity in the manifestations of mind seems to be as old as the birth of curiosity itself. History of Psychology of this early period is but the history of the modifications of the views which were from time to time arbitrarily put forward about the nature of mind. There was no question about the methods of observation and no dispute regarding the facts to be studied. A systematic attempt in the western countries to study the phenomena of mind may be said to have begun from the time of Aristotle. Aristotle believed that it was necessary to study the processes of the body if we desired to understand the phenomena of mind, because mind was the form of which the body was the matter. Mind may be described as the function of the organism as a whole, just as vision is the function of the single organ eye. We have necessarily to study the anatomy and the physiology of the eye if we desire to study the function of vision. Similarly, we have to study the mechanism of the body as a whole if we are interested in the operations of the mind. Aristotle's influence led subsequent workers to lay more emphasis on the body; and the study of the bodily processes, which is the subject-matter of the science of physiology, was often confused with the study of the mental phenomena, which is the province of psychology. This mixing up of the two sciences had been continuing and the confusion getting worse confounded till the 16th century, when Descartes rigorously separated them. He maintained that there was absolutely nothing in common between body and mind and therefore we got no insight into the workings of the latter, however much we might study the processes of the former. The starting point in psychology should be, he taught, not the physiological events of the organism, but the self-consciousness of man, the 'cogito' of his famous saying '*cogito...ergo sum.*' 'I think ..therefore I am.'

After Descartes came one, who was one of the greatest leaders of the intellectual life of Germany, one whose contributions to the domain of Philosophy were no less original and profound than his researches in the field of Mathematics. I refer to Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz who lived towards the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. German psychology may be said to have begun with him and many an important system of thought of a later time

owe their origin to the philosophy propounded by him. He put forward in his *Monadology* a psychological view of the Universe. The Universe he said, consisted of Monads, a monad being described as a simple substance whose fundamental characteristic was activity. The nature of this activity is "most like perception." For him, to be active and to be conscious are the same thing. Now perception might be a very clear one, as it is, *e.g.*, when we perceive an object we are directly attending to; or it may be less clear as, for example, that of the ticks of the clock in the room to which we do not attend when we are absorbed in some other work. As there are variations in the clearness of perception so there are differences in the degrees of consciousness. According to him what appears to be unconscious is only relatively so, it has the potentiality of being conscious. The introduction of this concept of the degrees of consciousness is one of his valuable contributions to psychology and is one which has proved immensely fruitful in the later studies of both normal and abnormal psychology. Again, in all our enumerations of psychological theories and plans for psychological experiments to-day we invariably proceed on one assumption which may be directly traceable to him. Mental states, we take it for granted, run parallel with the bodily processes, that is, our working hypothesis is this, that corresponding to every mental state there is a bodily state and *vice versa*. Technically this is known as the doctrine of psycho-physical parallelism. No one need have any scruples in accepting this hypothesis in a broad general way. It is a fact of every-day observation that our mental alertness and the output of mental work is adversely affected when we are suffering from any physical ailments or are fatigued, and that there is considerable mental excitement under conditions of intoxication. Now this doctrine of parallelism is only one special form of the Doctrine of pre-established Harmony which Leibnitz enunciated to explain the order and the system that prevail in the world of monads. One monad does not directly affect another or produce any change in a third. But that still they seem to be affected by one another and all act as if in agreement with one another is due to the fact that the harmony in which they find themselves has been pre-established. That two watches indicate the same hour of the day is not due to one watch causing the hands of the other to move in a particular way but because the hands of the two watches have been set in unison beforehand.

Thus began the philosophical preparation for scientific psychology. We do not find in the immediately succeeding period any

detailed scientific study of psychological problems, but what we do observe is this that philosophy itself turned psychological. So was the case also in Great Britain, where we find philosophers making psychological facts, *e.g.*, that of perception or Association of Ideas, the centre of their philosophical discussions. In Germany, however, this tendency, maintained for some time by the successors of Leibnitz, *e.g.* Wolff, etc., soon received a rude check and was almost overthrown by Immanuel Kant, who, awaking from his dogmatic slumber proceeded to demolish empiricism. What is to be observed, however, is that Kant himself began his philosophical thinking with an examination of the Intellect itself, the Categories of understanding and the Forms of Intuition which are all psychological concepts. Without going into details let me say at once that Kant expressed the view that Psychology could never attain the position of a science because Mathematics could not be applied to its investigations. An exact science should always be able to express its results in terms of mathematical formulæ.

But this view was vigorously challenged by one who succeeded Kant to the chair of Philosophy at the University of Königsberg, *viz*, Johann Friedrich Herbart. His contributions towards the building up of scientific psychology are remarkable in two ways. In the first place his two books, *Lehrbuch zur Psychologie* and *Psychologie als Wissenschaft* stoutly controverted the view-point of those who would not recognise the possibility of psychology being a science. In the second place he actually demonstrated that not only was psychology a science but it was a practical science too, because it enabled one to devise means and methods by which the task of education might be improved. Let it only be recalled that Herbart is known also as the Father of Experimental Pedagogy. In his treatment of the whole question of education he made psychology the foundation as also the method of his procedure. His eminent success in this line only confirms the correctness of his standpoint. The modern demand that Psychology be applied to education in a concrete and useful way, the demand that institutes be created for the training of teachers where they would receive instruction in the principles of education and become familiar with the facts of child Psychology.... all these movements owe their inspiration to Herbart.

Herbart characterised psychology as a science founded on experience, metaphysics and mathematics. Differing from Kant as regards the inapplicability of mathematics to psychology, he however agreed with him regarding the question of Experimentation in

psychology. He applied mathematics to Psychology and even went so far as to create a sort of Statics and Dynamics of mind. While the statics and dynamics were rejected the principles underlying them were recognised and came to stay. He could not think out any obvious method of experimentation in psychology and that is why he maintained that experimentation was not possible in this domain. The consideration of this question leads us directly to Fechner and Wundt.

But, in the meantime, I would refer to another important item in Herbart's psychology which is closely connected with Psycho-analysis as enunciated by Freud. This relates to Herbart's conception about the nature of Ideas. His view was that every idea was something fixed by nature and has a certain direction and force. Their effort is directed towards self-preservation but the field being limited there is a perpetual conflict between them, and the result is, the increase or diminution of intensity of some, inhibition of others, compromise formations, etc. One of the important things to be noted in this connection is that no idea is ever completely inhibited. When an idea is almost completely inhibited and is so far diminished in intensity as to be hardly recognisable, it exists as a mere tendency and below the threshold of consciousness. The region below the threshold has been called the Unconscious. You will realise that this concept of the unconscious at once establishes the connection between Herbart and Leibnitz on the one hand and between him and the psycho-analysts of the modern times, as we shall see later.

Now inspite of the signal services that Herbart rendered to the cause of scientific psychology, the latter still remained under the suzerainty of philosophy because the predominating influence of all who helped it so far, was still metaphysical. But when we mention the work of the next successor to the chair of philosophy at Göttingen we name the last of the metaphysical psychologists or psychological metaphysicians. It was Hermann Lotze, who when he was merely 27 years old succeeded Herbart to the chair, as also in leading psychology nearer the threshold of science. He graduated in medicine but was more interested in the arts and the philosophy than in the practice of medicine. Both his inclination as also his training was reflected in the title of the book that he published, viz., *Medizinische Psychologie*. The book is important not because of any particular intrinsic merit but because it "helped at a crucial moment to set the fashion of physiologizing psychology" as it has been said by one of the historians

of psychology. One other work for which Lotze will ever be remembered in the history of Psychology is his theory of "Space-perception" known as the theory of local signs.

We have so far enumerated only some of the outstanding facts and have mentioned only a few of the leading personalities in the history of philosophy whose influence and activities were the main contributing factor to the birth of Experimental Psychology. It might be said that this factor was more or less of a theoretical nature as it suggested at first, and then accepted, the view that experiments, as they are performed in other sciences, are justifiable and possible in the case of Psychology too. Recognition of the fact however at once prepared the way for the actual carrying out of experiments and the immediately subsequent history of psychology is a record of rapid introduction of new methods and novel techniques in the matter of experimenting on the phenomena of mind, gradual extension of the field of investigation and the inclusion of fresh problems within the range of experimentation. Now the field for practically carrying out such experiments has also been prepared from beforehand and psychology when it decided to conduct experiments had not to grope in the dark for the search of a method. The methods of physical science has long ago been adopted and suitably modified by psychology. During the time that Psychology was gradually freeing itself from the bonds of philosophy, physiological experiments of considerable importance were being conducted by Weber, Johannes Müller and others, particularly in the field of the sense-organs like vision, audition, touch and so on. Psychology found these experiments useful and adopted them for the better understanding of the nature of the dependence of mental functions on bodily processes. These physiological experiments, then, constituted the second series of factors which helped the advent of Experimental Psychology.

Not only these particular psychological experiments but the widening of the scientific outlook and the improvement of the scientific method in general must also be regarded as a contributory element to the birth of the science. Many scientists felt themselves attracted by the problems which mind in contrast to nature, presents to us and they approached the problems with their purely scientific attitudes and with the methods that they were familiar with in their investigations of natural phenomena. Thus it happens that he who is known as the father of Experimental Psychology, *viz.*, Gustav Theodor Fechner, was a physicist and a Professor of Physics in the University of Leipzig. He wrote several articles on the different branches of

physical science one of which, *viz.*, on the quantitative measurement of the galvanic battery, was of considerable importance.

Let me repeat once more that this physicist, Fechner, was the Father of Experimental Psychology. Apart from the experiments themselves, the utmost rigour of scientific procedure that he observed in carrying them out and the numerous mathematical formulæ that he invented and perfected have deservedly earned for him the proud title and the honoured niche in the Pantheon of scientists. His famous book, the "Elemente der Psychophysik" published in the year 1860 is still the gospel of the experimental psychologists. At some period of his life his outlook became markedly philosophical, but there was reasons for it. In the course of his experiments on the After Image of Vision, he frequently stared at the sun with the result that he hopelessly injured his eyes and had to keep himself away from all practical work. Left solely to himself, his interest in philosophical and religious questions deepened and it was at this time that he composed some notable philosophical treatises dealing with such questions as life after death, etc. He developed a philosophical view about the relation between mind and body and was so convinced about the truth of his views that he felt himself called upon like a missionary to preach them to an unbelieving world. But whatever might have been his philosophical outlook his scientific instincts led him ultimately to give a concrete mathematical form to it and that is how we come to possess one of the most important and well-known generalisations of our science, *viz.*, the Weber-Fechner's Law. Weber, a few years senior to him and a Lecturer in the Medical Faculty of the same University, performed some interesting experiments on our ability to perceive differences between the intensities of simple experiences. He came to the conclusion that our psychological experience of the difference between two intensities, say of heaviness, did not depend on the absolute value of the physical differences between them. Suppose, *e.g.*, that you have three weights A, B and C and that C seems to you to be as much heavier than B as B is heavier than A. So that in your experience the difference between B and A seems to be equal to that between C and B. If that be so, it does not follow, as Weber found, that the actual difference between the weights B and A would be equal to that between C and B. Rather it is found that B-A is approximately equal that of C-B. Let me cite a more intimate analogy. Suppose in these days of retrenchment the pay of a man who draws Rs. 50 per month be retrenched by Rs. 5 so that he now draws Rs. 45. Would it be fair to deduct the same amount

of Rs. 5 from the pay of him who gets, say, Rs. 1,000 per month ? You would not think that it would be fair, rather you would argue that Rs. 5 is not the main thing but it is the proportion that should be maintained so that instead of Rs. 5, Rs. 100 should be deducted from the pay of the latter. And that is what happens in our everyday experience of difference perceptions. Fechner systematised all these observations and put them under one law, which he named as Weber's Law. It has justly been renamed later as Weber-Fechner's Law.

It is Fechner's name again that we come across in connection with a wholly different kind of our life's experience. Beauty has been admired by poets, described by novelists and appreciated by laymen. But it had never been made the subject-matter of an exact experimental investigation before. It was Fechner's genius which laid the foundation of an experimental Aesthetics. Which of the two pictures were more beautiful and why ? Of the two lines, one bisected and the other divided at the golden section, whose appeal is greater ? Fechner sought to get some objective criteria of beauty by such tests.

Thus the first few psychological experiments that Fechner performed, definitely laid the foundation of Experimental Psychology. But the official founder, however, was Wilhelm Wundt who by establishing a laboratory in one of the most advanced Universities of the world of that day took a memorable step, the value of which is now realised by scholars all over the world, and the benefits derived from which are enjoyed by all.

We note here again that Wundt was primarily a scientist and before he turned to Psychology he worked with considerable success in the different branches of science, *viz.*, Physics, Chemistry and Physiology. It is interesting to remember that his first publication was a chemical article on the Sodium Chloride content of urine. He graduated in medicine, became a lecturer in Physiology and published several physiological papers and his first book, a treatise on the muscular movements. For some years Wundt was assistant to Helmholtz at Heidelberg. His interests still lay in physiology and medical physics, and he continued working and publishing books on these subjects. It was in 1862 that he began to concern himself with psychological questions and spoke about an Experimental Psychology. He felt that if psychology is to be a science it must be dependent upon experiment, for to be scientific is to be experimental. Four years after joining the University of Leipzig as a Professor of Philosophy he established the 'Psychologisches Institut' in 1879. The first generation of experimental

Psychologists all over the world, it may be said, was trained in this Laboratory. Stanley Hall, Titchener, Angell, Kraepelin, Lehmann, Külpe, Meumann, Kirschmann, Klemm, Wirth, are some of the most prominent men who derived their inspiration from this laboratory. Not only did Wundt found the Institute, he also started the first journal of Experimental Psychology—The *Philosophische Studien* (1881). The book which soon became the most important book in the history of Psychology, *viz.*, *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie* was written before Wundt came to Leipzig.

It is not necessary to go into greater technical details. Suffice it to say that by his voluminous writings, by his extraordinary capacity for work, extraordinary even for a German, by his founding of the Institute and the *Philosophische Studien* he stamped in the scientific character of Psychology for all times to come. We realise the full significance of this emancipation of Psychology when we note the subsequent rapid progress of the science and, what is more, its increasing application in the practical affairs of life. It is only the other day that we celebrated the Birth Centenary of the great man. He was born in 1832 and died at the age of 88 while still in the midst of his activities in 1920.

There is no important University of the world to-day to which a psychological laboratory is not attached. The theory of evolution and the practical demands of life have considerably extended the scope of psychology so that the problems that are studied in these Universities are no longer confined to any particular field of experience or dictated by considerations of theoretical interest only. It now remains for me to indicate some of the aspects of our individual, social and cultural life where the researches in Experimental Psychology have proved to be of immense service and promise to lay open brighter prospects for the future.

Proper education, you will all agree with me, is one of the best means of social uplift and national regeneration. Some would go so far as to say that it is the only surest way. Now, policies in education may be dictated by various considerations, but psychology tells us that no policy of real education will ever be successful unless it is suited to the capacities of those for whom it is meant. And this question of capacity is fundamentally a psychological question. You cannot determine off-hand what your child is capable of learning or accomplishing. The old belief that the rod is capable of teaching everything to every child is past history now and is not mentioned in the post-Experimental Psychology days. It is only by patient observation and experiments according to the psychological methods that the capacities of

individual children are ascertained. The best ways of developing these capacities have been and are still to be determined by practical psychologists. These educational reforms presuppose exhaustive enquiries regarding the development of the child mind. Preyer, Stern, Bühler, Koffka are some leading German psychologists who have enormously contributed towards our understanding of the child mind. We now know a good deal more about the child's instincts and habits, the course of their intellectual development and moral improvement, than were known before ; and this knowledge is being more and more utilised for better education of the individual and therefore of the nation as a whole. What has been revealed by psychological investigation is that though there are general laws of development every child has its own individual characteristics and ways of developing which must be respected if we want a proper education. For example, there are children who can put forth their maximum effort just at the beginning of the period of study and there are others who only gradually reach to that level. You can realise what the consequences would be if you huddle both these types of students together in one class room and teach what you consider to be the most important subject at the first period. The first type of students will be benefited while the second type will be continually at a disadvantage. How often do we not conclude that a child is backward in some subject or other. Psychology asks us, Are we sure that we have given a fair trial and have not proceeded hastily in arriving at that judgment ? In western countries students are sorted and graded according to the abilities and attainments with which they come to schools. In India unfortunately we have not as yet realised the importance of such procedure and have not as yet taken even the preliminary step of collecting data. One important move however towards making school education really effective has recently been made by the Calcutta University in recognising vernacular as a medium of instruction.

Psychology further emphasises that education does not begin at the school-going age but long before that, indeed from the very first moment of its birth. The pre-school child therefore is being most assiduously studied now. From another source, *viz.*, psychoanalysis, we have learnt that the fundamental traits of a man's character are almost always determined before the fifth year of his existence and hence the tremendous importance of dealing with the child in a proper way during the first five years of its life has been brought home to us. How the parents and guardians behave with the child at this period is of the utmost consequence for the future development of the

child's mind. It is the science of psychology which tells us what pitfalls are to be avoided and what course is to be followed in this extremely delicate but no less important duty.

Psychology has come to the aid of industry also. In these days of machinery and mass production the industrial efficiency of a nation is certainly a factor of overwhelming importance. Let me tell you, at once, that I am not raising here the economical or the philosophical question as to whether modern industry really brings more peace and prosperity to a nation or whether it is better to go back to the pre-machinery days. Physics as a natural science does not try to determine the uses or otherwise for mankind of the existence of the planetary systems, sudden catastrophies of nature, the thunder and the lightning, etc. It takes them for granted and studies them as they are. It is the business of Applied Physics to find out means for the utilisation of the knowledge derived from such studies in the service of humanity. Similarly taking the existence of big factories all the world over for granted, Industrial Psychology, which is a branch of Applied Psychology, steps in and demonstrates how the human element in these factories may be better adjusted. There are evidences on record to show that it has been possible in many cases to increase the total output of work but at the same time to decrease the number of hours of work that a labourer has to put in. Besides, the strikes and lock-outs, etc., which unfortunately do occur in industrial concerns are as often due to bad management as to other external causes. As management is ultimately a question of relation between the employers and the employed, it will be understood that psychology must have a predominant part to play in the elimination of these untoward events. It has further been found that one cause of unrest among workers lies in the fact that suitable men have not been selected for particular posts. And the result is that a labourer either finds that the task allotted to him is beyond his capacity and therefore he remains perpetually dissatisfied or perhaps the task is too light for him and consequently he becomes inattentive to his own work and disturbs that of others. The selection of proper men for proper posts therefore is an important item of work for the authorities. Psychology has come to the aid of the management here too. Münsterburg, who may be described as the founder of Applied Psychology, devised tests to measure the suitability of particular persons for particular avocations of life. Numerous tests, vocational tests as they are called, have since been devised which are taken full advantage of by factories, railways, corporations, etc.

Let me next refer to that rather large community of persons almost uncared for by society and given up for lost by the medical profession. I mean those who had been unfortunate enough to be afflicted with some sort of mental malady. Psychology has brought about a revolutionary change in the attitude of society towards such persons and in the method of dealing with them. It is no longer believed, *e.g.*, that a hysterical person has been possessed by a devil or that he can be cured by kicks and blows. It is recognised that in many cases the disease is of a functional nature and is the result of a maladjustment of the diseased persons to the mental and moral environments in which he finds himself. A sexual factor has generally been found to be present in such cases and this has given a strong impetus to the study of the sex problems on the psychological side. The influence exerted by the course of development of the sexual life on the character and personality of man has only recently been brought to light in its true proportions. Various forms of abnormality resulting from maladjustments have been exhaustively studied by such eminent German authorities as Kraft-Ebbing, Bloch, Forel, Hirschfeld, etc.

A fundamental assumption of all science is the principle of causality. Psychology, therefore, has accepted the full implications of this principle in its own special field. This has logically led again to the conception of the unconscious, the necessity of which concept has, as we have seen before, already been explicitly emphasised by Leibnitz and Herbart. It happens sometimes that we feel ourselves averse to some person even the first time that we meet him or immediately feel ourselves attracted towards some one else under a similar situation, without being the least conscious of any reason whatever for such tendencies. The principle of causality forbids us to maintain that there is no cause or reason for such behaviours. If the cause is not found on the conscious plane it must lie somewhere else, in the unconscious region of the mind. When you make a slip of the tongue you are inclined to think that it is only accidental and that there is no particular reason for it. But that cannot be true. When an event has happened there must have been a cause for it. And the cause in this case is in the unconscious. Hobbies and prejudices, dreams and delusions are some of the ways by which the influence of the unconscious becomes manifest to us. The modern conception of this unconscious differs very much from the old significance of the term. Though I am tempted to go deeper into the details of this unconscious it would not be advisable just at the present

moment to do so for the subject is a vast one and even bare justice cannot be done to it within the time that we have now at our disposal. I would only mention that with the unconscious as a fundamental concept, psychoanalysis has built up a system of thought which has given us an altogether new insight and a radically different interpretation of the workings of the human mind from what we have been accustomed to cherish so long. It has developed a technique of procedure which has proved to be of considerable benefit to those suffering from disorders of mind. When its principles are rightly understood and applied in the sphere of education of children since their infancy psychoanalysis may prevent many a malady of later life and may help towards the healthy development of an individual's outlook on men and things. That will create an atmosphere for better mutual understanding and the foundation of a better social structure will be laid thereby.

The study of Experimental Psychology is being enthusiastically pursued in almost all the Universities of Germany. In the University of Leipzig, a university of hoary traditions and associated with the names of almost all the leaders of thought in Philosophy, Professor Krueger is directing the new movement of the Ganzheit School. Professor Köhler in Berlin in association with many others, *e. g.*, Koffka, Sander, etc., in Giessen is leading the Gestalt school of thought, substantiating it with highly ingenious experiments on men, children, and animals. Professor Kirschmann, a pupil of Wundt, carried the spirit of the new psychology to Canada where after spending 14 years he came back to Leipzig just before the last War. Münsterburg, another pupil of the same master, was called by James to Harvard. Kraepelin, Meumann, Ebbinghams, all students and co-workers of Wundt, helped to spread the spirit of the new psychology though they worked in different fields. Kraepelin's lectures on Psychiatry, Meumann's work on Educational Psychology, and Ebbinghams' experiments on memory are all classical works in their respective lines. The results of various researches did not long remain unconnected with life and Applied Psychology, as a branch of Experimental Psychology, developed as a matter of course. Advertisers and salesmen, industries and factories now regularly have recourse to psychology for devising better means for the improvement of their respective business.

The proper study of man will always remain Man, for after all it is the human element that crops up everywhere and outweighs every other consideration. A society or corporation entrusted with the task

of administrating a particular department may have perfect laws enacted and entered in the statute books. That does not however always ensure smooth administration. It would depend ultimately on the men who are to execute the details of the administration. I need not go far in search of illustrations. They are palpable enough to all. Any one who has, say, to build a house or board a bus in any big city, for instance, Calcutta, and thereby to submit himself to the excellent Municipal laws and the perfect traffic regulations will at once realise the truth of the above statement. It is a 'change of heart' that one political party ultimately desires to see in another, and it is the more personal touch that the employee demands from the employer. It is the beauty of Helen that led to the Trojan War and the insult to Draupadi that created a Kurukshetra. Sympathy and love, ambition and pride have been the source of many an event in history as they will continue to be, so long as man remains what he is. External causes are but conditions which set the motives of men in action. Science has its origin in the curiosity of man as philosophy began in his wonder. Art is but the effort of man to regain the equilibrium that has been lost. The psychological factor had been at work since creation, but as psychology, the Science, was not self-conscious so long, and was content to live merely as a handmaid of Philosophy there was no proper evaluation of this factor. Now that psychology has emancipated herself we are beginning to realise how all-pervading her activities are. It is wonderful to note how rapidly she is making herself indispensable in every walk of life.

Let me close this paper by quoting what one great Physicist said the other day on an important occasion, that not only had Psychology established itself as a science but it is soon going to be *the Science of the future*.

INDIA AND THE NEW. STERLING STANDARD

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THE most serious economic problem facing the country is the linking of the Rupee to the inconvertible sterling. As its continuation is recommended by the Reserve Bank Bill serious attention must be paid to this issue.

It is the most controversial topic as the entire Indian commercial world holds diametrically opposite views to those of the Government, the British traders and the importers.

The short period for which we have been on the sterling standard (Sept 1931 to Oct. 1933) does not warrant us to draw any definite conclusion as regards the desirability of the sterling link or otherwise.

No decisive answer has been afforded by history as yet. Neither have the heavens fallen and rendered India more destitute than before nor have any substantial advantages accrued to Indian exporters, industrialists and the Indian Government.

Future monetary policy of the nation would however be decided afresh when the world adopts definitely a certain monetary standard which might or might not be based on gold.

Till the final date of adoption of a world monetary standard India is to continue the present link with sterling which means monetary autonomy is to be sacrificed during the interregnum.

So long as it is a "makeshift device" and not an ambitious monetary standard aiming at the dethronement of the gold standard there is nothing to cavil at this measure but even this consent means that the realisation of the immediate monetary issues of the country has to be abandoned. The Rupee is to be dragged behind the chariot wheels of the Bank of England. The most urgent monetary issue is the raising of domestic prices and nothing solid has been done in this direction.

Most divergent views are expressed as regards the desirable monetary standard. The foreign capitalists vote solidly for the sterling standard.

The scientific economists agitate for a sound and stable monetary standard which can be managed in the wider interests of the country.

There are some who place faith in the efficacy of the "managed gold standard" and exhort the world to play the rules of the honest gold standard in an intelligent manner which is not in the least warped or swayed by economic nationalism.

A few of the old-fashioned economists still yearn for the resurrection of a silver standard which in their opinion is best fitted for a really poor country of the stamp of India, China and the countries of the Far East. Though a decisive and significant reply could be afforded during the deliberations of the Chamberlain Commission an almost half-hearted answer couched in most nebulous terms was the ultimate recommendation. Based on the above statement that India should be given that standard for which the people have been agitating, the curtain was dropped almost in a deft manner on this somewhat acrimonious controversy. But these have not lost their courage in their attempts to resurrect the shattered silver standard.

There are some who want a managed Rupee standard based on some kind of Index Numbers and the valuation of the Rupee in terms of gold and foreign currencies to be at a lower level.

Some economists ardently desire the adoption of symmetallism which practically means the mixing together of physical quantities of the precious metals—i.e., gold and silver, which have equal value be combined together. The official ratio for mixing gold and silver should be 1:35 or 1:32 whichever happens to be nearer the average commercial ratio of gold to silver.

In this welter of seemingly confused notions the laymen do not recognise the deep significance of this monetary controversy. The intermingling of social issues with monetary problems has been of a most complex character. Consequently popular opinion stands baffled, dazed and almost blindfolded. It tacitly approves any opinion which the verdict of the Legislative Assembly might decide to give. It is necessary however to state the *pros* and *cons* of the measure.

The old paper sterling standard which was enforced on England was the result of the breakdown of the gold standard on September 21, 1931. The new paper sterling standard was the result of the breakdown of the World Economic Conference, the abandonment of the gold standard by America and the amazingly stubborn attitude of the 'gold bloc' countries. It dates from June, 1933. The most outstanding difference between the two standards has to be grasped. While the old sterling standard was a defensive move to protect the national

gold reserve, obtain temporary relief from external competition at the hands of the gold standard countries and raise internal prices by pursuing a gentle reflationary policy, the new sterling standard is an aggressive measure to humiliate the gold standard countries. Aided by the Exchange Equalisation fund and a consciously managed credit policy in outlining which the Treasury and the Bank of England co-operate with each other, the managed paper pound sterling currency wants to declare itself as a better substitute than the international gold standard whose gear has become deranged as a result of the breakdown of international credit, trade and finance.

It aims at re-establishing the world's monetary leadership in the hands of London High Finance or city interests. It aims at re-establishing the practical superiority of the "managed currency" doctrine over the "automatic" gold standard conception. It aims at solving the domestic problems of Great Britain and attempts to make the Empire and a large portion of the world realise the necessity of stable exchange rate for securing maximum amount of international exchange of goods while comparative stability of internal price level is not wholly sacrificed altogether. Finally it attempts to prove to the world that "money" needs as much of "planning" as any other economic field. It attempts to prove the triumph of "planned money" over the chaotic embarrassments which are the concomitant effects of a gold standard which is fast breaking down as a result of the unnecessary load of debts created during and after the war and which have to be repaid in the form of an almost dwindling and evanescent stock of gold when compared with the colossal output of manufactured goods rendered possible during this Age of Technocracy. It aims at internal stabilisation of prices during these days of international price instability through a managed paper currency allowing exchanges to be looked after by an Exchange Equalisation Fund. In spite of these promised advantages arising out of the new sterling standard there are many who insist on the return to gold and gold-based or backed currency, for it alone can possess reasonable value of its own. This instinctive liking and veneration for gold does not give it its real value but it teaches us that the principle of limitation after all gives value to currency.

Failing to remove the great obstacles in the path of successful adoption of the gold standard the new sterling standard is being enforced on all countries. Canada joined the "sterling bloc." South Africa did the same and when the major gold-producing countries of the Empire gave up monetary use of gold the possible early resurrection

of international gold standard is impossible to be achieved. But the 'sterling area' or 'planned money' might not again mean any salvation either for England or the Empire or the world.

Taking Great Britain into consideration it means that all the expected advantages of abandoning the gold standard have not been realised. The maintenance of a managed paper currency, the avoidance of deflation, and the pursuit of gentle reflation were expected to tide over the general financial crisis and to raise the price of primary products. A political crisis supervened and made matters worse. Apart from temporary raising of prices, the wider industrial situation and export trade of Great Britain have not secured permanent relief. Her strong trade unions and her unemployment insurance have conferred a rigid economic structure which has refused to adapt itself to changing economic conditions brought about by depression and falling prices.

The Empire has solidly voted for an *international* monetary standard and never even made mention of "sterling area" at the recent Ottawa Economic Conference. Apart from protecting the interests of the gold industry these countries wish to maximise their trade conditions and mutual services to each other.

Even granted that the "sterling area" is accepted, the world itself would not be happier under the new regime, for the perennial quest for securing sound and stable money will not be solved thereby.

Should India accept the new sterling standard? From the practical standpoint there is no other go except the one of accepting this standard. India has not evolved the framework of an independent monetary system—for example as Sweden has done. Without popular instinctive liking for the system the new monetary standard cannot be foisted upon them. The linking of the Rupee with paper sterling commenced on 21st Sept., 1931. On 24th Sept., 1931, the Government of India undertook to support the sterling value at 1s. 6d. by means of the sale of Reverse Councils. Nothing abnormal happened except the increased export of gold consequent on the depreciation of the Rupee and the sterling. This export of gold is often mentioned as having been a god-sent feature strengthening Government's credit, India's exchange rates and indirectly helping London to repay her American and French debts.

The issue is not so narrowly confined as the Government apologists think it to be. Writing on 6th October, 1931, I had the opportunity to comment on the possible *pros and cons* which would

arise out of the linking of the Rupee with the paper pound sterling. In a paper read before the Bengal Economic Society I pointed out the following advantages arising out of the linking of the Rupee with *inconvertible* sterling at 1s. 6d. ratio.

(i) "There would be an exchange bounty on Indian exports to other gold standard countries. As India's trade is more with gold standard countries than England there is a temporary stimulus at least as a result of exchange bounty on Indian exports to these countries." A glance at the recent trade figures would prove that a certain improvement has resulted but this has been due to other causes than the sterling nexus. The gradual lifting of the depression is responsible for it.

(ii) "The Government of India will not lose anything in the payment of sterling obligations. If a fall in the Rupee-sterling exchange were to take place it would increase the amount of Rupees to be laid aside to pay the sterling obligations. Without stable sterling-Rupee exchange the Indian budget would become a gamble in exchange." This benefit has accrued but the possible gains arising out of remittance factor have not been placed by the Finance Member before the country.

(iii) "Without linking to sterling the gold value of the Rupee would fall to a very great extent." If the Indian monetary system had been fully prepared for this contingency there would have been some gain arising out of it. Our unpreparedness has forced us to make the Rupee lean on another country's currency. It will continue to be so, so long as the credit and currency system stands undeveloped.

(iv) "The Indian market is secured to British exports as against the competition of manufactures of the gold standard countries. This tantamounts to giving Imperial Preference by back-door methods." A glance at the Trade Reports would show that in certain lines the position of Great Britain has improved. Recently Imperial Preference has been granted and the resulting improvement might be due to the second factor.

(v) "An element of uncertainty in the trading relations with England which amounts to 25% of our total trade would be removed. The remitters also stand to gain by stable rupee exchange at 1s. 6d." Apart from the fact that it is sectional advantage it must be understood that these advantages have been reaped by maintaining the *status quo*, i.e., continuation of the sterling-Rupee exchange rate.

(vi) "The Rupee will depreciate and the internal value of the Rupee fall, viz., prices of commodities will be rising." This temporary

advantage has not come up to the expected level and the prices of agricultural raw materials are still on the descending scale. Notwithstanding the slight improvement there has been no significant advance in internal prices so as to make the producers' position tolerably happy.

(vii) "The frantic efforts on the part of the Government to support 1s. 6d. gold value for the Rupee would cease." This has ensued out of the maintenance of *status quo*. The export of gold has strengthened India's exchange ratio and if this ratio were to be maintained the gaps in exports ought to be filled up by gold export. Without this factor the exchange situation would indeed have been gloomy.

While pointing out the disadvantages of the sterling (inconvertible) link attention may necessarily be drawn to the following features.

(i) "Indian import trade with gold standard countries becomes impeded. As goods pay for goods the Indian exports will become ultimately restricted." Since these lines were written trade with depreciating exchange countries alone like Japan has increased enormously much to the detriment of competing Indian manufactured goods. The position of the Bombay cotton industry is a sad illustration of this tendency.

(ii) "The changing of the currency standard is a violent breach of national faith. The gold standard countries are justified in considering this step as a betrayal of national trust." The fiction of maintaining India on one shape or variant of the gold standard has always been the well-known currency tactics pursued by the authorities of Whitehall. Strangely enough this fiction is still being maintained by the R. B. Bill which values the Rupee at 8.42512 grains of gold. This intellectual dishonesty has to be frankly condemned.

(iii) "This gives an excellent opportunity to secure long-term credit in gold countries and pay off sterling obligations out of the funds, for sterling has become depreciated in terms of gold." From 4.88 cents the pound sterling sometimes fell to the low extent of 3.20. There would indeed have been 33½% decline of sterling indebtedness of ours arising out of the above step. But no positive administrative action was taken.

(iv) "There would be flight of capital for there is lack of confidence in the Rupee and the Indian monetary system." This was indeed averted by the promise of Whitehall authorities to maintain the stable exchange ratio of the Rupee at 1s. 6d. sterling. The limiting of exchange requirements in the beginning to Rs. 25,000 alone had the necessary result in eliminating speculation. It is indeed true that these restrictions have been eliminated. The flight from the Rupee

would have been indeed noticeable if the credit of the Government had been ruined. But as there was improvement in this direction no great outflow of capital has indeed taken place. But as no banking authority ever undertakes to enlighten us on this vexed topic nothing dogmatic can be asserted in this direction.

(v) "It is a sad mistake to maintain the standard of value with the incidental and varying circumstances of exchange." A change in the currency standard was ushered in although the fiction of 1s. 6d. exchange ratio was maintained. 1s. 6d. (paper) sterling is quite different from 1s. 6d. (gold) sterling. As England herself is contemplating a return to gold perhaps at a devaluated rate the aim of the Indian currency authority ought to be the same.

(vi) "Unless an embargo on gold is placed India would be drained of all its gold stocks." A Brahmin is indeed gifted with the capacity of prophesying events. The veritable outrush of private gold stocks to secure higher prices has produced a serious situation. The loss of this stock of gold would be felt at the time when the return to gold standard becomes an accomplished fact. The private gold hoards which would have acted as a secondary line of defence have almost disappeared leading to a weakening of the situation.

(vii) "It places India at the mercy of currency and credit changes in England. This monetary subordination to the foreign centre turns out to be misplaced reliance in the long run as soon as sterling depreciates further and further." This contingency has not indeed arisen but the apparent disadvantage of depending on another country for regulating our currency is the height of currency folly.

Such must be the balance-sheet the details of which ought to be filled up before anything in favour of the sterling standard can be suggested. It is a mistaken assumption on the part of the Government apologists to attribute recent improvements to the linking of the Rupee with sterling. As a matter of fact it was the supplementary budget of November 1932 which has strengthened the credit position of the Government of India. Sterling loans can indeed be floated easily while the sterling link is not snapped. Better terms can also be secured if the other Governments have not a relatively strong position when compared with that of the Government of India.

But so long as the domestic capital market is not tapped properly for genuine capital requirements of the Government access to foreign or external market is a culpable crime. Great Britain's advantage over gold countries in trade relations with India is one feature responsible for the slight improvement in mutual trading relations. Apart from

traders who say that trade with gold standard countries is being handicapped, there are economists who deplore the inability of the Government of India to control the currency system. They openly assert that the present system does not command the confidence of the public. They would tend to consider the measure as a makeshift device and does not solve the real currency problem facing the country. Except the maintenance of stable exchange at a high ratio for the Rupee by some method or other there has been no other objective in the minds of the respective Finance Members. No Finance Member has thus far given us an intelligent outline of the volume of savings arising from remittances and increased import trade. The producing community has suffered severe loss as a result of currency changes. No amount of tariff protection designed to help the Indian agriculturists and industrialists will enable them to face with equanimity the losses arising out of the currency policy of the country. Control over the whole field of currency and exchange is denied by virtue of the inauguration of this policy.

Unless a Currency Commission wherein India is represented manages the sterling currency there will be no confidence in the stability of the monetary standard. The more there is the element of management the less will it be popular, for the laymen do not consider any currency which does not boast of gold link as a sound and honest currency standard. It is on the rock of the innate distrust of the people that the ship of the new sterling standard will founder. There is no principle of automatic mechanism in the new sterling standard. The volume of money created under the new sterling standard depends on the management of the Central Bank Governors. They might not be absolutely independent of political influence. The inability of the new sterling standard to secure sound and stable exchange rates with gold countries would lessen its utility. So long as the currency world stands divided into two halves it is impossible to achieve success. A currency standard should be international in scope, extent and usefulness.

The other alternative standards, viz., the adoption of the silver standard by the Eastern countries is impossible to be achieved. (*Vide* my Articles on Remonetisation of Silver—the Indian Journal of Economic.). Bimetallism is a mistaken recipe of 19th century economic thought. Having lost faith in metallic currencies which would impose difficulties on all countries in these days of technological advance and rationalisation and improvement in business organisation, a currency standard which allows the expansion of money co-equally with

productive ability but renders speculation impossible at the same time and would also defeat the hoarding propensity of the people is needed. Until such a kind of currency standard is developed by human ingenuity it is impossible to stick to the new sterling currency standard.

Some variant of gold standard other than the specie standard type is needed. Economy of gold holdings being a primordial consideration either the gold bullion standard or the gold exchange standard have to be resurrected. The managed gold bullion standard being infinitely superior to the gold exchange standard has to be revived. Dr. Mlynarski in his paper before the Gold Delegation Committee has wisely pointed out the defects of the international gold exchange standard. It is a matter of consolation to note that Sir Basil Blackett who so eloquently pleads for it before the Hilton-Young Commission has himself come round to advocate a managed paper currency or "planned money" to cope with present-day break-down of the gold standard.

Now that the statistical position of gold output is much improved in 1932 and as new forms of business organisation can aid the successful functioning of the gold standard the internationalising of the gold standard at a new level (probably a devaluated one) of gold values for the respective currencies can be pitched upon and made to work successfully. A much lower value for gold than at present would enable it to perform the work of the international currency standard. A scrapping of the load of indebtedness payable in gold alone would give it a fair chance to do efficient currency work. After all when one remembers that there is no better currency standard which human intelligence has evolved the somewhat reluctant acceptance of the best of the existing standards, *viz.*, the international gold standard seems to be a foregone conclusion.

India would gain most by an orderly monetary policy which aims at the resurrection of the gold bullion standard which the C. R. Bank has to manage successfully so as to prevent concomitant deflation attendant on the gold standard form of currency organisation. The greatest possible economy of gold holding will enable the country to remain on the gold standard but the Central Reserve Banking policy should aim at preservation of gold standard and at the same time secure expansion of bank credit and legal tender currency to satisfy the legitimate requirements in a manner as not to destroy the stability of the value of money.

THE FUNCTION OF THE POET

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IT is a curious comment on blindspots that seem inherent in the nature of genius that Plato, who was in many respects one of the greatest of poets, should yet deny to the poet any function in his Ideal State. Like many another judgment of great men, posterity remembers the dictum to-day only as another example of an amusing lapse of a great mind, but the poet has found instead allies who are only too often even more dangerous than an open enemy. For the poet is tolerated, or at best justified, not because of his peculiar contribution to life as a whole, but because of his aid in furthering motives and ends to which the character of his special activity is only secondary.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the various defences advanced for the poet we want to identify him with his poetry. We do not of course suggest that the man who composes poems is poetry personified, for we recognise that a human individual is a complex whole of diverse elements more or less perfectly organised. We only mean that the poetic aspect of his nature cannot be isolated from the activity by which it is distinguished from all the other aspects of his whole personality. This is to admit that the poet does not exhaust the man, but in him, the pure poet—in so far as it exists—is embodied and indeed identical with the poetic expression. It is therefore indifferent to us whether we talk of the functions of the poet or of poetry.

The functions of poetry have been often and variously described, and it is interesting to observe that poets themselves have differed more about their function than perhaps even poets have a right to. But the very fact of the indecision of poets—and nobody who is not at least potentially a poet has a right to talk about the function of poetry—is significant to an appreciation of the nature of poetry. A thing's function is nothing but its nature considered dynamically, and the indeterminacy about the function of the poet suggests indeterminacy about the nature of poetry itself. We may express the same fact in another way. The poetic activity is an unconscious activity, meaning thereby that the consciousness of any activity as poetic is incompatible with the poetic character of such acts. Introspection is possible only through retrospection, but the peculiar character of poetic activity makes any introspective assessment of its function impossible. We can

therefore arrive at it only inferentially, through attempts at comparing and equating the experiences of different individuals. Poets are as subject to this limitation as any other human beings, and perhaps more so, and this in part explains the failure of poets to agree about the function of poetry.

Defenders of poetry—whether poets or not—have usually been utilitarian in their attitude. In a sense all things can be brought under the utilitarian test, for value is necessarily a utilitarian concept. But the attempt to reduce all judgments of value to any one type is the temptation most fatal to the utilitarian, and one to which he most readily succumbs. Almost all utilitarian defenders of poetry are open to this charge, for they have sought to justify poetry either in terms of the pleasure it has brought, or in terms of its educational effect—its delight or its uplifting power. We do not for a moment suggest that poetry is not both delightful and uplifting—but we do assert that to delight or uplift is not the function of poetry as such.

Those who seek to posit that the function of poetry is to delight are however soon forced to admit that not everything which gives delight is poetry. All activity as such must be pleasurable, as otherwise it would not be, and to say that poetry is delightful is merely to say that it involves activity. But this in no way distinguishes poetic activity from any other form of human activity. As the emergence of bare consciousness brings with it an element of activity, this merely reduces to saying that poetry first emerges above the level of blank passivity. Further, as pleasure involved in activity is, *quâd* pleasure, identical in all cases, this offers no test for distinguishing poetry from any other type of human activity, or even of human consciousness. Supporters of such a theory are therefore forced to beg the question by asserting that the function of poetry is to delight, not with any and every pleasure, but pleasure of one peculiar kind, though the distinctive character of such pleasure can be described only in terms of poetry itself. This merely means that *the function of poetry is to give poetic delight*, which is a tautology. The only element of truth in such a theory of poetry is the recognition of its character as an activity, but has anyone ever questioned it?

The didactic theory of poetic function seems more promising at first sight. Poets have given it their blessing and critics have exalted it. To justify the ways of God to man, to sharpen and deepen the appreciation of nature and natural beauty, or to enhance, refine and spiritualise human relations and life seem ends for which even so glorious an instrument as poetry might well be used. A poet like Shelley

does not hesitate to write, "The poet not only beholds intensely the present as it is, and discovers the laws according to which present things ought to be ordered, but he beholds the future in the present, and his thoughts are the germ of the flower and fruit of latest time." For him, the function of poetry is unacknowledged legislation for the world.

There is of course no denying that poetry is educative in one sense. The activity of the poet results in the existence of an object, with which none was acquainted before, and with which all who read the poem will now be acquainted. But in this sense, all experience is instructive or at least informative. Poetry can in no wise be distinguished from other objects, material or non-material, which come within the province of human experience, understanding experience in the widest sense of the term. To call poetry educative therefore merely means that poetry is an object of human experience, but if this be all that the instructional theorists of poetic function mean, they waste their efforts, for no one ever dreams of questioning it.

They do not however mean merely this. Before we try to evaluate such a theory of poetic function, we must distinguish between the two forms in which it has been held. The cruder form of the theory, which holds that the function of poetry is to teach, in the strict sense of the term, seems to have been re-stated in recent times by Mr. Joad.¹ For him, poetry is essentially didactic and the vehicle of a message: it is the instrument of evolutionary purpose, facilitating the emergence of a new level of consciousness. Even if we ignore his metaphysical presupposition of a world of value—non-human, non-material and non-mental but yet real, which is somewhere there, waiting to be discovered independent of our seeking—his theory is yet open to the following lines of attack. For firstly, the poet does *not* start with the object of the solution of any problem, or promulgation of a new doctrine or even the general betterment of the race. Secondly, exhibiting, on the contrary, as he sometimes does, an almost callous ignorance of vital social problems of his times, he is not infrequently worst suited for effecting a betterment of life should he desire to do so. Further, if the poet started with a conscious didactic purpose, this would in no way differentiate his function from that of the preacher, prophet or social reformer, and yet, nobody would dream of denying or questioning the difference that does exist between them. It need not even be doubted that the poet often does instruct, but

¹ Joad, *Matter, Life and Value*.

so far as he merely *instructs*, he is not different from any of these others. Indeed, he may even be said to be not fulfilling his proper function, for as soon as we have distinguished the poet from the teacher, we have recognised that there is a difference, not merely of degree, between their functions. Of course it may be replied that though the function of the poet is to teach, his instrument is different, but if this difference can be—and it can be—determined only in terms of poetry, the whole question will have been begged again.

This general objection also applies to the second form in which the theory has been formulated. It claims to recognise the fact that the poet, even if he does instruct, does not intend to do so, and is not unoften incapable of doing so. It therefore defines the function of the poet, not as the solution of the problems of life but as the evocation of their consciousness in the mind of man. The true business of the poet is not to teach, but to give information, not to dictate dogmatic rules for the conduct of life, but to make men aware of life and the world and their intricate interrelations and nexuses, so that out of a better understanding, a richer and fuller life might be made possible. But all this is merely to reinterpret the term 'instruction' in a broader sense, and in no way avoids the difficulties of the cruder theory. For, granting that the poet does seek to make men more conscious of the problems of life, so do the preacher and the prophet and wherein do their activities differ as instruction? The poet does as a matter of fact, direct attention to aspects of reality hitherto unobserved, through his greater insight and sensitiveness, but it does not in any way seem to be part of his function to *desire* to do so. A merely instructional theory of poetic function therefore fails no less than a merely hedonistic account.

The function of a thing is but its nature considered dynamically as we earlier pointed out, and the nature of poetry can perhaps be best defined by contrasting it to that of science or of ordinary experience. One difference can be pointed out at the very outset. Whatever be the relation of the knower to the known, scientific as well as ordinary experience lies in the *discovery* of some object of knowledge that was there, waiting to be discovered. In poetic experience, the object is the product of the creative imagination, and in a sense different from that of all the other instances. The scientist assumes the independent pre-existence of the objects of his knowledge, and his thought is intentional, *i. e.*, with a reference to the nature of the content of thought. Poetic thought is creative and brings into being objects which, however independent they may be once they

have come into existence, could not have existed at all but for the activity of the poet.¹

Here then we have a clue to the function of the poet—to create in a sense altogether different from all other human activities, and this, though an element of creation is involved even in the lowest forms of human perception. No doubt the poet cannot and does not create something out of nothing, and the matter of poetic creation is supplied by the crude experience of day to day, but it can become poetry only and only through objective presentation to the mind by an act of creative imagination.

The definition of the function of the poet as creativity has however to be further developed and amplified, for by poetic creation, we do not mean merely the construction of the non-existent or the non-experienced. Still less do we mean the embodiment of something which is impossible of realisation in the actual world, and where impossibilities do occur in poetry, we do not recognise its poetic character to lie in the fact of such occurrence. In a word, poetic creation is not the hypostatisation of the unreal.

Poetic creation lies in seeing a thing as an individual whole. Our actual experience of events and things is fragmentary in character, in which we feel the existence of relations and connections without becoming cognisant of them. The scientist seeks to unravel these relations and connections. Concentrating upon them he often loses sight of the thing itself, till through analysis the details become so important that the whole is to him merely the uninteresting aggregate of interesting parts. Even his theory which seeks to unite and bind the parts into a whole is concerned more with the relation of the parts to one another and to the whole than with the wholeness of the whole itself. The ordinary man stands midway between the scientist and the poet,

¹ No doubt it might be argued that knowledge, scientific or empirical, equally presupposes the activity of the knower. But there is one important difference. As pointed out in the body of the essay, the presupposition for all scientific and empirical knowledge is that, in such cases, the object is independent of and distinct from the activity by which it is apprehended. The nature of the object determines the mind and resists all attempts of the mind to alter or change it. But in the case of poetic experience, there is no such immutable law. There is indeed a logic of development in the sphere of poetry as well, but this logic does not confine us to one sole alternative out of a set. Truth is only one, but beauty may have various forms. We *know* or *do not* know the truth about a thing, and in either case, there is an end of the matter. But in spite of formal finality, there is no such absoluteness about the beauty of a thing. We may each find it beautiful in our own way and the same person may find it beautiful in different ways at different times. We can imagine a poem or a picture as otherwise from what it is and yet beautiful. It is only those who have neither experience nor comprehension of art that clamour about the inevitability of a line or a word or a note. All artists know that these might have been different, and yet the work would remain a work of art—though naturally a different work of art.

and sees more than the scientist does but sees it less clearly. He senses the presence of the parts and the whole and their interrelation but he does so only imperfectly and confusedly. The object of the artist's vision is on the contrary a whole of which the number of parts do not confuse and hide the unity of the whole. Since any thing or event is so rich in integrated elements and relations that its duplication is almost an inconceivability, it follows that seeing anything whole is seeing it as unique. The function of the poet may therefore be defined as revealing the unique individuality of things, attended with the emotional intensity and fervour resulting from the realisation of this uniqueness. The scientific desire to understand makes the indifferent universalisation of objects the aim of science. The poetic impulse to make and enjoy acquaintance results in their unique individualisation as objects of art.

Poetry is indeed in a way like love. There may be, and in fact are, thousands and millions of women in the world. But at the moment of ecstatic love, it is "the unique she" who alone exists for the lover. The delight of this knowledge of her uniqueness is inseparably tied up with the fervour and emotional intensity of his being. If the lover is told that it is an illusion, he simply laughs. Nothing can prove to him the falsity of what he so directly apprehends and if he is indeed deluded, is not the dream better than the awakening? So thought Darwin when he felt within himself the atrophy of his sense of poetry.

The poet's function is to see the uniqueness of things and give them a permanent form. In the unceasing march of things and events that threatens to hurry them into one process of undifferentiated and undefined fragments, it is only at rare moments that it is given even to a poet to see objects as unique and individual. Poetry therefore represents his attempt to crystallise in a permanent form and shape the content of a fleeting vision. The work of art is merely a shorthand copy of this unique individual object of artistic awareness, a few rough, crude and imperfect marks to help the memory to retain and reconstruct the experience, and recall it when the lapse of time has blurred and effaced the impression. Poetry is the witness, not so much to the poet's present inspiration as to the inspiration that once was his—the embodiment of a memory rather than of a vision. But that which it embodies and must embody is individual and unique and to call a thing commonplace or as of a class is its utter artistic damnation.

The function of the poet is therefore to see and embody the individual in objects of experience, through his creations to bring them before the consciousness of others less blessed with this—what may be called—second sight ; but how a few hints and notes jotted in words, colour, marble or sound evoke in himself and others this sense of a world of individual wholes is another and equally fascinating story.

WESTERN INFLUENCE ON SOME BENGALI POETS¹

By JAYANTAKUMAR DAS GUPTA, M.A., PH.D. (LONDON)

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THE introduction of Western education in Bengal and the study of Western literature furnished new ways to Bengali poets and threw open an entirely new line of thought to them. In the first flush of enthusiasm and specially in the enchanting and thrilling atmosphere of Derozio and Richardson's teaching of English poetry, "Young Bengal" attempted verses in English, chiefly in imitation of the poets of the Romantic Revival. Moore, Scott, Byron were their models. Many Bengali writers of English verse achieved a fair amount of success. Fortunately this mentality eventually died out and even Madhusudan Datta saw the futility of writing poems in English. In a letter to Gaurdas Basak he wrote, "If there be any one among us anxious to leave a name behind him, and not pass away into oblivion like a brute, let him devote himself to his mother-tongue. That is his legitimate sphere—his proper element. European scholarship is good, inasmuch as it renders us master of the intellectual resources of the most civilized quarters of the globe; but when we speak to the world, let us speak in our own language."

Rangalal Bandyopadhyay (1826-1887) occupies a prominent place among Bengali poets of the last century and in a study like this he deserves more than passing attention. Of the literary proclivities of Rangalal, we can form a fairly good idea from what Madhusudan Datta occasionally wrote to his friends about him. In a letter to Rajnarayan Basu Madhusudan writes, "I do not think R. either reads or can appreciate Milton; otherwise he could not have made those remarks in the concluding portion of his article. He reads Byron, Scott and Moore, very nice poets in their own way no doubt, but by no means of the highest school of poetry, except, perhaps, Byron, now and then." In another letter to the same friend Madhusudan

¹ This article forms part of a series of articles—"Western Influence on Bengali Literature," two of which were published in the *Calcutta Review* in November-December, 1931, and April, 1933.

says, "Byron, Moore and Scott form the highest heaven of Poetry in his estimation. I wish he would travel further. He could then find what 'hills peep o'er hills'—what 'Alps on Alps arise !'"

"Bhek-musiker Yuddha," one of the first published poems of Rangalāl, was based on a mock-heroic Greek poem and is the first mock-heroic poem in Bengali. Thomas Parnell's "Battle of the Frogs and Mice" might have also influenced Rangalāl. It is interesting to note what he says in the preface to this poem, "Now-a-days people of this country are taking European food after cooking it according to the taste and style of this country. That nourishes the body only. But the mind also requires nourishment from European food. Therefore we may ask appropriately if delicious intellectual food like European poetry could not be written to suit the taste of the people of this country and in their own manner."

In "Padmini" we find more striking proof of this attitude of Rangalāl. In the preface to this poem he openly acknowledges his debt to English poets and says, "In many places of the present poem there are reflections of the thoughts of many English poems. On that ground admirers of English poetry should not regard me as a plagiarist. Of my own accord I have attempted to express many beautiful thoughts in my own language. This has a twofold effect. Many people ignorant about English poetry think that there is no beautiful poetry in that language. It is necessary to correct that wrong impression. Secondly, the more Bengali poems are written after the correct English fashion, the more would shameless and disgraceful poetry disappear and the number of admirers of such poetry diminish." In "Padmini" there is treatment of actual history in verse after the manner of Western poets. What the Border Tales were to Scott, what the Arthurian Romances were to Tennyson, the ancient history of Rajasthan abounding in stories of valour were to Rangalāl. His main source of information was Tod's Annals. Perhaps Rangalāl thought that there was not enough material in his own province to furnish him with a story. It may also be that he thought it better to borrow themes from the history of a people with martial traditions. He was one of the earliest Bengali poets to go out of their own province for the subject-matter of their works and certainly Western influence was helpful to him in the conception of a land where provincialism did not exist.

The narration of the story in this poem by a Brahmin is in imitation of the verse-tales of Scott. Rangalal brings in the Rajput minstrels better known as *Charans* whose function it was to infuse a spirit of patriotism into the hearts of their listeners in times of national crisis through their songs and to sing of the past glories of their land on festive occasions during times of peace. The *Charans* existed in India in even earlier times. In Chand Bardai's poem *Prithviraj Raso* they are important figures. But in older Bengali poetry we find no characters like the *Charans*. There was a class of singers known as *Bhats* in Bengal. The institution of *Bhats* had its origin in quite early times. But Rangalal's *Charans* closely resemble the minstrels of Scott.

In *Padmini* Rangalal has given vent to intense feelings of patriotism and sentiments of nationalism. His famous lines,

"Who wants to live without freedom,
Who wants to wear the chains of slavery?"

seem as if they are an echo of Tom Moore's

"From life without freedom,
Oh! who would not fly?
For one day of freedom,
Oh! who would not die?"

This spirit of nationalism is one of the effects of our contact with Europe and specially England, the literature of which abounds in patriotic poetry of the highest order. Intercourse with the culture and literature of such a country made it inevitable that our poets should imbibe some of its outstanding characteristics. This new note is a distinct contribution of Rangalal to Bengali poetry.

The next poet on whose works Western influences are not negligible was Hemchandra Bandyopadhyay (1838-1903). He successfully attempted to write several new types of poetry in imitation of English poets. He was one of the very first to write poems of contemporary interest (*e.g.*, *Afghan War*), self-expressive poems in which the personality of the poet is present to a large extent (*e.g.* *On Visiting Benares*, *the Birth of the Ganges*, *the Vindhya Mountain*) elegiac poems, satirical poems (*e.g.*, *the Bengali Girl*, *the Match Box*), humorous poems resembling English lampoons (*e.g.*, *On Municipal Voting*, *the Ilbert Bill*), etc. As specimens in Bengali of adaptation and imitation of English poems mention may be made of

the Sky Lark (from Shelley), the Psalm of Life (from Longfellow), the Progress of Poesy (from Gray), Alexander's Feast (from Dryden). Hemchandra's epistolary poem *Madan-Parijat* is based on Pope's *Epistle from Eloisa to Abelard*.

His allegorical poem *Asakanan* is modelled upon Chaucer's *House of Fame* and Pope's *Temple of Fame*. Spenser influenced Hemchandra in his depiction of the six gate-keepers of the Garden who stand for six different virtues—Strength, Perseverance, Courage, Patience, Energy and Enthusiasm. Other Spenserian influences are found in the description of the Garden of Jewels, the Dame of Despair, the Hill of Fame, the Bridge of Marriage, the Garden of Love, the Grove of Affection, the Temple of Consolation and the Region of Sorrow.¹

Chhayamayi is partly an adaptation of the English translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. *Nalini-Basanta* and *Romao and Juliet* are adaptations from Shakespeare. In his preface to the latter, Hemchandra said that the story was based on Shakespeare's play, but it was not an exact translation. The process of adaptation he considered to be beneficial to Bengali literature. He was of opinion that this process should be followed for some time, but in later years works from foreign literature might well be translated into Bengali. The subject-matter of Hemchandra's *Vritra Samhar* was, no doubt, borrowed from Indian mythology, but the poem bears traces of Western influence. He candidly admitted in the preface to this poem that he was indebted to European poets. The beginning of the poem may be favourably compared to that of the second book of Keats's *Hyperion* and the second book of *Paradise Lost*. The *Workshop of Vistakarma* is not different from the *Isle of Vulcan* in the eighth book of the *Aeneid*. The Solar regions in canto eleven of Hemchandra have a good parallel in the third book of *Paradise Lost*. The journey of Bhabani to the abode of Brahma bears close resemblance to Satan's passage through the orb of the Sun in Milton. In the second part of Hemchandra's poem the description of *Svarga* suggests that of Eden in the fourth book of *Paradise Lost*. In canto ten of the same part the elucidation of the Creation to Gauri at Siva's residence resembles the story of the Creation in the seventh book of *Paradise Lost*. In the same canto of Hem Chandra, Indra soaring in the skies reminds the readers of

¹ As an experiment in the imitation of the Spenserian stanza in Bengali mention may be made of a translation of Beattie's *Minstrel* by Banamali Ghosh (1866).

some of the angels in Milton. Similarly the Messenger Dream of Hemchandra is an imitation of the Greek god Hermes.

In Hemchandra one should not expect to find so many passages directly influenced by Western poets as we find in Madhusudan. In Hemchandra the borrowings have been made more in consonance with the environment and the background, while in Madhusudan the influence is of such a marked nature that it is easily detected. As a pioneer, Madhusudan probably did not have much time to assimilate Western influence, while Hemchandra had the experience of Madhusudan before him and profited by it. Therefore the process of assimilation is more thorough in Hemchandra.

The name of Nabin Chandra Sen (1846-1909) cannot be omitted from any study of Western influence on Bengali poets, because he is one of those writers in whose works we find an absolutely new treatment of the sea after the manner of English poets. In spite of a few classical examples found in the *Ramayana* and the *Raghuvamsa*, our older poetry was not rich in descriptions of the sea. Though the sea was not wholly unknown to Bengali poets like Mukundaram, there was no idealisation of it. The earlier poets found no philosophy in the sea, nor did they see anything extraordinary in its ever-changing moods. The fascination of the sea was merely mechanical and in so far as it served descriptive purposes. But one of the most dominant notes in English poetry since its beginnings is the love of the sea. It is mainly because England is an island country that the English people find an ever new delight in the charms of the sea. It would not be wrong to suppose that sea-poetry was not so popular with earlier Bengali poets because seafaring traditions had been forgotten. Nabin Chandra's advantage was that he was born in a district bordering on the sea and hence had first-hand knowledge of it.

Western influence is noticeable to a large extent in *Palasir Yuddha*, which is the first attempt by any Bengali poet to write on some historical event which had happened at no great distance of time. Nabin Chandra was, no doubt, inspired by Rangalal's example to write on historical themes. But while Rangalal went out of his province for the subject-matter of poems, Nabin utilised the past history of Bengal for his materials. Though this type of poetry was not entirely new, Nabin Chandra's theme was comparatively newer than that of Rangalal. But in common both owed their inspiration to the West.

Coming to the poem itself, we find that the Conspiracy Scene in the first canto of *Palasir Yuddha* has been modelled on the

Infernal Council of Lucifer in *Paradise Lost*. The noblemen of Bengal were scheming to dethrone Nawab Sirajudaulla in a manner similar to that of Satan and his adherents. Rani Bhabani, who alone refused to be a party to such an infamous act and who warned the conspirators of their misguided action has been drawn on the same lines as

“ The Seraph Abdiel, faithful found;
 Among the faithless, faithful only he;
 Among innumerable false, unmoved,
 Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
 His loyalty, he kept his love, his zeal.”¹

The episode in the camp of the Nawab in the third canto where amidst revelries the boom of the English guns falls upon the unprepared ears of the Nawab was inspired by the account of the great Ball in Belgium's capital on the eve of the Battle of Waterloo.² Though merry-making was part of the reality of the life of Nawabs, the way it has been presented suggests Byronic influence. That part of the poem where the Nawab sees the ghosts of those he had killed appearing before him was based on Shakespeare's Richard III in which the tyrant is in convulsions as the ghosts of the dead move around him in a threatening attitude.³ A similar scene in Macbeth might also have been the source of Nabin Chandra's inspiration.

Western influence may also be traced in another poem of Nabin Chandra. *Rangamati* bears close resemblance to Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. Apart from particular situations which are similar (e.g., the song of the hunters in Canto IV of *Rangamati* and the song of the rowers in Canto I, which may be compared to the Chase Song in the first canto of the *Lady of the Lake* and the Boat Song and the Rowers' Song in the same) some of the principal characters in Nabin Chandra resemble Scott's characters in a very striking way. The old dame and Ellen in Scott have been transformed as the old ascetic-woman and Rangamati respectively. Malcolm Greame is not very different from Birendra. The combat between Birendra and Benjamin reminds one of the fight of Fitz James and Roderick Dhu. The fights between the Bengalis and the Portuguese have a parallel in those between the Saxons and the Gaels in Scott.

The verse-tales of Rangalal and Nabin Chandra are after the model of Scott and Byron. Rangalal followed Scott more closely than

¹ *Paradise Lost*, Bk. V.

² *Childe Harold*, Canto III, Stanzas 21, 22.

³ *Palasir Yuddha*, Canto III, Stanzas 42-44; Richard III, Act V, Scene III.

Nabin Chandra in his treatment of historical subjects. In Rangalal there is the poetry of action of Scott, patriotic fervour with a romantic background is the dominant note there. Rangalal's aim, like that of Scott, was the revival of the interest of his countrymen in the past glories of his land. His imagination was influenced more by the activities of men and the spirit of adventure. This spirit for action is a sure gain from Western influences. Our poetry was for a long time soft and sentimental. We were more of passive thinkers than men of action. These verse-tales infused new warmth into our hitherto frozen faculties. But while in Nabin Chandra there is a philosophic outlook, in Rangalal it is entirely absent. Nabin Chandra was in his time styled the Byron of Bengal. One wonders how he gained that name. Perhaps in temperament and outlook he resembled the English poet. Their natures also were equally emotional. It was, of course, a fashion in those days to call Bengali poets by Western names.

The imitation of the Western epic, and of heroic poetry, the rise of the romantic verse-tale, the introduction of new poetical forms mark important phases of Western influence on Bengali poetry. Subsequent times saw the works of poets, who though not wholly able to eliminate the influence of the West, show more originality than their predecessors in spirit and form.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF CRICKET AND LIFE

By SIR DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY, KT.

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THE wave of Cricket enthusiasm—following and followed by the phenomenal cold wave that has been sweeping over India, affords food for reflections of a most interesting and instructive kind. It can be said of Cricket—as has been said of the British Empire—that the sun never sets on it. Cricket and the British Empire are co-extensive and the game has followed in the wake of the Union Jack. Speaking about the king of games and the game of kings, it has been said with effect that Waterloo was won on the play-fields of Eton. This is no mere platitude and is more than a truism. This will bear close inspection and afford considerable scope for introspection.

To be a Public “School Man” connotes much in British life and character; so does “Sportsman.” He can hardly go wrong who “plays” the game and he who plays “cricket” all his life is all round dependable if he has “played the game.”

How far and how much cricket permeates British life was visualized by me effectively and at close quarters in 1912 when I was a guest of the Butler's at the Trinity College, Cambridge, as a member of the Congress of Universities of the British Empire. The best that was to offer at the College was at my disposal and my hospitable host spared no pains to make me at home and comfortable. The cricket season was at the highest and the Homeric Eton-Harrow Match was being played. Aged Dr. Butler, Master of Trinity, and his accomplished spouse evinced the keenest and the most lively interest in the game that was on and as they could not attend it, quarterly telegrams were pouring in; it was before the days of telephonic preponderance. The energy and excitement, the interest and keenness that characterised the aged couple as long telegrams about fortunes of the game poured in, would have struck a reticent observer as more than queer if he had not some of the cricket spirit in him. That is an infection all over England in the Cricket season.

Alternate depression and elation marked the whole of the afternoon till the final story of victory of the side which the Trinity couple

favoured, came in and they made a night of it in a way that I can never forget. Dr. Butler by the way was an uncle of Sir Harcourt Butler and Sir Montague Butler well known to the Indian Administration.

The scene strengthened more than ever my sportive instinct and spirit which manifested themselves in a way that lives in one's memory all his life. In the long journey back home, deck sports occupied a good deal of my time—much more than they had done in the forward voyage. One morning before lunch I was playing Deck Golf and I had the greatest difficulty in dislodging the "ball" from the peculiarly inconvenient "hole," which the "game-steward" had chalked out in a peculiarly inconvenient corner. I was trying the rules of exact sport. The lunch bell was going and my incapacity made me impatient. The orthodox method was failing and when I was about to give in and think of irregular methods of getting the ball out of the hole as a measure of expedition and expedience, I received a rude knock in the back and also the stern query, "if that was playing the game?" Amazed, I turned back and found none behind me but my own shadow—my inner and better self had asserted itself and saved me from what made me hang down my head in apology to the shadow and spirited away all my hunger and taste for food. This tale against myself I have often told to myself and others who I hope are all the better for it.

To learn to play the game in the best, broadest and highest sense of the term must be the foundation of training of life if it is to be worthy, and that is what real cricket stands for and aims at. I would like to compare life with cricket and cricket with life and if they are comparable the hidden meaning of the objective would be at once apparent. I am not discarding or minimising the good in other games, British or Indian, for they all have a good share of it.

From the point of view I am setting, cricket has features all its own. In Foot-ball all the players of both sides play together and there is mutual support and companionship in players belonging to the same side—all round. This may be said to be also true—of Hockey. One need not consider Tennis, or its subordinate editions—Ping-Pong or Badminton—in this concern. They are without any definite object or goal in the cricket or football sense though possessing delicate features of the dilettante. Golf is a detached game with its own peculiar features that manifest themselves in isolated fashion in distant tracts of the course with none looking on from point to point or none giving or receiving inspiration.

But that has nothing to do with the peculiar features of cricket to which I am interested in drawing pointed attention, differentiating it from the games that I have enumerated above.

The constitution of the team will engage my attention for a short time. There are eleven players to each side. The team that wins the toss and elects to bat, sends two batsmen to the two ends of the "wicket." The one at the "stumps" has to defend them with his bat, sometimes with his pads, and not with his body against the adversary's ball from the other end of the wicket—slow or fast or medium—as the bowler according to his capacity or the Captain's dictates elect. The two men at the two ends of the wicket must understand one another and be understood to one another and never miss or misunderstand the "call" and never attempt fatal "runs" in such misunderstanding.

Keen eyes, alert wits, steady nerves prompt judgment and firm wrists, never failing co-operation and co-ordination must be the essentials and accomplishments. He has to face facts as they arise and perform tasks as they appear. Steady rather than brilliant play, unmindful of actual "score"—definite success in life—must be the constant objective of those who are charged with the defence of the "stumps"—the hearth and home or the common business or the common objective in life between two partners, against a constant stream of "balls" or attacks from the adversary. He watches you, studies your idiosyncrasy, tempts or misleads you; you must be proof against all these and steadily block, block and block and refuse to hit high and be "caught out." Hitting high though spectacular is apt to lead to disaster.

The tens or hundreds or thousands that your play or your life may have attracted to the field, take upon themselves to be better judges of your capacities, resources and movements. They thoughtlessly, and sometimes provokingly, keep on cheering or jeering—they call it "barracking" now-a-days. You must not lose your head and be proof against praise and blame alike and go on blocking, blocking—playing a steady, patient, nay, weary game—though earning no *Kudos* from your enthusiastic admirers. No vain speculation or flashy emprise must tempt you till you find your opportunity of sending the ball athwart and across watching and firm-gripped adversaries at the "points," "slips," "coverpoints," "long offs and long ons" and until your partner at the other end is ready to "run" in co-operation and co-ordination without over-estimating your and his own capacity, grit, resources and firm-footed rapidity of movement. Watch it and

if you have the capacity, send the ball to the "boundary" or over the boundary and safely earn your "four" or "six" amidst wild cheers but wait for all this till you have paid your 'dues' and made up your "arrears."

If you do not or cannot do this you will at all events have made good use of your time and by slow, steady and patient blocking lay the foundation for your after-comer to indulge in brilliant play. That happens in life when a worthy though obscure member of the family or the firm who is not much in evidence lays the foundations, often unseen, of success of his after-comer who builds the edifice, is much heard of, and enjoys *Kudos*.

Abhimanyu, of old, had but seven adversaries to surround him according to the story in the *Mahabharat*. The batsman defending the stumps, has eleven to account for and has two more in the bargain, his own-unwary self and his unco-ordinating partner at the other end of the wicket; he must therefore have all his wits about and round him. He often reminds me of an edifying picture depicting a devout, determined but helpless householder with his hands and feet in shackles, with his friends and foes, his son, brother, wife, retainers, dependents, admirers and detractors each pulling at a taut "cord" affixed to each limb as hard as ever one could. With eyes fixed aloft, the victim patiently awaits the end of the game as does the batsman at the stumps surrounded by his watchful "adversaries." Whether he is to succeed or fail in life, business, or play depends upon his patiently keeping his eyes fixed on the objective that he has set to himself and that he seeks to serve with indomitable and dogged patience and determination.

I have not seen the picture of late but it has left an impress on my mind affecting life, the lesson of which I think is eminently applicable to cricket. The parallel and comparison will bear examination and yield results. It is needless to carry the analogy further for those who will not understand and do not care.

Considerations such as these make me think more than ever that cricket should find a bigger place in the fundamental education of the youth of the country in the difficult times through which we are passing and in the "spacious" times to come.

Cricket is a comparatively expensive game and requires support and patronage of the well-to-do. Bombay has therefore always done better in this direction than Bengal; but Bengal is trying to come to the fore. The University Occasionals, one of the youngest but best of cricket clubs which has done me the honour of having me as its

president for two successive years is taking a diligent part in popularising the game. The account that it has given of itself in Lahore, Patiala, Meerut, Delhi, Aligarh, Calcutta and Shillong is, to put it at the mildest, encouraging. The successive inter-University matches, the Bengal Gymkhana and the various affiliated and unaffiliated clubs and Institutes are also putting forth their best efforts, replete with promises of good results early. It was a sore disappointment of Bengal cricketers and their friends and admirers that no one from Bengal was selected for inclusion in the India team playing against England in Bombay, or Calcutta though some exceedingly good representatives of Bengal cricket offered themselves. The candidates themselves however took the rejection in good part and in a proper sporting spirit. Though there was an apprehension in Calcutta on the eve of the Test Match that some indiscreet Bengal admirers of cricket might translate their grievances into unpleasant demonstration, no such untoward result followed. This shows how the real cricket spirit has got hold of 20 to 30 thousand spectators that attended the Test Matches for 4 days in the Eden Garden and at least twice as many more out in the city and the country, who were watching through the newspapers and discussing progress and results. A young lad who had been seriously ill was one of the thousands of these distant admirers and was following every movement of the team from his sick-bed in the suburbs of Calcutta. Major C. K. Naidu, the fine Captain of the All-India Team, heard of his little admirer and like the true cricketer that he is, he paid a visit of encouragement to his sick chamber after finishing his devotions in the temple of Kalighat on an off-day. The Captain himself at all events and some of the members of the team are convinced and have been proclaiming that there is a brighter future for Bengal cricket.

It may be permissible to go back to the early history of Bengalee cricket in Bengal, about which some particulars have appeared in the newspapers. Though cricket took root among Englishmen in Bengal more than a hundred years ago in the Calcutta and Ballygunj fields, Bengalees can hardly be said to have taken to it seriously and kindly much earlier than the late seventies of the last century. With the encouragement of large-minded professors like Mr. Booth, Paulsen and McCann a young band who had finished the *Ha-doo-doo* stage began a miniature club in the Presidency College grounds with its exceedingly bad turf across which lay a footpath from the Presidency College to the Hare School gate. This was used by Principal Tawney on his way to the Senate House, where he was also Registrar. With

his head bent down as usual but with a kindly glance at our "Alexander bat" and "Composition ball" he used to send us "speechless messages" of toleration, if not, of "love."

Some senior students like the saintly Mr. Trigunacharan Sen of *Senhati* and Dr. Haricharan Sen, father of Mr. S. K. Sen, Bar.-at-Law, did us the honour of joining the club. The "duke" ball soon appeared and though "bodyline bowling" had not yet come, I soon had a broken nose in keeping wicket that kept me flat on my back for 8 days but gave me wrists that still excite the envy and admiration of heroes confronting picked players of the M. C. C. Thus began in 1878 quietly and unostentatiously Bengalee cricket in which Professors Bipinbehari Gupta and Saradaranjan Roy were soon to shine. In their wake came the Wellington Club, the Shovabazar Club, the Mohan Bagan Club, the Aryan Club, the Sporting Union, Bengal Gymkhana, Bengal and Assam Cricket Association, and the various other clubs, culminating in the University Occasionals.

Though this is the first year that an M. C. C. team has paid a formal and official visit to India, distinguished players from Australia and England like Lord Hawke and Sir Stanley Jackson, late Governor of Bengal, had honoured and encouraged cricket in Bengal by their visit. Sir Stanley Jackson in presiding at the Centenary celebration of the Oriental Seminary on my invitation as president complimented me on the "Century and not out." High-placed public-spirited cricketers like Maharaja Nripendranarayan Bhup of Cooch Behar and Maharaja Jagadindranarayan Roy of Nattore gave the game a good fillip but somehow or other it has been lagging behind. It is up to all friends of cricket and all that it stands for to give it a good push forward.

Though cricket in its present shape may be modern, playing with the ball, in a way not easily ascertainable, was not unknown to ancient India. Major C. K. Naidu in his charming reply to the address of welcome by the Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation to his team in the Town Hall on the 6th of January, 1934, referred to the ball play of the Mahabharat princes *delineated* in the *Adi Parba*. A translation of the *Slokas* from which Major Naidu had culled the story will bear repetition:—

Thus Drona secretly passed some time in the house of Kripacharyya. Then one day the princes came out in company from the capital Hastina, began to run up and down in delight of playing

with a ball. Once the ball fell into a well (near by). The princes then made an earnest effort to pick up the ball but they could not devise means of doing so. The princes with heads bent down in shame cast looks at each other and bewailed at not finding the means. At this time they noticed a Brahmin with dark complexion, white hair and thin body, performing at a little distance *Agnihotra Hom Ceremony*. The anxious princes in their disappointment immediately came and surrounded the Brahmin. Knowing that they had not yet finished their play, Drona smiled and conscious of his skill in arms thus addressed:—Ye boys ! fie to your Khsatriya powers and your training in arms that you are unable to pick up the ball though you are descendants of the great Bharat. I shall pick up the ball and also this ring (which I shall throw down in the well with reed-apparatus. I shall be able to pick them up on condition that you would provide me with a meal. With these words to the princes Drona threw his own ring down in the dry well. Then Yudhisthira said, “ Sir, with Kripacharyya's permission you will have your meal every day.” At this Drona with a smile said to the boys, “ I dedicate these reeds with *Mantra*. Observe their power which is denied to others. I shall attack the ball with this reed, that reed with the second one, the second with a third one. In this way when the reeds will come up to me I shall pick the ball up. This Drona immediately did as he said. (Tale of play with ball in *Mahabharata, Adiparba*, 127th Chapter, from the 16 Sloka to the 30th). *Beeta* mentioned in the above Slokas is according to Nilkantha's commentary some wooden arrangement. Mahamahopadhyaya Haridas Shidhanta Bagis, the well known modern commentator and editor of *Mahabharata*, calls *Beeta* a ball made of cloth or leather, which is more to the purpose. At all events the game was exciting, it was a princes' game. The recovery of the ball earned their gratitude and led to the gratitude of the princes and discovery of the disguised Dronacharya by Bhishma who was long looking out for him, and the recovery of the ball by one reed or arrow being steadily sent after the other by that supreme master of arms, Dronacharya, who must have had at his command much more powerful and showy method of prompt recovery of the ball, smacks essentially of cricket and patient game.

Major Naidu and some of his colleagues who did me the honour of staying with me during two weeks, hugely appreciated this point of view about cricket in the many talks that the old cricketer and the young used to have after the day's fray, drooping in despondency or jubilating in

glee, as the day's fortune might warrant. And it is by slow unostentatious steady play for 162 minutes in the 2nd innings, in the Calcutta Test Match when he was obliged to "follow on" that he laid the foundation of the triumphant "boundaries" and "over-boundaries" that fell to the lot of his worthy cricket colleague Dilwar, doing the heroic with bandaged head and damaged finger nails.

The game ended in an honourable draw in Calcutta that amplified itself in the victory at Benares.

May the musings—hardly philosophy—of an old wicket-keeper, who has celebrated the jubilee of his broken bridge of nose, help in leading Bengalee cricket from more to more.

SOME THEORIES OF LOVE

By DR. MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHERJI, M.A., PH.D.

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OF human feelings love is generally looked upon as the most wayward and least under the guidance of any rule or principle. No consideration of individual or social welfare weighs with it in the smallest degree. Its origin is inexplicable and mysterious like the rise of Venus from the sea and its course, whether rough or smooth, can never be predicted with any degree of certainty. Poets have sung copiously about it, but their notes have always been discordant. Some have laughed at it as a human weakness, while others have lauded it upto the skies as an inspiration to heroic deeds. A great poet calls it 'mere folly,' another describes it as 'a sickness full of woes,' while yet another declares, 'Love is Heaven and Heaven is Love.' It is volatile, it is abiding ; it is superficial, it is deep and profound. A theory of love thus seems, on the face of it, an impossible thing and an attempt to discover principles in the domain of this master passion must appear to be futile.

Yet speculations on love were common in the ancient world, especially in the west. Serious enquiries into its nature and attributes really took place and much subtlety and acumen were displayed by great minds in their efforts to arrive at correct and accurate ideas about it. Greek and Alexandrian philosophers in pre-Christian times, Dante and St. Francis in the Middle Ages in Europe, the Sufis in Persia and the Vaishnavic sages in India tried with the same earnestness to arrive at intelligible and clear ideas about it. We shall here deal with some Greek and Renaissance views of love.

It is well-known that the ancients could not keep intact the boundary-lines between different kinds of speculation like Theology and Physical Science, Ethics and Metaphysics. Speculation on love was, in past ages, part of Metaphysical speculation and this explains partially why theorising on love—inconceivable now-a-days—was possible in those times and why a matter too delicate and frail for scientific scrutiny was subjected to a searching examination.

Some Greek philosophers conceived of love as a comprehensive cosmogonic principle which was responsible for the creation of the world

out of chaotic primordial elements. They were obviously referring to the attraction which these elements felt towards one another. This was also called friendship and described as harmony, *e.g.*, in Hesiod and Empedocles. The world, according to these Greek philosophers, was the issue of the love which brought these elements into a close union and in earth, air and water love was the cementing principle which kept together the constituent particles of matter. 'Like is preserved in like. Love, however, draws like to like. Mutual love acting as the link, each single part of the earth is drawn to its like and is preserved in it. The parts of water draw each other alternately and are preserved through the whole body of water at a place suitable for them. The same parts of air and fire, and even these two elements, are drawn upwards by love of a region harmonious with it.... All things, to speak the truth, are preserved by the unity of their parts and perish through their dispersion. Mutual love of the parts effects unity.' Absence of this love was the cause of the conflict amongst the elements known as chaos. This principle of cosmogonic love was noticed by the ancient philosophers in the blending of the humours in the human body. Love or concord amongst the different humours led to physical fitness or health while, its absence was the root-cause of all diseases. Love was thus the effect of the observance of the principle of proportion in the blending of constituent elements, while violation of this principle led to that discord which was the source of all evil.

This Love in the inorganic world is different from another kind of love observed in the domain of organic nature. Propagation of species through reproduction is a law of organic nature. Plants, beasts, birds and human beings are equally subject to this law, and Plato says this is, with them, a means of securing immortality. Mental activity is, of course unknown to lower forms of life, but man instinctively shrinks from the idea of utter annihilation. The thought that there would be none to step into his place where he is dead and gone, that his hearth and home would remain uncared for after his death, that his disappearance would create a void which would never be filled up, is intolerable to man. 'After me the deluge'—this can never be accepted as a motto by any man however nonchalant he may be. Life of all forms—plant as well as animal—instinctively abhors death and loves immortality, and tries to secure this through reproduction. Love in the organic world is a desire for reproduction, because it is in reality a desire for immortality. Says Diotima in the Symposium, 'Love is of the immortal. Mortal nature is seeking as far as possible to be

everlasting and immortal and this is only to be attained by generation, because the new is always left in the place of old.'

Man is more than a mere organism and he, therefore, loves something over and above the mere continuation of his line in his issue. He has sentiments and emotions the choicest of which is his sense of beauty. His love is more than a mere biological phenomenon—it is also an æsthetic urge. As Plato says, 'There is a certain age at which human nature is desirous of procreation and this procreation must be in beauty and not in deformity. Beauty then is the destiny who presides at birth.' Therefore when a man falls in love, he loves a beautiful woman and feels the charm of her graceful appearance. A fanciful explanation of the effect of beauty on the human soul has also been given by Plato. He says that man in his ante-natal state was in direct touch with divine beauty which is the source of all beauty on this earth. The memory of that beauty clings to him even after his birth on this planet and he fondly looks forward to the day when he would again have the pleasure of close communion with it. Whenever he sees any human face or figure having a semblance of that supreme beauty, he feels instinctively attracted to it and falls in love.

Of beauty, however, there are different grades and sensuous beauty which kindles love in most people, is the lowest. Man's æsthetic sense is not changeless—it passes through a process of development. It is gradually intellectualised and becomes free from sense-connection, till it attains a perfect spirituality. Types of beauty which are perceived and loved by man, one after another, in consequence of this gradual purification of his æsthetic faculty are correspondingly sublime. Plato thus classifies beauty, the object of love, in the *Symposium* into different grades: 'The true order of going or being led by another to the things of love, is to use the beauties of earth as steps along which he (man) mounts upwards for the sake of that other beauty, going from one to two and from two to all fair forms, and from fair forms to fair actions, and from fair actions to fair notions, until from fair notions he arrives at the notion of absolute beauty, and at last knows what the essence of beauty is.' This is the well-known Platonic ladder of ascent to eternal, spiritual or divine beauty through lower types or grades of beauty, *viz.*, beauty of form, of laws and institutions, beauty of science and beauty of intellect as such, and it affords a scope for the transmutation of earthly love into the divine.

This classification is not very clear and distinct, but what is indistinct in Plato acquires clearness and definiteness in some of his

followers. One of them, Baldessar Castiglione, an Italian writer of the 15th century, classifies beauty into six distinct grades corresponding to six distinct stages of the lover's progress from the moment when he feels the promptings of love at the sight of a beautiful woman till the time when his soul views the wide sea of pure divine beauty. The lover first impresses her fair features upon his mind in order to alleviate the pangs of separation. Straightway, however, his imagination idealises those features and she appears to his mind to be fairer than she really is. In the second stage, it is these idealised features that the lover loves. Stimulated by this idealised beauty of the lady, he next comes to form an image of a face or figure which is, as it were, the sum of all loveliness, a combination of selected charms. In the language of Castiglione, "besides these blessings (*viz.*, of beholding the idealised features), the lover will find another much greater still, if he will employ this love as a step to mount to one much higher, which he will succeed in doing if he continually consider within himself how narrow a restraint it is to be always occupied in contemplating the beauty of one body only and therefore, in order to escape such close bonds as these, in his thought he will little by little add so many ornaments that by heaping all beauties together, he will form a universal concept and will reduce the multitude of these beauties to the unity of that single beauty which is spread over human nature at large. In this way he will no longer contemplate the particular beauty of one woman, but the universal beauty which adorns all bodies." When the lover is fully aware that this concept of universal beauty is primarily the product of his own mind, he realises that that beauty must be an inherent part of the soul, and the passion for beauty "growing with each fresh activity of the spirit, he now joyously contemplates beauty as he finds it within himself, quite unembarrassed by any remembrance of the senses. Then the soul devoted to the contemplation of her own substance, as if awakened from deepest sleep opens those eyes which all possess but few use, and sees in herself a ray of that light which is the true image of that angelic beauty communicated to her. Now the same impulse which hitherto inclined the lover to universalise the beauty of woman, compels him to universalise that abstract beauty which he discovers within himself, and he feels out after and discovers that encircling, all-inclusive beauty of which he had before recognised but partial and subordinate manifestations. No longer does the soul contemplate beauty in her own particular intellect, but she looks forth, enraptured and ravished by its splendours upon the vast sea of universal beauty...Last stage of all,

the soul burning with the sacred fire of true love and yearning to unite herself with so great beauty, actually becomes identified therewith, incorporate in the life of God." (Cortegiano, Bk. IV.) Thus, love of (1) the beauty of a single woman as she really is, (2) of her idealised beauty, (3) of the universal beauty of womankind, (4) love of beauty as an attribute of the human mind, (5) of intelligible beauty as an Absolute Reality and (6) love of the beauty of God—these are the six stages of the progress of the true lover.

It will thus be noticed that true love was not regarded as a passive attribute in ancient times, but as a dynamic force that urges a man to higher and still higher endeavours. It is not an emotional abandon producing day-dreams and melancholy thoughts; it induces the lover to strive ceaselessly for the progressive realisation of the Supreme Principle of the Universe. That is why Plato honours the Poet and the Philosopher as the most ardent lovers. One is always trying to realise this Principle in Beauty and the other in Truth.

EARTHQUAKES

By PROF. S. K. MITRA, D.SC.

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FROM a study of the nature of the undulation of the ground produced by an earthquake shock it can be inferred with a certainty that whatever may be its real origin, as regards its effect it is the same as that due to some sort of concussion or sudden blow delivered underground at some definite point. The so-called earthquake centre is not however a mathematical point but rather a subterranean region of extensive area measuring many square miles. This centre or point of origin is called the *seismic focus* and the point directly above it on the surface of earth is known as the *epicentre*. The depth of the seismic focus varies from a fraction of a mile to tens of miles.

Seismic Belts.

Earthquake shocks are not experienced uniformly over the surface of the earth. The trembling of the earth's crust is localised in certain regions only. Two such regions or belts lying along great circles of the earth are known. One is the Mediterranean or Alpino Caucasian-Himalayan circle and the other the circum-Pacific or Ando-Japanese-Malayan circle. Out of every hundred earthquakes registered 53 occur along the Mediterranean circle, 38 along the circum-Pacific circle and 9 elsewhere.

Earthquakes classified : Their Origin.

Depending upon the nature of their origin the earthquakes might be broadly classified under two heads ; volcanic and tectonic.

The volcanic earthquakes are confined within small areas surrounding volcanic mountains. The shocks are due to explosion or to injection of lava within the cavities of the volcano and to slipping of the rocks adjoining a fracture due to contraction or displacement of magma, the basic rock substance. The depth of the focus of volcanic earthquakes seldom exceeds one mile.

The tectonic earthquakes—which are by far most numerous—are due to formation or growth of faults in the earth's crust. The earth contracts by cooling and the outer crust becomes too large to fit on the inner shell. The crust is therefore strained and the strain due to

Fig. 1.

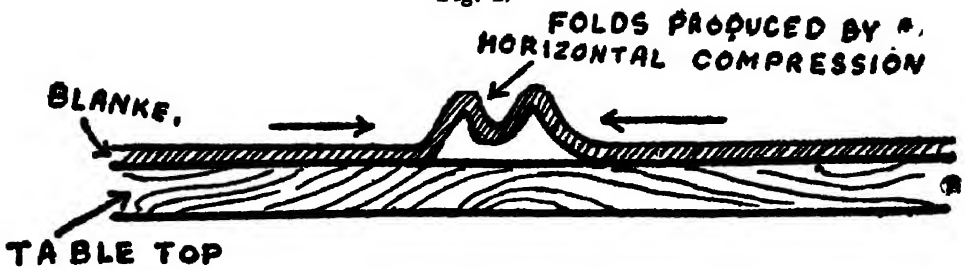


Fig. 1. Illustrating the formation of mountain ranges. A blanket spread over a table is folded and heaped up at some places it pressed horizontally from two sides along the surface of the table. The blanket represents the earth's crust and the table the shell within. The compressional force is brought about by contraction due to cooling of the earth.

Fig. 2.

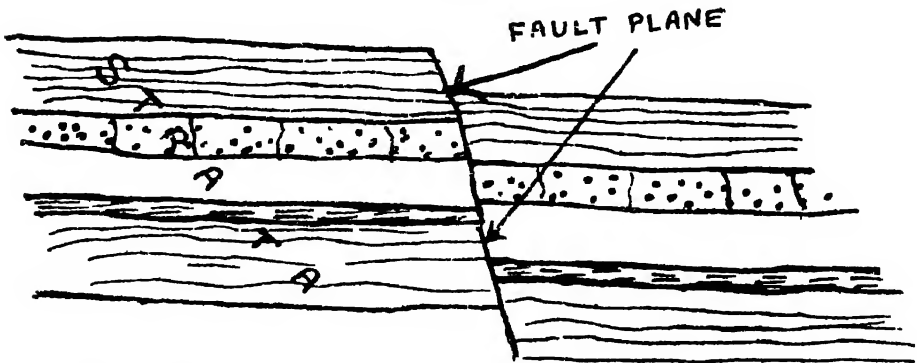


Fig. 2. Illustrating a "fault" in the strata of the earth's crust. The strata have been broken and one portion has slipped over the other along the broken "fault plane."

Fig. 3.

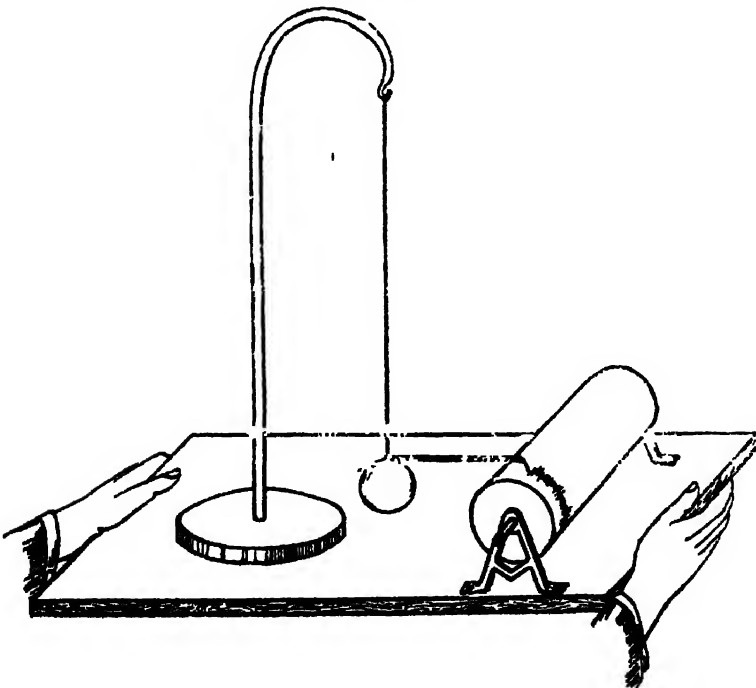


Fig. 3. Illustrating the principle of the Seismograph. If the board carrying the drum and the pendulum be given a quick to and fro movement (representing earthquake shocks) then the bob will remain practically at rest and on the drum will be registered the movements of the board.

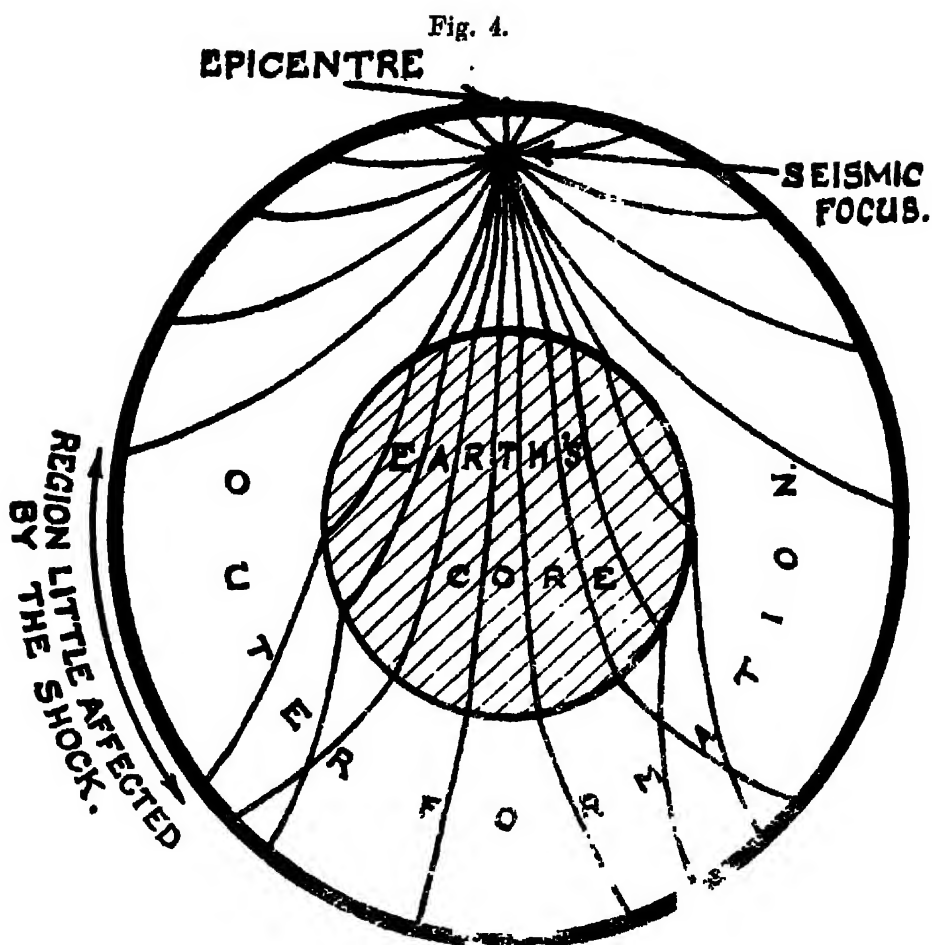


Fig. 4. Illustrating how compressional waves radiate from the *seism focus*. The point vertically above the focus is called the *epicentre*. The waves pursue curved paths because the interior of the earth is not homogeneous. The core possessing markedly different elastic properties than the outer formation deviates the paths of the waves strongly producing a sort of focussing action at certain places on the surface. The impact of the waves where it heats the surface is sometimes sufficient to produce fissures and throw up mud, water etc from the subsoil.

Fig. 5.

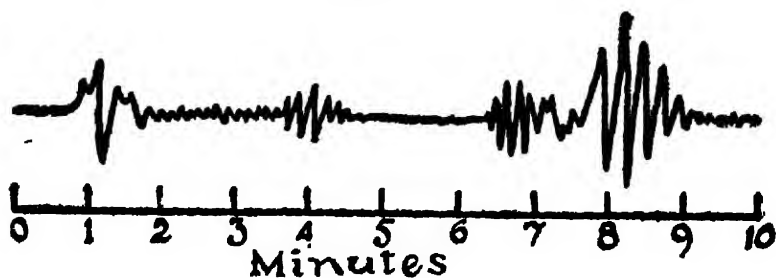


Fig. 5. Typical Seismograph record. A concussion or sudden blow in the interior of the earth sends out three distinct kinds of waves. These travelling with different velocities and along different routes reach a distant station at different times. By measuring the difference in the times of arrival the distance of the earthquake forces can be estimated.

horizontal compression finds relief by the crust being crumpled and folded and being fractured at places where it is weakest. The crumpled and folded portions are heaped up forming mountain ranges (Fig. 1) and the portions of the fractured strata of the crust slipping over one another produce what are technically known as "faults" in the earth's crust (Fig. 2). These processes—the formation of mountains and the growth of faults—are still in progress. The strain on the earth's crust either due to horizontal compression or to the so-called *isostatic forces*—forces which support the weight of the mountains like hydrostatic forces supporting the weight of a floating body—even at the present age lift up the mountains, specially the newly born ones now and then producing fresh fractures in the earth's crust or causing portions of fractured strata to slip over one another along fault planes. The relief to the strain which such adjustments of the internal strata of the earth's crust afford are accompanied by concussions inside producing the tectonic earthquake. The depths at which such adjustments occur—the foci—are situated between 3 to 10 miles below the surface. In some cases depths as great as 20 miles have been recorded.

The popular belief that mountains are associated with earthquakes is not unfounded ; and there is nothing surprising that the great recently crumpled-up folds of the earth's crust forming the Himalayas and the plains lying near its foot where faults exist should be regions of severe earthquake.

Seismographs.

In order to measure and study the tremblings of the earth's surface seismographs have been invented which record the undulatory movements of the ground due to an earthquake shock. To obtain such records it is first of all necessary to secure a frame of reference which would remain fixed in space and would not participate in the movements of the ground. Such an immobile frame of reference is provided by the device shown in Fig. 3. The bob of the pendulum has a heavy mass and to it is fixed a stylus which can make traces on the paper covering the drum. If the board on which the whole system rests (representing the ground) is moved to and fro then, provided the period of the movement (*i.e.*, the time taken to make one complete to-and-fro movement) is small compared with the time period of the pendulum, the bob will remain stationary in space while the drum following the movement of the board on which it rests will cause the

pen to trace out its (the drum's) own motion on the paper. The drum is made to revolve with a gradual sideway motion along its axis so that a continuous record is obtained on the drum. The figure depicts the principle on which seismographs are constructed. In actual practice it is found that in order to make the period of the pendulum large compared with the period of the seismic movements, the pendulum has to be made inconveniently long—some thousands of feet. Compound pendulums are therefore used which work on the same principle but have much shorter lengths.

Such seismographs record horizontal movements of the ground. They are obviously unaffected by the up-and-down movement because in this case the bob and the drum both would move at the same time. To record up-and-down movements a spring is substituted for the string of the pendulum.

Nature of the Earthquake Shocks.

The earthquake shock at a distant point is conveyed from the centre of origin by wave motion of the elastic material of which the crust and the interior of the earth is composed. It can be compared to the "shock" which a person bathing in a river receives due to waves generated by a steamer passing along the centre of the stream. The nature of the motion of the ground due to arrival of the waves is complicated on account of the varying composition and elasticity of the earth.

A typical record of the movement of the ground as registered on a seismograph is shown in Fig. 5. The first shocks to arrive are called P-waves. They are "compressional" waves and they travel through the earth along the lines shown in Fig. 4. The points on the surface of the earth at which these waves try to emerge are subject to compressional strain. If the points are near the focus then the compressional force may be so great as to cause rupture of the surface producing deep fissures and throwing up of mud, water, sand and other materials of the subsoil. The paths of the waves are curved because the outer formations consist of concentric shells which differ in elastic properties from each other. The paths bend sharply on entering the core because the elastic properties of the core differ markedly from the outer formations.

A few minutes after the primary waves arrive the secondary S-waves. These are "distortional" waves. The particles of the medium during the passage of such a wave move at right angles to the direction of propagation of the wave.

Lastly arrive the long L-waves also called Rayleigh waves after their discoverer. These waves are also distortional but they travel along the surface of the earth. They start with a small amplitude but soon the amplitude increases reaching a high value as shown in the figure. Most of the damage and devastation is caused by these long waves.

The velocity with which these various waves travel vary between 3.5 to 13 kilometres per second.

Havoc caused by the Earthquake.

A question of practical importance which arises is how to guard against the havoc caused by an earthquake? The loss of life caused by some of the well-known earthquakes is truly appalling. The 1775 Lisbon earthquake caused 50,000 deaths, the 1908 Messina earthquake 100,000 and the 1927 Chinese 180,000. Some of these figures may be exaggerated. But there is no reason to doubt the numbers registered in the 1923 earthquake in Japan, viz., 99,331 killed, 103,733 wounded and 43,476 missing.

Forecast of earthquakes, if it were possible, would certainly go a long way towards minimising its horrors. But unfortunately no reliable method of forecast has yet been discovered though attempts are being made by seismologists in this direction. The study of the so-called fore-shocks is one of the hopeful methods. If one could discriminate between the fore-shocks which generally precede a great earthquake and the ordinary mild shocks which frequently register themselves on a seismograph, one could possibly predict the arrival of a big earthquake shock.

The loss of property can only be avoided by so constructing the buildings that the shock will have little or no effect on them. Modern steel buildings can resist earthquake shocks much better than ordinary brick-and-mortar houses. Since they are braced by steel frames they move bodily as one block with their foundations when swayed by a seismic wave and the only permanent effect of the shock is perhaps a slight tilt or twist without a total collapse which so frequently happens in the case of brick-and-mortar buildings. Most of the steel buildings in the affected areas survived the Japanese earthquake of 1923.

AUGUSTINE BIRRELL

By SACHINDRANATH MUKERJEE

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The death of Augustine Birrell at the ripe old age of eighty-three removes a stalwart figure from the domain of literature. He has made notable contributions to the thought-contents of the human mind and given it much to ponder over and profit by. He was drifted into politics by the force of circumstances, which have an almost irresistible pressure in the regulation of human destiny, but he was, first and last, a literary man, who revelled in the delights and charms of literature. History relates few instances in which men of ideas, with resplendent minds and consummate skill in penmanship, also made their mark as men of affairs. John Morley and Arthur James Balfour issued out of the scholar's closet into public life. Beaconsfield gained a high reputation as a novelist, and Gladstone rejoiced in Homer and Greek tragedies. Bryce gave equally his best to history and jurisprudence as also to politics and diplomacy. To Woodrow Wilson whole races and nations turned for guidance in moments of peril and disaster and upon his momentous decisions, from time to time, rested the courses of history—and he rose from the position of a college don to that of Governor of a State and finally to the Presidentship of the United States. Augustine Birrell, like John Morley, might not have been a scintillating success as a Cabinet Minister, but the two have dug out of their latent forces and brought to bear upon their grave tasks such common sense, strong will, noble industry, uprightness of purpose that their endeavours wear an abiding quality to enrich the imagination and to enlist the faith of their admirers. Literary men, when invested with high office, do not necessarily find themselves like fish out of water. The fear is entirely misplaced that intellectual subtlety will dull the edge of common understanding. Both John Morley and Augustine Birrell, however dissimilar in faith and qualities, were alike in the luminosity of their intellect, the firmness of their wills, the fixity of their conclusions, the steadfastness of their purpose and the sensitiveness of their consciences.

Augustine Birrell was an alumnus of the three Universities of Oxford, London and Cambridge. In the laborious days of his formative years, he nurtured enthusiasm for men and things and the phases of life and truth. He learned the significance, value and purpose of a political constitution from Walter Bagehot, and with Edmund Burke discovered the real difference between a statesman and a pretender. In his essays, he has held up faith as life's most substantial heroism. In his *Obiter Dicta*, he has accepted the principle that an essay is essentially the expression of a personal point of view and his acute observations are stamped with the impress of his colourful personality. To Ruskin, Addison, Stevenson or Charles Lamb, even what appears trite or commonplace to all outer seeming, suggests trains of thought, brings visions or recalls memories which, coloured and informed by the writer's personality, furnish good food for thought to the reader. Such was also the case with Birrell. It is generally forgotten that the great essayist, like the great letter-writer, is a *rara avis*—rarer even than the great poet. Birrell made his essay a vehicle of lively opinion and experience and not of dull, dismal platitude. His *More Obiter Dicta* and *Et Cetera* are not "mere

literature " but fine stuff of enduring value. There is no trace of anything smacking of journalese in his writings, and this may well be said despite the dictum that journalism that lasts is literature. Birrell was impatient of loose, diffuse thinking, he had a precise sense of word values, a scorn of snobbery and priggishness, the power to proceed straight to the core of the subject to which he addressed himself and to express measured thoughts with charity, vigour and beauty. His remarks throw light on the life and practice, thought and conduct about him and are calculated to light up some unexpected square inch of human nature or motive. His whole attitude to life proceeded from conscience and character and these exercised an overmastering influence over his varied activities. He was inspired with loyalty to the cause which he made his own and had an elevation of thought about the STATE as something to love and serve and not something to batten on or profit by.

Birrell was pushed by the trend of events from letters to politics. The judicial temper, calmness and equipoise are in evidence in all his writings and these were his outstanding characteristics, as a politician. His equability and mental poise lent grace and dignity to his counsels and acts as a member of the British Cabinet. His critical outlook, seeing both sides of the shield, did not stand him in good stead as Education Minister. He was not a revolutionist and political reform by " red ruin and breaking up of laws " was not in his blood. It is, indeed, a grim tragedy that circumstances forced a scholar of his like into positions, where political controversy was most rife and bitter. The Irish Rebellion made an end of his political career. The Eastern imbroglio in 1916 enveloped him in smashing ruins—ruins both in mind and thought. But released from the trammels of politics, he once again paid his court at the shrine of literature, where he found the consolation for which his heart so much yearned.

As a lawyer, he achieved success and though a jealous mistress, Law did not resent his attentions to literature and politics. But the pole-star to which his soul ever turned with avidity was literature. His contributions to the departments of essays and *belles lettres*, biography and the humanities generally will remain a source of inspiration to succeeding generations of scholars and seekers after enlightenment. He has delved deep in a field watered and nourished with care by successors, who have lighted their torches at his burning fire—writers like Chesterton, Belloc, Robert Lynd, E. V. Lucas, Aldous Huxley, Lytton Strachey and others, who have followed in his wake with alacrity, critical insight and acumen. Birrell's style is perspicacity itself—so limpid, vivacious and crystal-clear. His writings enrich the mind of the reader and transport it to a realm of empyrean bliss. He had faith in men and in the supremacy of spiritual forces. He was an incorruptible Liberal aflame with right good will to advance the ascent of man. Of Birrell, it may truly be said :

" He had loved no darkness,
Sophisticated no truth
Allowed no fear "

ON A LOST UPAKHYANA OF THE MAHABHARATA

By H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A., PH.D.

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The *Ādi-parva* or the First Book of the *Mahābhārata* contains a verse which says that there was a *Bhārata-saṁhitā* which consisted of 24,000 *ślokas*, of which the *Upākhyānas* or episodes did not form a part.

Caturviṁśati sūhasrīm cakre Bhārata-saṁhitūm
upākhyānair vinā tāvad Bhāratam procyate budhaiḥ.

Mbh. I. i. 102.

But the Great Epic that has been extant since the days of Sarvanātha of the Khoh copperplate inscription of the Gupta year 214 (A.D. 533-34) is, as is well known, styled a *Śata-sāhasrī Saṁhitā* and is interspersed with numerous *Upākhyānas*. Even so, the number of *ślokas* does not reach the total of 100,000 verses. As pointed out by Hopkins in his *Epic Mythology* (p. 2) the northern version contains 84,126 verses excluding the *Harivaṁśa*. The southern version has 12,000 more verses than the northern recension and, without the *Harivaṁśa*, contains 96,578 verses or prose equivalents.

Various theories have been suggested to account for the difference between the traditional number 100,000 and the number of *ślokas* in the extant versions of the Great Epic. According to some "the attribution of a lakh of verses necessarily implies the existence, as a part of the lakh, of the *Harivaṁśa*." But the addition of that work would make the total exceed the traditional number. This is particularly true of the southern recension. Others have urged that *śata-sahasra* is only a round number and is not to be taken too literally. But a third possibility cannot be entirely excluded, viz., the loss or disappearance of some *Upākhyānas* which once formed part of the *śata-sāhasrī saṁhitā*. It was the addition of the *Upākhyānas* which transformed the original *caturviṁśati-sāhasrī saṁhitā* into a *śata-sāhasrī saṁhitā*. Is there any certainty that all these added *Upākhyānas* have come down to us? A passage of the *Ghaṭotkaca-Vadha-Parvādhyāya* seems to suggest that such has not been the case.

When *Ghaṭotkaca*, the *Rākṣasa* hero, son of *Bhīmasena*, fell down, struck by the terrible missile which *Indra* had given to *Karna*, and the *Pāṇḍavas* were plunged into grief, *Kṛṣṇa* is represented as saying:

yadi hyenaṁ nāhaniṣyat Karnaḥ śaktyā mahāmṛdhe
mayā badhyo' bhaviṣyat sa Bhāimaseṇir Ghaṭotkacaḥ
mayā na nihataḥ pūrvameva yuṣmat priyepsayā
eṣa hi Brāhmaṇa-dveṣī yajña-dveṣī ca Rākṣasaḥ
dharmasya loptā pāpātmā tasmādeṣa nipātitaḥ.

Mbh. VII. 179. 25-27.

"If *Karna* had not slain this (*Rākṣasa*) by his *Sakti* in the great fight, then it would have been my duty to slay *Ghaṭotkaca*, son of *Bhīmasena*. It was to please you that I did not kill him before. This *Rākṣasa* was a hater of *Brāhmaṇas* and sacrifices, a violator of religious rites and a sinner. Therefore has he been slain."

In the verses quoted above Ghaṭotkaca is described as *Brāhmaṇa-dveṣī*, *yajña-dveṣī* and *dharmasya loptā*. Now, there are no *Upākhyānas* in the extant epic which give countenance to the serious charges brought against the son of Bhīma-sena. But it is clear that stories about Ghaṭotkaca's hostility to Brāhmaṇas and sacrifices must have been known to the writer of these verses. Is there any evidence as to the existence of such stories? Here light is vouchsafed from an unexpected quarter. In the *Madhyama-Vyāyoga*, one of the Trivandrum plays attributed (rightly or wrongly) to Bhāsa, we have the story of the pursuit of a Brāhmaṇa and his wife and children by Ghaṭotkaca who had received orders from his mother to secure a person for her meal. The *Sūtradhāra* exclaims " *eṣa khalu Pāṇḍava-madhyamasyātmajo Hīdimbārāṇi-sambhuto Rākṣasāgnir-akṛtavairam Brāhmaṇa-jaṇam vitṛṣayati. Bhoḥ kaṣṭam kaṣṭam khalu patni-suta-parivṛtasya Brāhmaṇasya vṛttāntaḥ.*

It should, however, be noted that the *Madhyama-Vyāyoga* itself could not have been in the mind of the poet or poets of the Ghaṭotkaca-vadha section of the Droṇa-parva of the Mahābhārata when the verses referring to Ghaṭotkaca's misdeeds were written. In the epic the Pāṇḍava brothers are absolutely ignorant of Ghaṭotkaca's sins, while in the drama Bhīma-sena was a personal witness of his son's reprehensible conduct towards Brāhmaṇas. Moreover, the epic śloka refer not only to *Brāhmaṇa-dveṣa* but also to *yajña-dveṣa* and *dharmā-lopa*, and the author must have had in his mind some *upākhyāna* or *upākhyānas* where Ghaṭotkaca is guilty of all these misdemeanours. That such *upākhyānas* did exist is suggested by the testimony of the author of the *Madhyama-Vyāyoga* who made use of one of them for dramatic purposes in the same way as Kālidāsa made use of the story of Śakuntalā, Kṣemīśvara that of Nala, and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa that of Draupadi's insults in the gambling scene of the Great Epic.

There remains another question—How to account for the omission of the stories from the extant Mahābhārata? We can only hazard a guess on this point. From the references to Vārṣaganya (XII. 318. 50), the eighteen Purāṇas (XVIII 6. 97), some of which treated of *anūgata* or future events (III. 191. 16) and the Huns (associated with the Persians—*Huṇāḥ Pārasikāḥ saha*, VI. 9. 66) in the Great Epic, as it has come down to us, it is clear that its final redaction could not have taken place before the Gupta period. While the mention of the *śata-sāhasrī-saṃhitā* in a Khoh Inscription of A D 533-34 shows that the complete epic must have come into existence before the final extinction of the Gupta power. The responsibility for the final redaction, therefore, probably rests with the poets of the Gupta period. The great dynasty of the Guptas, who claim to have revived the sacrificial rites that had been in abeyance for a long time, contained more than one king named Ghaṭotkaca, and perhaps it was not to their liking that their name should have reminded of one who figured prominently in episodes of an anti-Brāhmanical and anti-sacrificial character.

The question may, however, be asked—if the *Upākhyānas* were deliberately omitted, why were the verses in the Droṇa-parva about Ghaṭotkaca's sinful acts left unaltered? Here again, in seeking to answer this question, there is ample room for the play of conjecture. Was it due to religious reasons—the fear that omission from the Kārṣṇaveda (*i.e.* the Mahābhārata) of anything springing from the mouth of Kṛṣṇa would be considered by the *parama-bhāgavata* kings to be sacrilegious or was it due to oversight—the same carelessness which led to the retention of passages like "Śākyaś chuddhodano'bhavat," "nṛpāye vai purātanāḥ," etc., even in the prophetic chapters of the Purāṇas?

RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY— LIFE AN ORGANIC WHOLE

By SIR DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY, KT., M.A., D.L., LL.D.

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Though there is and can be nothing sensational, dramatic or histrionic about the simple exhibits relating to the life and career of Raja Rammohun Roy organised by those in charge of the Centenary Celebrations, the exhibition which I was called upon to open had a value and import all their own to which I shall try to call attention.

Among us there is a belief and adage that even he or she earns untold merit who helps in brightening up the flickering *cherag* in a mighty national festival like *Durgotsav*. This merit will be mine, who was accorded the high honour of being allowed to attempt to brighten up the flickering *cherag* of this truly national festival in honour of the Centenary we are celebrating amidst enthusiasm in different parts of the building in the University compound—a fitting *venue* of this celebration. It had been my privilege to preside at two meetings at Hooghly, one at Howrah and one at Behala, and finally at the opening of the exhibition, a meeting of Christians, Brahmos, Moslems and Hindus, all vying with one another to show respect and reverence to the Raja's noble memory. It was my privilege to call attention to the encyclopaedic mind and activities of one, who, as a man or a superman, has always stood out as the foremost intellectual product of the century in which he was born and the one that followed. This I shall attempt to do briefly in the light of the exhibits reverentially gathered together by representative Brahmos, Christians, Moslems and Hindus for the occasion.

Before I proceed to do so, as one coming from the village of Raja Rammohun Roy, Radhanagar, I may be permitted to present a short analysis of the surroundings amidst which the Raja was born and worked early. Radhanagar and the villages around and across the river were the stronghold of intellectual and spiritual activities, which alone could have inspired and fostered what the Raja stood for in later life. Sanskrit and Persian were the educational assets of the well-to-do and middle-class people of those days. There were hundreds of *tols* round about which gathered geniuses that baffled and modified the teachings of the redoubtable Raghunandan of Nabadwip. Here began the Raja's knowledge of Sanskrit, which he adored and utilised for his combats in later life, but the teaching of which in a Government College he opposed only because he wanted English learning to grow and prosper. Here, in the humble *Munshi Chala* of Munshi Ram Narayan Sarvadhikary, the Raja had his early Persian and Arabic training, which he expanded in Patna as he expanded his Sanskrit training in Benares. Here flourished the teachings of Abhiram Swami, one of the favourite *Gopuls* of Sri Chaitanya, who had himself visited the locality to assist Abhiram's Vaisnav propaganda on his way to Orissa, the royal road to which goes past the prosperous surrounding villages. Here flourished the Saivite creed under the shadow of the temple of Ghanteswar Siva, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas adored by *Saivites*. Here flourished Kanad and near about was the *punchamundi ashan* of Agambagis, the tantric sect which gave the Raja one of the foundations of his creed—the *Mahanirovanatantra*—along with *Vedanta* and *Upanishads*. Not far were

the mosque of the pious Moslems of Dharampur and the Dharam Temple of the Buddhists ; and in the *Atithisala* or the guest-house on the Puri Road close by, used to congregate pious *sadhus* and holy *sanyasis* from whom young Rammohun had teachings and ideas that stood him well in all his life. Amidst such surroundings and such surroundings alone could one have taken his first breath, who, later on, was accepted as the founder of Comparative Religion. Amidst such surroundings alone could be born one about the year of the Raja's death who kept the glorious flag flying, as Ramkrishna Paramhansa did, a few miles from Radhanagar in the village of Kamarpukur—a mighty soil indeed for the production of mighty minds, the greatest that India had in recent times.

The exhibits displayed,¹ though not complete and well classified, yet help one in visualizing the great man with all his achievements and accomplishments, with his imperfections, as hypercritical mentality, would call them. We are helped by these exhibits to realize that he was "a man's a man, for a' that," neither a demon nor a demigod. His worldliness and other worldliness are fairly and demonstrably balanced and nothing has been exaggerated nor extenuated. His portrait—depicting fine, forceful and commanding features—is one that might almost go for the portrait of a *beau* or *dilettante*, almost like that of his friend and admirer Prince Dwarkanath Tagore, also exhibited in the room. His head-dress—the attractive *pugri* of the day—and his curly flowing black hair draws immediate attention. And the selfsame *pugri* and the fine locks over which it rested in life, were among the remarkable exhibits. Alongside was the classical *upabita* the sacred thread, which the Raja forbade being taken off even in death and which was reverentially brought back from Bristol. With this sacred thread on and with the silken robes of the Hindu Brahmin put on after the purifying bath, seated on the stone bathing platform, also exhibited at the entrance downstairs, used to be held the Raja's *upasana* or worship, amidst burning incense and fragrant perfume, according to Vedic and Tantric *mantras*, which have been handed down to Brahmos from generation to generation and are still a part of their *upasana paddhati*. Where then was the so-called superstition of which one hears so much in connection with the Raja's supposed iconoclastic ideas though he deprecated the worship of images in the light of what *Vedantu* and the *Upanishads*, garnered from the Hindus' ancient storehouse, had taught him. He was all for reform and never for revolution.

We find him late in life, after the settlement of the ruinous family litigation, assisting his combatants to settle down in life and also assisting his mother Tarini Devi, believed to have been the inciter of the litigation, to proceed to the holy temple of *Jagannath* and ending her days in wiping, with her flowing hair, the steps of the temple of the Lord of the Universe. We find him providing generously for his youngest wife, a staunch devotee of Hinduism, who accompanied Jadunath Sarvadhikary in his memorable pilgrimage in Northern India. Amidst the exhibits are clear photographs of pages from the manuscript of Jadunath Sarvadhikary's classical journal about the pilgrimage, which the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* has printed and published. In three pages of the journal have been mentioned Rammohun's youngest wife—the step-mother of Rama Prasad Roy—for whom Rammohun had generously provided. Here then and thus we find the unflinching reformer, who balanced his thinkings and doings so as not

¹ Raja Rammohun Roy Centenary Exhibition which was opened by Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary on 26th December, 1933, last, in one of the rooms of the Asutosh Building, Calcutta University.

to hurt any one's feelings which he proclaimed as his abiding creed in the memorable trust-deed of the Brahmo-Samaj.

We next turn to the other exhibits—the early and late editions of his various works about grammar, language, literature, law, sociology, religion, civics, economics, administration and everything else included in modern intellectual and social activities—a master-mind indeed that turned into gold all that it touched. There has been nothing in our national activities for the last hundred years that that supermind—the hydra-headed intellect—had not thought out, cleared up, provided for and proclaimed in clarion notes. I need only refer to the draft of the petition to Parliament about our flagging Jury System that has just been discovered and published in the morning papers. I would also refer to the tracts advocating woman's rights, which finds an honourable place among the exhibits and which have roused the admiration and wonder of our late Law Member, Sir Bipin Behari Ghose. Space will not permit minute reference to other exhibits each of which will amply repay the reverent student of the details of the Raja's multiple mind. But I must for a moment refer to some deeds and documents about the Raja's property and dealings with property and a draft for Rs. 5,000 in favour of his friend, Prince Dwarkanath Tagore, and his eldest son, Babu Radha Prasad Roy. The collectors of these exhibits have not, as I have already said, shut their eyes to the other-worldliness of the prince of men whose glorious memory we have been celebrating in adoration. Such organic presentation of all the factors and elements inseparable from humanity as a whole are indeed worthy of study of all interested in humanity as a whole. And from this point of view is the efficacy and excellence of the exhibition, in spite of all imperfections, as a remarkable and indispensable appanage of our Centenary Celebration.

May all who dutifully study these factors have Heaven's guidance in the appreciation and realization of the ideals of the great Raja, who lived and died in his tireless efforts to place them before his own people and the peoples of the world

HOME THOUGHTS WHILE ABROAD

By K. C. ADDY, M.A.(CAL.), B.A.(OXON)

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One of the first questions asked me by a friend in India when my first term in Oxford had sped away was, "What has Oxford taught you?" It was not facetiously I answered, "How little I really do know about my subject." And neither my friends nor others can accuse me of suffering from an inferiority complex! But in spite of this disconcerting revelation I still love Oxford and more so now that I've left it, just as many another who 'is down' has found out. It's a cheap gibe which people throw at that ancient University when they call her the home of lost causes. Perhaps they do so for want of something better which they cannot find. Yes, but one had almost forgotten that other accusation, by no means easy to refute (so I'm not even going to try it), brought against Oxford by that great prosecuting counsel, the late Rt. Hon. Mr. Augustine Birrell, K. C., that Oxford has had very few poets and when she had a Shelley she expelled him. Oxford can afford to stand four square to such superficial criticism. For let it also be remembered that Oxford first started the movement for intellectual co-operation after the orgy of hate of the Great War in 1914.

Of course Oxford is academic. That is just one of her great charms. You see a question from all points of view and discuss it from the depths of a luxurious easychair with your tutor. If it is an economic problem and your tutor is five or six years older than you (as it invariably happens) and has come into touch with practical problems as little as you yourself, then the discussion does seem distinctly artificial and completely out of touch with realities. But Oxford though old is meant primarily for the young and if youth is to be dragged into the grim arena of real life then it were better for babes to do battle and young men to stagnate. It is not seldom forgotten that Universities (and Oxford probably more than any other University) are a mere preparation for real life and not real life itself. It is here that you meet all sorts of men. There is now no more truth as there was in Victorian days in saying that only young aristocrats are to be found in Oxford Junior Common Rooms. Thanks to a wide and generous scholarship system Oxford colleges are filled with the best brains in the country and not only with the best blood. In my own College, Balliol—that home of true Oxford Scholarship—we had more than one man who had worked through such preliminary institutions as mines and railways, instead of through Rugby, Eton and Harrow, those centres of orthodox respectability. And I was quite agreeably surprised to find that they were not class-conscious at all. The Master of Balliol himself (Dr. A. D. Lindsay) is perhaps the most thorough-going Socialist in Great Britain and there was a flutter in the dovecotes of blue-blooded conservatism in Oxford, especially amongst some of the heads of colleges, on his appointment to the Mastership. If there was a flutter then, there must have been sustained and tremulous agitation during the Third R.T.C. at the end of 1931 when Mahatma Gandhi, in spite of a very bad reception in the

British press, was twice invited to spend week-ends with the Master and Mrs. Lindsay and did so. The Master, be it said, in the true Balliol manner completely ignored the barking of the pack.

But this is a long digression from *Home Thoughts*. Oxford no longer lies anchored in the stream of time, regardless of all changes. There have been no less than four Socialist Presidents of the Union in the last few years. An Indian student is however struck by the corporate life of the University. And this is only as it should be. Out of the many hundreds of clubs the vast majority draws members from all the colleges, for there are exceedingly few collegiate clubs. In addition to this there are all the other advantages of a residential University.

There is a very great deal of freedom which strikes a foreigner, especially an Indian student, when he lands in England. In spite of the hostile and unfair attitude of capitalist organs in England towards Communism (*The Manchester Guardian* is an honourable exception) the October Club, a Communist Society in Oxford, used to have very successful and crowded meetings. In fact the rowdy element used to be bluff and hearty conservatives who insisted on shouting raucously "God save the King" from the back of the hall. The resentment at any outside attempt to curtail that freedom was brought home to me very forcibly in the incident of the Pacifist resolution at the Union. The President at the time was a Socialist, but the resolution "This house will in no circumstances fight for King and Country" was suggested by a Liberal whose credentials are unimpeachable, his father being a very distinguished member of the I.C.S. in Simla. It is stupid to say that the wording of the resolution was provocative, for all subjects for debate must be provocative. The Union passed it by a fairly large majority. Then Pandemonium broke loose, and most letters to the Editors of the daily press and other periodicals vied with each other in heaping abuse upon the luckless heads of the Union members. Mr. Randolph Churchill whose father not so very long ago was described by an ex-President of the Union as "that cross between a black sheep and a white elephant," Lord Stanley, and the Hon. Quintin Hogg (Lord Halisham's son) came post-haste from London with a crowd of old Life Members holding on to their coat tails. These latter were chiefly retired clergymen and others who had lost sons in the war. The resolution to expunge the pacifist motion from the records of the Society was lost by a very large majority and even avowed militarists joined with the pacifists to show, in the only way they could, how much they resented this interference from outside.

It borders almost on tragedy to see how unnecessarily young men in India are hampered at every turn. Psychologically it is important that they should be given far more opportunities for self-expression and every one should realise how little real harm can result from violent outbursts of rhetoric and how great good is done, to the individual who gets it "off his chest," and to society of which he is otherwise a potentially dangerous member. Hyde-Park Sunday-Afternoon oratory has its uses in large cities where economic conditions are far from ideal. How many students of twenty in Bengal (or even in India for that matter) can take the chair at a public meeting attended by about 1,500 people and addressed by a prominent politician, can keep order, and can protect the speaker from disorderly hocklers? It is quite frequently done in the West. I do not blame our students for not being able to do so. This would be unfair because they have no opportunities of exercising their latent powers, and a sense of responsibility as well as initiative can come, generally, by practical experience.

The courage of one's opinions, so necessary in youth, since a man's whole life depends upon this, is stunted in an atmosphere where restraint

and tenseness are supreme. I have seen H. G. Wells feel very uncomfortable before a fire of questions aimed at him by an undergrad. While intensely wishing to conserve all that is best in our own Indian culture and tradition, I do feel very strongly that Middle Age should break down the barriers it has set up in front of Youth and be far more tolerant of criticism levelled, and justly levelled, at it. The present world chaos is due entirely to muddle-headed Middle Age, and Youth all over is up in arms and anxious to bring back order. For this tolerance one of the greatest requisites is a sense of humour. It is this that prevents the relationships of life from creaking heavily and moving slowly. The ability to see ourselves as others see us, not always swathed in the impeccable robes of office but in the dishabille of private life with all the patchwork of our idiosyncrasies and peccadilloes upon us, is a precious possession. To this must be added the rare power of being able to laugh at one's self. This is a refreshing and healthy exercise and brings us nearer Youth.

But Youth to have a complete education must have religion. One of the finest experiences during my stay abroad was "Edinburgh, 1933," i. e., the Quadrennial Conference of the Student Christian Movement in the first week of last year at Edinburgh. The Scottish capital is as beautiful as the best capitals in Europe, and to these natural attractions must be added the extra one of enjoying the hospitality of a college friend's home. The fact that religion could make 2,000 and more delegates foregather from all the countries of the world (and some of these 2,000 were the best representatives that could be got from their respective countries) shows that secularism is not having it all its own way. One has been told that secularism has rapidly grown in India but it has not yet attained such large proportions as in the West. Notwithstanding all this, the religious services every morning of that week in St. Giles' Cathedral were most impressive; and there were not a few non-Christians from India, China, and Japan. The Student Christian Movement has a genius for organising such large conferences and the city of Edinburgh proved as hospitable and kind to all those hundreds of foreign delegates as they themselves could wish. The general conference was presided over every day by a young medical student just out of college a few weeks previously and we ended by a dedicatory service in the Cathedral when those 2,000 delegates renewed each his vow to live his life according to God's purpose and sought strength afresh to do so.

It is one of the most difficult problems which faces educationists in India to-day and one which does not vanish if we, ostrich-like, shut our eyes to it,—of how to bring back some religion to our educational system. No religion can now afford to stand on its dignity and ignore the onslaughts of Secularism. It is a time when those of us who believe that there are hidden springs which make life fresh and beautiful, must get together, be he Hindu, Mahomedan, Jain, Buddhist, Jew or Christian, and promulgate some plan of action.

At the Swanwick Summer Conferences one of the first things that strikes the newcomer is the excellence of the good-fellowship. Here again, as at Edinburgh, we were a very cosmopolitan crowd, Great Britain, Ireland, Canada, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan and India being represented. But the numbers being much less, the chances for making friends were much greater. How ghastly the contrast appeared to my eyes between the free social intercourse at Swanwick and the restraints in any province of India. The English students were generally of the same class as the foreign students and there were not the same dangers that arise from social inequalities as elsewhere. Instead, there was a great deal of understanding (the other man's point of view), perfect good will, and even the beginnings of strong friendships. How different from our

own city of Calcutta, where it is a common though firm belief (in South Calcutta at any rate) that every European who goes north of Harrison Road does so at his own risk for he is sure to be stabbed or shot at. A staunch believer as I am in the value of personal relationships, I am convinced that if Clive Street met College Square in little study circles, or social parties or games, the problem in Bengal would be very near solution. We on our part must be ready also to waive aside all the orthodoxy that stands in the way of the friendship of the two races. To both peoples, with just a small and necessary change (in the case of one), might be applied the lines

“ What do they know of England
Who only England know? ”

Miscellany

[1. *A German View of War Preparations* (BENAYKUMAR SARKAR)—2. *Comparative Labour Legislation* (BENAYKUMAR SARKAR)—3. *Interpreting Karl Marx* (BENAYKUMAR SARKAR).]

1. A GERMAN VIEW OF WAR PREPARATIONS.

Students of international relations will not fail to appreciate the new light thrown on some of the diplomatic intercourse of the pre-war decades by a recent essay published in the *Berliner Monatshefte*. During the last fifteen years the voice of Germany in regard to the happenings that eventually led up to the war failed to command adequate attention. But now that a self-conscious, new Germany has been born in the Hitler-state the interpretations of pre-war events by German scholars are likely to be treated with respect in the world of science.

Anti-German Animus

As is well known, the Franco-Russian military convention of 1892 was directed against the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy). But it is not common knowledge that France's 1,300,000 and Russia's 700,000-800,000 men were to operate simultaneously against Germany even if somewhere in Austria-Hungary there was the outbreak of a war. The defeat of Germany was always to be the united objective of the two powers.

In order to help forward the easy mobilization of Russian troops and concentration in Warsaw, the Bologje-Siedlez line was constructed about 1901. It was to a certain extent with French loans that the construction was completed.

The Russian army was crippled in 1905 on account of the calamities of the Japanese war. The possibilities of Russian co-operation with France in the eventuality of a war in Central Europe were greatly discounted in French thought for some long time.

The Entente and Belgium

France's understanding with the British army, numerically small as it was, served however to offer security to French interests. About the time of Algeciras conference the plan of Anglo-French co-operation comprised the establishment of Antwerp as base and the eventual utilization of Belgium, although "neutralized," as a theatre of operations. By 1911 however the plan left Belgium alone and favoured the landing of British troops by the shortest sea-route on French soil.

Some of the latest records indicate that although the idea of an offensive war against Germany was entertained in diplomatic circles it suited the Entente that the neutrality of Belgium should be violated by the German army. But the Anglo-French military co-operation was planned out in such a manner under General Joffre's directions that the main battles would be fought by the Belgium, French and British armies on the Belgian soil and not on the French.

Russian Military Renaissance

The Anglo-Russian convention of 1907 marked the beginning of Russian military renaissance. She began likewise to hold annual

conferences with France. In 1910 the Russian army was reorganized by General Suchomlinow. In the discussions that took place the next year in Russia between Dubail, the French General, and the Russian General Staff it became clear that the Russian army would be able to operate with success against Germany by 1918. The arrangements for telegraphic messages and secret codes were established at the same time.

Japan and the Balkans

The alliance of Russia with Japan in 1912 furnished security in her Eastern territories. Russia was thereby enabled to operate freely on her west front. Her anti-German war preparations were further strengthened by the simultaneous establishment of the Balkan Alliance which was directed as much against Turkey as against Austria-Hungary.

Russian diplomacy would have liked to let the world know that the mobilization of the Russian army was aimed not at Germany but at Austria-Hungary. But from the German side it was impossible to separate Austro-Hungarian from German defence, as the German General Moltke made it clear in July 1914. But in the final plan of Russian mobilization both Germany and Austria-Hungary were taken to be the simultaneous objectives. Russia felt strong enough to undertake the two campaigns together and occupy East Prussia as well as Hungary in a short time. The march up to the banks of the Oder was also considered to be an item of practical politics.

The British Navy

A naval convention with Great Britain also was arranged by Russia in the early summer of 1914 before the outbreak of the war. Russia hoped to be able to command the Baltic Sea in case the German fleet was kept bound to the North Sea by the British. The landing of Russian troops in Northern Germany would thereby have been facilitated. The naval convention of 1912 between Great Britain and France played an important part. The British fleet would be concentrated on the North Sea while the French navy undertook to protect British interests in the Mediterranean.

Comparative Strength of the Belligerents

At the outbreak of the war the armies (Infantry Divisions) of the main belligerents were distributed as follows:—

I. The Allies :		
(a) Western Powers		
1. France	...	80
2. England	...	7
3. Belgium	...	6
(b) Eastern Powers		
1. Russia	...	115
2. Serbia	...	11½
		219½
II. Central Powers		
1. Germany	...	87½
2. Austria-Hungary	...	49½
		<hr/> 137

The following table gives the strength of the battleships :

I. The Allies :

1. Great Britain	...	29
2. French	...	10
3. Russia (Baltic fleet)	...	4
		<hr/> 43

II Central Powers :

1 Germany	...	17
2 Austria-Hungary	..	3
		<hr/> 20

The German 137 divisions had to encounter 219½ of the allies and the 20 battleships of Germany 43 of the latter.

The Atmosphere of Disarmament.

The allies were, therefore, sure of their success and so the question of a defensive war never arose. Indeed, they were ready for the offensive. Russia as well as France mobilized before Germany. The protection of the French coasts and trade was undertaken by the British fleet before a German soldier set foot on the Belgian soil.

This is a German interpretation of the manner in which preparations for an offensive war were being made against Germany by the neighbouring powers. It is worth while to be acquainted with this view because it is in the atmosphere of such ideas that the disarmament conferences of today, tomorrow and day after tomorrow will have to be conducted. And it is not likely to be ignored entirely by the League of Nations, for, as would appear from the researches of the British historian Gooch, the question of war-guilt is being handled today everywhere in a much cooler manner than by the statesmen of the Versailles Complex.

BENAYKUMAR SARKAR

2. COMPARATIVE LABOUR LEGISLATION.

The standard of living of the working classes and other employees is of vital significance in the insurance market. Field workers in Indian insurance business are already alive to the importance of the factory, mine, transportation and plantation workers.

Businessmen in India also have of late been forced to take an interest in the conditions of our workingmen, thanks to the keen competition experienced from the side of goods imported from abroad. The Workingmen's Compensation Act as well as other laws bearing on factories, hours of labour, etc., have likewise thrown into the world of Indian employers a mass of facts and legal categories such as can hardly be ignored without loss to themselves. Not the least important in this regard are

the official visits of industrialists to the International Labour Conferences at Geneva. In the ranks of workingmen also a consciousness of their rights has been dawning and at present they are organised into unions of diverse denominations. And finally, the intelligentsia have been attracted to the subject of labour chiefly perhaps from the viewpoint of political expansion and social growth. Altogether, the Indian *milieu* is ripe for a serious and intelligent investigation into labour questions.

Freedom of Association.

A well documented introduction to these problems is furnished by five volumes entitled *Freedom of Association* such as have been published between 1927 and 1930 from the International Labour Office. The prefatory volume analyzes the world's economic legislation on labour, item by item, in a comparative manner with special reference to the laws and activities of trade unions. In view of the fact that industrialization is the desideratum of Indian businessmen and politicians alike, nothing should be more important in our public life today than the strengthening and development of trade unions.

The value of the publications in question will appear from the contents of the next volumes, each given over, of course, to a number of countries ; for example :—

Vol. II. Great Britain, Irish Free State, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands and Switzerland.

Vol. III. Germany, Former Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovak Republic, Poland, Baltic States, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland.

Vol. IV. Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, Bulgaria and Rumania.

Vol. V. United States of America, Canada, Latin America, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, India, China, Japan.

The present writer has been making use of these volumes in connection with his *Arthick Unnati* (Economic Progress), the Bengali monthly of economics, as well as the researches at the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics). The publications, encyclopaedic as they are, should be appraised as indispensable to every publicist, social worker, factory manager, member of legislative bodies, labour lawyer, and last but not least, to the economic investigator. The facts and ideas exhibited in these volumes cannot fail to enrich the research methodology of Indian economists by endowing them with concrete data in legal and social developments, the importance of which in labour and industrial questions is certainly of a profound character. The five volumes before us belong to some of the most substantial publications of the I. L. O.

BENAYKUMAR SARKAR.

INTERPRETING KARL MARX

The fact that even fifty years after Marx's death it is necessary for a British firm (Victor Gollancy, London, 1933) to publish a book in order to render Karl Marx understandable shows that Marxism is not a single or unified category of economic, political or social thought. In this connection it is interesting to recall that towards the end of his life Karl Marx himself is reported to have said: "I am not a Marxist." Later there

were conflicts even among the *chelas* of Marx as to the nature of Marxism. The German Bernstein did not agree with the French Sorel nor did either with the Russian Struve in the doctrinal interpretation of Marx. Perhaps each was interested more in his own practical propaganda in regard to the current issues than about Marx himself

Those to whom Marx's book on *Capital* is the Bible are generally enamoured of or repugnant to his labour theory of value. On the other hand, in the estimation of those who know Marx in his *Communist Manifesto* the doctrine of social revolution is the chief contribution of Marxism.

Even the interpretation of Engels, the closest collaborator and literary executor of Marx, the class-conscious character of Marxist economics was lost sight of and Marx began to appear more as a systematic economist than as a radical social philosopher.

Bernstein, the "moderate," "opportunist" or "revisionist" Marxist used to be condemned by Kautsky, the "orthodox" Marxist as a distorter of and traitor to Marxism. But Kautsky himself failed to grasp the fundamental postulate of Karl Marx about the dictatorship of the proletariat as furnishing the transition between the bourgeois and the proletarian states. According to Kautsky the transition is to be found in a coalition government! Naturally in Lenin's estimation Kautsky is as great a distorter as Bernstein.

In the hands of French Syndicalists under the literary leadership of Sorel, Marxism was revised and interpreted as a system of non-political economism with special emphasis on general strikes.

In the history of all these interpretations it is worthwhile to record that as early as 1901-05 Lenin the Russian and Luxemburg the German called attention to the need for going back to the original Marx. And so the "Marxian reformation" was ushered into existence.

It is this "Return to Marx" that Sidney Hook's study will serve to promote among serious students of social thought and development. The work is a dispassionate contribution to Marx-research and its chief merit consists in its not attempting to be a propaganda manual. A scientific analysis of Marxist dialectic and conclusions like the one presented in this book is all the more necessary today since the prevailing social philosophies of the contemporary world are fundamentally anti-Marxist, for instance, in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany or virtually pseudo-Marxist, for instance, in the Stalin regime of Soviet Russia. At a time when even in the Bolshevik state the official guardians of Marxism are compelled first to introduce the "new economic policy" and finally to adopt the wage-inequality as the basis of the industrial system, and when class-struggle has been replaced by the "corporative state" in Italy and "social" solidarity in the national socialistic state of Germany it is good that students and propagandists are invited to examine the economic, social and philosophical circumstances under which the theories of Karl Marx saw the light of the day. Sidney Hook is a dependable guide.

BENAYKUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

[*Government Intervention in Trade* by Gilbert T. Beard (J. P. NIVON)—*Sukhanvaran-i-Iran Dar 'Asr-i-Hazir* or *Poets and Poetry of Modern Persia* by M. Isaque (A. A. SAYID)—*Hindu View of Art* by Mulk Raj Anand (N. R.)—*Cumberland Hotel* by Wilham Walcot (N. R.)—*The Continent of Asia* by Lionel W. Lyde (N. R.)]

Government Intervention in Trade by Gilbert T. Beard. John Heywood, Ltd., Manchester, London, pp. 66, 1s.

This pamphlet is a plea for the abolition of State interference in the domain of private economic enterprise. Free play of economic forces tend to bring about an equilibrium between the demand for and the supply of various services. It is at this point of equilibrium that such rewards as fees, wages, salaries, rates of interest are determined. According to our author, as a result of government interference "natural balances have been destroyed on all sides, and the harmony and power of self-adjustment in complicated economic phenomena is now strikingly wanting as compared with the recent past." Several other indictments are also preferred. Such interference in the shape of quotas and import duties has stopped international trade of great volume and value. It has brought about dislocation of foreign exchanges and has given the proletariat in Great Britain much more than its legitimate share of amenities. The author, therefore, advises British people to trust to competition which has been nature's method of selecting and rewarding the best.

At a time when the "system of natural liberty" has broken down in practically every sphere of economic life, it is futile to advocate a return to a policy of *laissez faire*. That policy was based on a fundamental fallacy. It was founded on the comforting belief that there is a necessary connection between the self-interested action of individuals and social welfare, that somehow or other through the operation of an "invisible hand" social well-being will inevitably emerge as a by-product of private action. The machinery through which this desirable state of affairs was supposed to be brought about was competition. But competition has long ceased to be the principal motor of economic life. The action of trusts and cartels, price control and understandings by big businesses, the wage policy of aggressive trade unions—all these have played havoc with the foundations of those assumptions on which the Classical Economists reared their imposing edifice. It is not often realised what an enormous change time has wrought in the nature and functions of Trade Unions. These Associations, once regarded as powerful instruments for the smooth working of competition now constitute one of the principal obstacles in the path of economic adjustment. The free flow of competition has thus been diverted from its natural course by the handiwork of man. Again, the system of *laissez faire* presupposed the existence of conditions which have long since disappeared. The action of governments in modifying the consequences of an inflow and outflow of gold, recourse to open market operations, control of investments and blocked accounts—these and a host of other expedients constitute the very antithesis of an automatic system.

It has also to be borne in mind that the frictionless, automatic, self-regulating character of the economic mechanism was largely abandoned during the War. The governments felt called upon to interfere, and once they did so they found themselves on an inclined plane. From currency and exchange control it was an easy transition to profit control or the

regulation of savings and investment. The world thus gradually and unsuspectingly drifted to planned economy during the War. At the present time we are passing through a period of transition. Our economic system is a hybrid one. It still retains most of the characteristics of the competitive economy working haltingly through the mechanism of prices and profits. At the same time force of circumstances has compelled a few countries to incorporate into their economic organisation some amount of deliberate planning and control. The task of economic statesmanship is to combine the best of both worlds in a harmonious manner, so as to attain distributive justice without sacrificing the stimulus to production. In these circumstances no useful purpose is likely to be served by advocating an unqualified return to the anarchy of capitalistic production.

J. P. NİYOGI

Sukhanvaran-i-Iran Dar 'Asr-i-Hazir or Poets and Poetry of Modern Persia, Vol. I, by Mr. M. Ishaque, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University

Although the acquaintance of Persia with the European literature begins from the time of Muhammad Shah Qachar, it was in the reign of Nasiruddin Shah of that dynasty that the effect of European literature first appears in the writings of the poets who flourished in his time. Noted poets like Qaani, Mahmud Khan and Rawish Isfahani laid the foundation of the modern style in Persian literature as differing conspicuously from the classical style. Old forms in poetry remained somewhat unchanged but new modes of expression were adopted by the above-named poets. Strictly speaking, Modern Persian literature is not more than fifty years old and it is during this period that the poets and writers in Persia, drinking deep at the fountain-heads of western literature, became thoroughly imbued with the so-called 'spirit of the modern age.' The activities of poets, authors and litterateurs of Persia towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries were not widely known and beyond fragmentary references here and there, lovers of Persian poetry desirous of satisfying their curiosity in this respect had only one book to refer to, *viz.*—"Press and Poetry of Modern Persia" by the late Prof. Browne.

The poetry of a nation breathes the spirit of the age in which it is written. During the greater part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, Persia was groaning under the misrule of the Qachar dynasty. It not only led to the economic bondage of the country to foreign powers but politically Persia was divided into spheres of influence between England and Russia. It retained its independence only in name but in substance it was practically in the grip of interested foreign powers. To patriotic Persians such an abject condition in which their country had fallen must have been galling and many of them had to take refuge as exiles in neighbouring countries to raise their voice against the then existing state of their mother-land. It is natural therefore that the poetry of the modern period should sing of the past glories of Persia and give vent to the bitterness felt at the humiliation of the country in the comity of nations.

Mr. Ishaque's book on the "Poets and Poetry of Modern Persia" Vol. I (Sukhanvaran-i-Iran Dar 'Asr-i-Hazir) though a *réchauffé* of the materials dealt with already by the late Prof. Browne in his "Press and Poetry of Modern Persia," is written in the form of a *Tazkira* or Memoirs of the poets. In this way thirty-three poets have been dealt with, beginning with Adib Peshawari and ending with Yassai. It is written throughout in chaste and idiomatic modern Persian in a manner which reflects

great credit on an Indian author. Two more volumes dealing with poets and dealing with prose writers are promised and will be eagerly awaited by scholars and those interested in Persian literature. Unlike many works of this nature whose data are more or less inferential and culled from here and there, the materials for this work were secured by the learned author not merely by a visit to Persia but also by coming in personal touch with some of the prominent poets of the land and obtaining his materials first-hand from them. The names of most of the poets no doubt were made familiar by Browne and many Indians are already aware of such names as those of Arif Qazwini, Bahar the poet-laureate, Ibrahim Khan Pur-i-Daud (at present at Santiniketan) and their poetry. The selection from the writings of the poets dealt with reflects great credit on the taste of the author and gives the volume an additional value as an excellent anthology of the period.

The poetry of modern Persia will not appeal very much to those who are still devoted to Hafiz and Naziri or even to Saadi and Rumi, as the period of Ghazal-writers of the conventional type is no more. The marked feature of the poets dealt with in the volume is their patriotic strain which runs most prominently through the compositions of Bahar, Furrokh, Yazdi and others. The dynamic and patriotic compositions of these poets played not a mean part in bringing about the revolution of 1909 and the ultimate fall of the Qajar dynasty in recent times. The changes in modes of expression, in rules of prosody, etc., are manifest and to lovers of true Persian such changes with almost slavish imitation of everything occidental by the present-day intellectuals of the famous land can only be regretted.

The learned author in his preface has made it clear that the book is not a critical study of the present-day poetry of Persia in its correlation with the poetry of the past ages, showing the ebb and flow of the poetic genius as influenced by the political, social and religious life of the nation. Consequently, he has given only the lives of the prominent poets with their model compositions and has left the readers to draw their own inference as to the merits and demerits of the poets dealt with or in their relation with the past poets of Persia. In any case, it is a first-class work of its kind and is undoubtedly a very useful hand-book on Persian poets and poetry of to-day containing valuable information on the trend of Persian thoughts which but for the author's laudable labours would have remained a sealed chapter to many Indians.

The book is well bound and neatly printed at Delhi but the author would do well to carefully go through the proofs of the remaining volumes which will be eagerly awaited. For the information of students of Persian literature I may note that Prof. Sayied Nafisi of Tebran University is also engaged in a more comprehensive work on Persian poets which has not yet seen the light of day.

A. A. SAYIED.

Hindu View of Art by Mulk Raj Anand, Ph.D. (Lond.), with an Introductory Essay on Art and Reality by Eric Gill (fully illustrated). George Allen and Unwin, Limited, Museum Street, London. 8s. 6d. net.

It ought, at the very outset, to be mentioned that the book under review has been designed more as a popular, elementary treatise to initiate, as claimed, the plain reader into the mysteries of Indian art than as a scholarly monograph to interpret the Hindu view of art or the Indian system of aesthetics. And as an elementary treatise the book may be of some help to understand the spirit of, or the approach to, the art of Hindu

art, beginning from the Vedas down to such rhetoricians and bring together what the literature of Vedic Aryanism, Buddhism, Jainism, Epic and Pauranic Brahmanism, of the various religious and philosophical systems, as well as classical Sanskrit literature have to say about art. This, that is, a study of the interrelation of the literary and artistic currents of Hindu life, is certainly a much-needed but a very difficult task and the enormity of it will at once be understood when it is pointed out that very few of the texts on which Dr. Anand bases his conclusions have been edited and interpreted in relation to the existing works of art, and technical terms relating to art and aesthetics have not yet been presented in any exhaustive glossary, nor their import and significance pointed out to make it an easy task for us to convey their idea in a foreign tongue. And, moreover, to interpret the Hindu view of art, it is not only necessary that one should have a very good grounding in Sanskrit language and literature—to read the texts in translations and make them the basis of one's work of such a kind is preposterous—but should also have a thorough knowledge of the life that brought forth its art and moulded its theory of aesthetics in all its aspects and expressions, as well as of the existing materials of visual art—sculpture, painting and architecture. This is where Dr. Anand's book will fail the reader. The sources on which he has drawn upon are secondary ; the technical terms he uses are not sufficiently explained and their connotation definitely indicated ; nor is the Hindu view of Art presented in relation to the existing materials of Hindu art, or in relation to the Hindu life whose one way of expression was its art. But, nevertheless, Dr. Anand's book helps to point out that work in this line is much-needed, and unless this is done, understanding of Hindu art will never be complete. And, if the reviewer is permitted to give his personal opinion on this point, an interpretation of the Hindu view of art should proceed from existing materials of Hindu art to Hindu literature than from literature to art, i.e., the literature should serve as the commentary to the works of art, than as an introduction.

It is unpleasant to note that the book lacks cohesion, and more than that, a synthetic presentation. Whether it is due to some defects in treatment or to the proper understanding of the subject it is for the readers to judge. But the book will tell the readers that Indian art is not a thing to be treated according to personal likes and dislikes—it requires to be studied thoroughly and intelligently, it has an original and independent point of view which is the desideratum of all great art, and its charm and mystery lie much deeper than in the outer form of its creations which to the uninitiated may seem fanciful and grotesque.

N. R.

Cumberland Hotel, by William Walcot, R.E., John Drinkwater, and Philip Page. Issued by the authorities of the Cumberland Hotel, Marble Arch, London.

This is an illustrated souvenir issued by the authorities of the Cumberland Hotel, Marble Arch, London, and sent for press notice by W. Buchanan-Taylor of 61, Fleet Street, London, E. C. The public opening of the Cumberland Hotel took place in December 12, 1933, and as a memento of the occasion the authorities of the establishment designed to bring out this little volume of 80 pages containing a short but well-written record of historic Cumberland of old, as well as of to day. It is thus a page of history of the ever-growing city of London. The souvenir, the first edition of which is limited to 500 copies is an artistic

production and is a pleasure to the eye and to the sense of touch. Printed on hand-made paper, with collotype reproductions of old drawings and engravings, bound in Welsh mountain sheep-skin, the book is a chaste, elegant and perfect example of the art of book-making.

N. R.

The Continent of Asia, by Lionel W. Lyde, M.A., F.R.G.S. Macmillan & Co., Limited, St. Martin's Street, London. With illustrations 747 + 30 pages. First Edition, 1933. 16s. net.

The author of *The Continent of Europe* is after a long spell of silence out of his laboratory to make another substantial contribution to geographical literature; he has this time turned to the continent of Asia—'and to Asia I have to pay tribute in this book,' says Mr. Lyde in his very illuminating preface. To read this preface is to realise to what extent even an objective science as geography can be creative. Here the author unfolds himself, his mind and his art and method, to explain his conception of geography that is at once original, stimulating and provocative. He does not write a commonplace geography of Asia, nor set himself to record and describe what is obvious, but presents the whole thing in tune with an underlying principle. This underlying principle is only understood when one gets within one's grasp his theory of continentality on the one hand and by what on the other he understands to be the human note of the different regions within the continent itself. It is not enough for Mr. Lyde to know North America, or Africa, or Asia as a continent, he must be able according to his ideas, to form a mental picture of the continent—to realise it, first of all as a continent. Both North and South America failed to impress him as continents; even Africa failed to be convincing about continentality. But let us hear Mr. Lyde explaining himself.

"Before being content, one was constrained to try Asia; and to Asia I have tried to pay tribute in this book. My mental picture of the continent took longer to form than the picture of any of the other continents had taken. But regional work has taken about the same time, twelve years. . . . With a fixed picture I allowed myself to make all sorts of experiments, and worked out each region on any lines which appealed to me personally, so long as the regional "exception" was never allowed to overrule the continental "law." Different regions are, therefore, treated in very different ways, the particular way being generally decided by the human note. The collection of families that we call China, is presented mainly in little plots of economic analysis; that part of the old coast of the continent which now constitutes the kingdom of Japan—admitted as an island group with marked relations, climatic as well as historical, to the continent—is summarised historically; in Arabia I was thinking always of the Semitic type and tongue; in Mongolia—long before the recent discoveries—I was obsessed with time and space. Perhaps this explanation may be expected as some apology for all that is omitted; whatever—from temperament or incapacity—I did not succeed in absorbing and making my own, I made no attempt to describe."

It would have been possible here to give an idea of the method and conception of Mr. Lyde's work should space have been available to describe in brief the contents of the book. But even from what is quoted above one finds that the whole underlying principle of the book is, as in his *The Continent of Europe*, that of human geography. Asia is thus described in relation to man's life and the way in which the physical characteristics of the continent have moulded and affected it; and through geographical relations a great deal of political, social, ethnic and economic history has also been tried to be explained. The resultant effect on the author's picture of Asia is thus extraordinarily vivid; and being essentially subjective in approach the work has on it the stamp not only of originality, but of genius as well.

N. R.

Gleanings

RUDOLF STEINER'S IDEA OF EDUCATION

Mrs. Kiran Bose writes in the *Prabuddha Bharata* (Calcutta) about Dr. Rudolf Steiner's "free" Waldorf School at Stuttgart and his educational theories.

Rudolf Steiner lays great responsibility upon the educator. A teacher and educator generally takes into consideration the growing human being between the ages of 6 and 14, and at the most up to the 21st year. Dr. Steiner insists on the necessity of keeping in mind—in every educational measure—the whole of the earth-life of the human being.

Steiner divides the child's life into four distinctive parts: (1) The Physical Body. (2) The Life Body or Etheric Body. (3) The Sentinel or Astral Body. (4) The Ego Body, the bearer of the higher soul of Man, the I. At the time of birth all the four bodies do not stand at the same stage of development, and the knowledge of these stages of development is a necessary foundation of true education. Steiner's educational theory recognizes the change of teeth and puberty as two milestones in childhood's development, and demands special educational methods for the periods, each being treated according to its own peculiar nature.

During the first period, the physical organs must be brought to a certain form. What has been neglected before the seventh year can never be made good. In this period of life, moralizing and appeals to reason are useless; what the teacher does is alone effective; whatever goes on in the surroundings of the child, whatever can be observed by the senses, be it moral and immoral, intelligent or foolish, will be imitated by the child. It is then the duty of the teacher to set such an example that its echoes in after-life can result in nothing but good. What a heavy responsibility rests with parents and teachers in the face of the fact that everything to which the child reacts, enters into his blood circulation, into his digestion, and so forth, and becomes thus the foundation for his later condition of health. The formation of the physical and organic constitution becomes the foundation of health or disease in later life.

The child from the time of the change of teeth to adolescence.—In the first period the child has imitated what has happened in his surroundings; he begins to dream vaguely about them. He makes pictures about them; he is quite absorbed in a picture life. Therefore, the instruction at this stage should be through pictures. This, however, is true of every subject,—even of arithmetic and languages. In this period, the child desires to have everything imparted to him in artistic form. He should be allowed to busy himself with colours; painting should lead to drawing, drawing to writing, writing to reading. "The child instinctively responds to everything presented in rhyme, rhythm and measure." Hence great attention is paid to recitation, music and eurhythmics in the Waldorf School. The artistic element enters into the arrangement of all the subject-matters taught. Thus Dr. Steiner thinks that it is not the clever people who make an impression on the child from 7 to 12 years, but the lively, lovable, and artistic people who go through life with freedom, yet with good sense. The teacher must always make use of the rhythmic systems—for the reason that they are not tiring.

What is of the greatest importance for education is to realize that we shall never help the child by giving him moral maxims; for these are empty sounds for him. We shall help him only if we ourselves stand for him as unquestionable authority. It is the teacher himself whom the child would call the true, the beautiful and the good. Just as for the first year of childhood, imitation and example are the magic words of education so for the years of this second period, the magic words are Discipline and Authority. One important characteristic of this system of teaching is the postponement of imparting knowledge of the elements of writing, reading and arithmetic.

Dr. Steiner was convinced that the six and seven-year old child must be spared the learning of formal writing. For learning to read early leads into abstraction far removed from real life, and makes the child prematurely old. During this period, the human and natural surroundings are bound up with the child. But at the age of 9, the child stands before a kind of life riddle. He becomes aware that he is an individual, and as such he is separated from the external world. Until now he has flitted through it without a thought. Now he feels his isolation not in a conscious way, but through all sorts of doubts and unrest. He becomes more independent. The child feels the need to know the world and his teachers form a new angle, from another side; he must now consciously honour where previously he loved childishly. It is this age that makes the greatest demand on the wisdom and tact of the teachers.

Towards the twelfth year the child develops an understanding for Cause and Effect. The teacher can gradually begin to work with this new faculty. He is ready to make independent judgments on all that he has learnt. Steiner declares that man can hardly have a greater wrong done to him than to have his independent judgment aroused too early in life. Whatever he has previously grasped in picture springs into conscious life—from now on—from the sources of his inner being. The faculty of logical thinking and independent judgment has now fully developed the faculty of successfully studying deep human problems. The heart of the young being is filled with warm love for the world and for mankind. The inclination to form intimate friendships and friendly alliances becomes stronger. Just as formerly whatever the teacher called fine or nasty, good or bad, was the law by which he acted, so now he advances to the recognition of duty, and approaches the stage of freedom, where duty means "to love what man commends himself."

THE NEW TURKEY

Known as the 'sick man' of Europe before the great War, Turkey, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, has since taken long strides in national consolidations and progress. Writing in the *Indian Review* (Madras), Prof. S. V. Puntambekar shows how "she has become an example of order, reform and progress to Medieval Muslim states of the East and to the Muslim youths of other countries" in the ten years of her republican life she has now completed.

Under his guidance the old religious and dynastic ideas in politics have been destroyed. Now there is no religious authority to interfere in matters of State. There is no Sultan, no Khilafat, and no Pan-Islamic imperialism. Turkey has adopted the modern democratic, national and secular ideas of the West. The Turkish State is a democratic, secular and national state and is embodied in a Turanian nation united by old racial, lingual, geographical and historical traditions and new common aspirations.

In the matter of educational reform, teaching of modern European languages has replaced the old Arabic and Persian languages. Turkish languages is being given the chief place in the country and is being purified by removing Arabic and Persian words from its vocabulary. The Koran is now recited in Turkish and prayers are also chanted in the same. There is a great impetus given to primary education, and training in handicrafts, industries and agriculture. There is a fight going on against illiteracy, and general education is progressing rapidly. Women are being educated and emancipated. They are now seen everywhere as officials and teachers. The adoption of Latin in place of Arabic characters and writing in 1928 has contributed to the rapid spread of literacy.

In social matters there are no restrictions on the freedom of movement of women. There is co-education and no *purdah*. People have adopted European dress and headgear. In the society as a whole there has come a feeling of liberation and individual consciousness and awakening and there is a desire for Europeanisation and nationalisation.

In her foreign relations, she has adopted a policy of peace and friendship with her neighbours and neutrality in foreign wars. She wants to use all her energy to modernise and strengthen the State internally, and to reorganise and to promote her economic life. She has made treaties of peace with her neighbours: Russia, Persia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Greece. She has also become a member of the League of Nations in 1932.

HALL OF A THOUSAND PILLARS

The long-lost site of the Hall of a Thousand Pillars (Kasr-i-Hazar Satun), one of the glories of mediæval Delhi, writes a special representative of the *Statesman* (Calcutta daily), has been located among the ruins of Siri, the second of the Seven Cities, a quarter of a mile off the Qutb Road.

The discovery was made by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, Deputy Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, whose opinion was confirmed by a party of Professors from Aligarh University when they recently inspected the ruined buildings of the Khilji and Tughlak Dynasties.

The Hall of a Thousand Pillars is mentioned in historical documents, but passing centuries have played such havoc with the city of Siri that its site was forgotten. In the quarter of the ruined city where one would expect to find the royal palaces it was observed that there were large mounds which from their size clearly covered the remains of some building of no ordinary importance. Careful comparison of their relation to other buildings that have been identified and research into ancient documents confirmed the theory that here were the royal palaces of the great Alauddin Khilji and among them the Hall of a Thousand Pillars.

Siri was founded in 1303 by Alauddin Khilji, the most remarkable monarch of his dynasty, to give greater protection to the older city clustering round the Qutb Minar. Twice during his reign Delhi was attacked by the Moghuls: on the first occasion Alauddin defeated them under the walls of his new city; on the second after encamping for two months near Siri, they retired without a battle. Siri was surrounded by a rubble wall, of which portions still remain on the south and west, and it had seven gateways and many fine buildings inside.

About 1550 Sher Shah destroyed Siri and with it the Hall of a Thousand Pillars and used part of the materials for constructing a new town of which the Purana Qila was the citadel.

The party of historians and archæologists who visited the ruined city recently were of opinion that the site should be excavated, as the great Hall, which was used as a royal palace, would be a notable addition to the Khilji remains in Delhi. The *kutcha* road that leads to Siri branches off the Qutb Road opposite to Hauz Quaz.

BUDDHIST LORE FROM TIBET

Bringing with him 3,000 ancient Tibetan manuscripts and many photographs of monastic frescoes Professor Giuseppe Tucci, of the Royal Academy of Italy and the University of Rome, recently arrived in Delhi after an eight months' visit to Western Tibet.

Professor Tucci who is a distinguished Orientalist, speaking Tibetan and with an intimate knowledge of the classical languages of the East, left the Kulu Valley in October and proceeded to Tibet through Spiti and Gartok. It was through Western Tibet that Buddhism entered from India and it was by this route that pilgrims passed between the two countries taking their cultural influences with them. Professor Tucci's task was to discover in ancient monasteries of this area early manuscripts expounding the Mahayana system of Buddhism, a philosophy not so well understood on account of the difficult languages in which it is expressed, a system that prevails in modern Buddhist countries. He also made a study of the frescoes in the monasteries and stupas. These were photographed, often in difficult conditions, by his companion, writes a special representative of the *Statesman* (Calcutta daily).

The subjects of the frescoes are mainly *Budhisattvas* and the deities, thousands of which are known, and it is in identifying these deities and, if possible, tracing their origin that the Professor will spend much time on his return to Rome.

Some writers describe the Tibetans as a surly people; the Professor thinks them charming, kindly and simple. From Gartok he went to Toling Monastery where he stayed with the head Lama and was admitted to parts of the sacred building hitherto inaccessible to Europeans.

From Toling he proceeded to Rabgyeling Monastery where the monks were so ignorant of the origin of their own foundation that they wanted to keep his biography of the founder of the monastery, the great Rin Chen Tsan Po. For five months he and his companion went from monastery to monastery, sometimes living in them, sometimes staying outside in tents, and while his companion photographed the frescoes, he and the Lamas studied the sacred books of the monastery library.

In their travels they were accompanied by a monk from Spiti. The Lamas were so pleased to see a European who understood their language and their ways of thought that they frequently greeted the party at the monastery gates by sounding their great ox-horn trumpets, and to honour the Professor's knowledge of Tibet they called him "Lama."

Among the most important of the palm-leaf manuscripts that the professor has brought back are records of the travels of three Tibetan pilgrims in Kashmir, Northern India and Afganistan during the twelfth century. Of secular accounts of the people of India in the Middle Ages, as the West calls them, there are very few. Ibn Batuta, the historian of the Delhi Sultans, and two well-known Chinese pilgrims in a still earlier age stand out in a period that has comparatively few history-writers or topographers in a modern sense.

Professor Tucci, whose fourth visit to Tibet it was, joined Professor Carlo Formichi, Vice-President of the Royal Academy of Italy, in a visit to Nepal last month, when they conveyed to the Maharaja the respectful thanks of the savants of Italy, for the encouragement and help he has given them in their study of Buddhist and Sanskrit literature.

EDUCATION AND RELIGION

Religious instruction is conspicuous in our educational curriculum by its total absence, and one of the reasons adduced in support of this secular education is the difficulty caused by the existence of a diversity of religious groups in India. In a paper entitled "*Need our Schools continue Godless ?*" ("The Modern Review," Calcutta), Dr. J. M. Kumarappa describes how the problem is being faced in some of the states in America, where the situation is to some extent similar to that in India. He writes :

As a result of the agitation carried on by religious leaders, the Court of Appeal of the State of New York rendered a decision in May, 1927, to the effect that for an hour a week children may be lawfully permitted, upon the request of their parents, to attend religious instruction in such centres outside of school as parents shall designate. Similarly some of the other states are trying to solve the problem of religious education by special provision. In Minneapolis, for instance, an experiment was started eight years ago ; and this experiment, by keeping the traditional separation of the State and the Church intact, has succeeded in avoiding the bitter controversies that usually arise when efforts are made to introduce religious education in public schools. According to the Minneapolis scheme, the classes of religious education for all Protestant denominations—which are not a few—are organised under the auspices of the Minneapolis Church Federation, a group combining most of the Protestant Churches of the city. In addition to this, the Catholics and the Christian Scientists have established their own classes, each being entirely separate from the Federation. So also the Jews conduct their classes independently of the Federation.

"This scheme makes it quite evident that the real responsibility of religious education is borne by religious organisations, not by public schools. Its (i.e., of the Public School) part is only to release its pupils at the appointed time from other work so as to enable them to attend their classes of religious instruction. To this end the State law had to be amended, vesting such powers on the headmaster or the principal. Since the new law requires that the classes of religious education be maintained in some place outside the public school building, these classes are held in the church nearest to the school, and never more than two furlongs distant..... Further the law requires the child's parent or guardian to send in an application that the child be allowed to undergo religious training..... The Minneapolis experiment is considered a great success, and after eight years' trial, it has now become an established institution in the life of the community. The enrolment of pupils in the school of religious education has increased to such an extent that new plans are now under way for its extension."

Coming to India, Dr. Kumarappa says :

"It is true that the religious demands even now do give room to controversy, persecution and proselytisation. But because of that shall we ignore the most important phase of a child's education? What we must rather do is to break away from the obstructing traditions and try, as Prof. John Dewey says, to reach 'that type of religion which will be the fine

flower of modern spirit's achievement.' Perhaps a fully developed but non-sectarian programme of social education in our public schools may succeed in promoting wide-spread respect in youth for the social values of all religions. Perhaps the gradual acceptance of certain basic principles of social evolution will help our people to understand that the religious life—beliefs, rituals, institutions and the like—must perpetually change as knowledge expands and men's group-relationship widens. The social education process of public schools need not necessarily include religious teaching, much less religious propaganda

EDUCATION OF GIRLS AT SANTINIKETAN

In an article with the above caption, Mr. Krishna Kripalani discusses in the *Visvabharati News* (Santiniketan) the contribution of Visva-bharati to Women's education in India. He writes :

The wisest method of awakening in others an apprehension of values is not to harp upon them too constantly—too close an intellectual familiarity with a notion often deadens our emotional appreciation of it—but to create an atmosphere wherein they may be realised. When values are thus made real to us by being made part of the atmosphere where we live, they become part of ourselves and live in us, often without our knowing how it happens.

That Santiniketan has provided an atmosphere, alive with the creative impulse of the most comprehensive representative of the renescent India, and not overloaded with the possessive greed of an unhappy age, is the best assurance it can offer to its pupils. There is indeed a college to administer the intellectual culture that is the common property of academic bodies all over the world. But what Santiniketan may justly claim is that, so far as intellectual catering is concerned, it has *sterilised academic aggressiveness* by means of the infusion of the atmosphere with the spirit of the Kala-Bhaban (Art Department)

In an age when all the age-old principles are in the melting pot, and ethical and intellectual standards have yet to emerge in form out of the reigning chaos, artistic values are perhaps the safest guide in education. If a single inspiring vision cannot be held out before the pupils to guide their lives, influence of art may at least refine their sensibilities and chasten their impulses; the more certainly when the presiding genius of the School of Art happens to be a man like Nandalal Bose, whose living is as simple and true as his vision is sublime; whose very presence breathes the benediction of art. College and Kala-Bhaban, held apart and linked close together by the spirit of Rabindranath, which permeates every activity of Santiniketan, have between them provided an atmosphere whose value for the education of women cannot be too highly rated.

The typical product of that atmosphere is neither a smart futility, nor a domestic doll: it is a woman who has learned to respect herself because she has discovered and developed her native worth. Trained in a system founded on faith in co-education, she neither reveres man as a god, nor fears him as a brute. Measuring his worth beside her own in the many-sided activities of the Ashrama, she is expected to accept him for what he is worth in the building up of a new healthy and free India. That India is still far off, and we do not claim to be working heroically for it. Heroes and heroines are never made in educational institutions: they are made in the great struggle of life.

OUR EDUCATIONAL NEEDS AND DRAWBACKS

In a paper contributed to the *Educational Review* (Madras), Mr. S. Vasudevan discusses certain defects in our educational system :

There is a big gap now existing between education and life which has to be bridged over. There is absolutely no connection between what the child is found interested in outside the school, and what he is taught at school. So, we have to create an artificial atmosphere in the class-room, and force the child through the curriculum, whether he likes it or not.

That the present system of education is too much dominated by examinations is another defect. As a matter of fact, our education is examination-ridden. The "examination tyrant" holds full sway in the field of education, so much so that only those things which are most amenable to examination are taught in the class-room. We neglect certain important items of knowledge for the simple reason that they cannot be examined in. "The examination no doubt tends to intensify one of the greatest evils—that of starving the child's activities, of making him helpless, apathetic and inert." Thirdly, the effect of the present system of examination on the examinee is a well-known enervation of mind and an almost incurable superficiality.

Our education, as carried on at present, does not allow for individual differences. We teach the class as a whole, thereby assuming that all are of the same mental calibre. Really we meet with a heterogeneous group of pupils with social distinctions, differences in culture, background and intelligence. True education must take into account these individual variations.

At Home and Abroad

(A monthly Record of News relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities and other culture and Academic Institutions).

Indian Students in London

As a general rule it is hardly possible for an Indian student to maintain himself in Great Britain on an income of less than £200 a year, excluding fees. In addition allowance should be made for a preliminary outfit (clothes, etc.) at a cost of about £30. According to the latest edition of a handbook issued by the Education Department of the Office of the High Commissioner for India, the figure of £200 "may be regarded as the average required by a young student in London; older and more experienced students might manage on less, especially if they are at one of the provincial universities."

Asiatic Society of Bengal

The Asiatic Society of Bengal completed the 150th year of its existence on the 15th of January last.

The Council of the Society celebrated the occasion by an afternoon conversazione at the Indian Museum and a banquet in the hall of the Society in the evening. The banquet was followed by a special anniversary meeting at which addresses and congratulations from a number of learned societies were read and 12 honorary anniversary members of the Society elected.

Mysore University

A motion that the scale of tuition and examination fees prevailing in Mysore University should be reduced by 25 per cent. moved by Mr. K. Krishna Swami Rao at the Senate meeting on January 16, last, evoked keen discussion in the course of which the economic depression in the country and the consequent incapacity of the people to pay heavy fees were given as reasons in support of the proposition. The proposition was lost.

All-India Oriental Conference

The session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at Baroda during the last Christmas week under the general Presidentship of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A (Oxon), Bar.-at-law, of Patna. There was a very large and representative gathering of scholars engaged in all the various branches of Indological studies and researches, enjoying the hospitality of that great patron of learning, the Gaekwar of Baroda, and indulging themselves in a social and intellectual give and take. Mr. Jayaswal, the President, delivered an interesting address in course of which he drew the attention to what the Indian Universities and other civic and academic institutions can do to conduct independent archaeological explorations and establish art and archaeological museums for the education of the people. He said:

- "We cannot shut our eyes to what the academic institutions in Europe and America are doing to fit out costly expeditions of exploration in distant lands. The other day we read of a proposed Italian expedition to Nepal. Are our Universities and other institutions merely to sit and look on while others win undying glory in fields which legally belong to us?

"What private effort can do in one field is well illustrated by the Museum of the Allahabad Municipality, equipped in less than three years. You have there sculptures and remains from the Asokan times down to the eleventh century A.D. almost every period being represented. You have two unique inscriptions there—one being on copper in inlaid gold letters. A single individual, Mr. Vyas, the Executive Officer of the Municipality, has built up this Museum in a spare building of the Municipality—without spending any significant funds. If every Municipality did the same what a treasure we should gather with but little effort. Such Museums should be objects of local civic pride, and collectively a national wealth. The educative value of museums needs not to be told to the modern world. It is self-evident. And when we hear that the State of Kashmir has made a refrenchment by abolishing its Museum, we have to draw the attention of the Darbar that the institution should be resuscitated. No state in the twentieth century can afford to be without a museum when even a municipality realizes the necessity and utility of such institutions."

Benares Hindu University

The Court of the Benares Hindu University has elected His Highness Maharajahdhiraj Sir Umed Singh Bahadur of Jodhpur and His Highness Maharaja Sir Aditya Narain Singh Bahadur of Benares as Pro-Chancellors for the present year. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganga Nath Jha and Pandit A. Chinnaswami Sastri have been elected to the Court of the University as representatives of the Hindu religion and Sanskrit learning for a term of five years. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Raja Sir Moti Chand, Raja Jawala Prasad, Sir Sita Ram, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aivar and Mahamahopadhyay Kaviraj Dr. Gananath Sen are among those who have been elected members of the Council of the University.

A Visiting Professor from Naples

Prof. Macchioro of the University of Naples has arrived at Benares on January 4, last, and is staying at the Hindu University. The Professor will deliver special lectures on the history of Greek mysticism, monistic currents in philosophy and renaissance. He would stay at the University for some time as he has been appointed a visiting professor.

Lucknow University

A complete overhauling of the arrangements for the teaching of Law has been recommended by the Committee appointed by the University of Lucknow. The Committee consisted of Dr. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor Justice Bisheshwarnath Srivastava, Mr. Hardian Chandra, Advocate and Pandit Jagmohannath Chak and was set up as a result of frequent complaints that the arrangements for the teaching of law were inadequate inasmuch as there was overcrowding in the class rooms and teachers were busy lawyers who were generally unable to devote sufficient time to the teaching of Law. This report will be considered by the Academic Council before the Executive Council pronounces its final verdict. Plans for the extension of University accommodation generally are also being considered by the University authorities.

Rajshahi College

The Hon'ble Mr. K. Nazimuddin, Education Minister, Bengal, presided over the inaugural ceremony of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of the Rajshahi Government College in December 16, last. The function was attended by a large gathering of old students of the College.

The Minister announced that an agricultural institution would soon be established at Rajshahi.

Hindi Sahitya Parishad

Udaipur, the capital of Mewar, the place of pilgrimage to the student of Rajput history, has now undertaken the task of literary and historical

research. A body called the Hindi Sahitya Parishad has been started there which will undertake a thorough research in the history of Mewar with the help of old manuscripts still available and will also undertake to start libraries and reading rooms, publish Hindi books, magazines, etc., remodel the Hindi stage, establish a museum of the priceless Hindi manuscripts and modernize Hindi music. Pandit Motilal Manaria has been elected president of the Parishad.

Indian Public School

Five years ago before his death Mr. S. R. Das, the then Law Member of the Government of India, worked for establishing an Indian public school. The idea, first met with sneers and laughter, caught the imagination of a good section of the educationists with the result that thirteen lakhs of rupees were subscribed by many including the Princes. There are three hundred people on the Governing Body of the Society organised by late Mr. Das. Owing to the general depression there was an 'inter alia' for some time but now some life has been infused into the movement by Sir Joseph Bore assisted by Mr. S. Hydari, Secretary of the Society.

The Society has now been lucky in obtaining at moderate rent for the use of the school Chan Bagh in Dehra Dun which was till recently occupied by the Forest Research Institute. The Government offer will probably be accepted by the Governing Body of the Society which will meet shortly. It is learnt five lakhs of rupees more have been promised recently towards the funds of the Society and according to the present calculations the scheme would be in operation early next winter.

The proposal is to request Lord Willingdon to perform the opening ceremony during his seasonal visit to Dehra Dun in October 1934.

Popularising a University

The report of the Committee appointed by the University of Mysore "to devise measures for popularising the University and its work in the State" came up for consideration at the meeting of the University Senate held at Bangalore, on Thursday, the 11th January last.

The report which is a unanimous one dealt with several measures calculated to popularise the Mysore University and its work. It says that there is need for a Publicity Board of the University consisting of Senate members or others not directly borne on the University establishment. The Publicity Board (for the time being the University Popularization Committee) should, it is stated, act as a happy link between the University and the public. The Committee should endeavour to clearly explain why certain things are done by the University, why certain courses are adopted for teaching and how and in what manner more work can be done to bring the University into closer intimate touch with the life of the citizens of the State. It will be one of the important functions of the Committee to increase the resources of the University by enlisting the moral and material support of the public. In conformity with a settled programme, the members of the Committee should be empowered to tour the districts and the interior parts of the State, whenever it is deemed necessary.

The Committee further suggests that the staff of the University should be encouraged during the holidays and vacations, to come into greater contact than has hitherto been possible with the people of the country with a view to bring the University into more intimate connection with the life and labour of the country.

That the University should ultimately be made a regional one to serve the special needs of the life and work of the citizens of the State, is another recommendation made by the Committee.

In Aid of " Viswa-Bharati "

The ardent appeal which the poet Rabindranath made for funds in aid of the Viswa-Bharati during his stay at Hyderabad met with a satisfactory response from all classes of people. His Exalted Highness the Nizam, who a few years back made a gift of Rs. 100,000, has, it is learnt, expressed a desire to donate another lakh to the Viswa-Bharati to commemorate the poet's visit here. The nobility and the public too did not lag behind in contributing their mite the principal amounts being Rs. 15,000 from Raja Dhanarajgirji Bahadur, Rs. 1,750 from the Marwari Association, Rs. 1,000 from the Secundrabad Bar Association, Rs. 1,000 from the Teachers' Association and Rs. 750 from the Secundrabad public.

A Generous Gesture

Mr. Rajendhari Singh, the newly elected President of the Bihar Council, has decided to set apart ten per cent. of his salary for the education of the poor and meritorious students without distinction of caste or community. A committee will be appointed to administer the fund.

Indian Academy of Sciences

When the Indian Science Congress meets again next year a carefully prepared scheme for the establishment of an Indian Academy of Sciences will be laid before it. The preliminary work of drafting a constitution for the academy is to begin forthwith. A committee comprising, among others, representatives of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Indian Chemical Society, Indian Botanical Society, Mining and Geological Institutes, Indian Mathematical Society and representatives of various Government Survey Departments will, it is expected, meet in Calcutta from January 18 to 21 to discuss necessary steps.

Indian Academy of Arts

About a thousand exhibits was on view at the first annual exhibition of the Calcutta Academy of Arts which was opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal at the Indian Museum, Chowringhee, on December 23 last.

The exhibits include paintings in oils, water colour and black and white, a small collection of posters, sculpture, architectural designs, etc. Both Indian and European schools will be equally represented and men and women artists have equally contributed.

Several Ruling Princes and other patrons of art in India are giving a number of prizes to be awarded to the exhibiting artist. The exhibition continued until January 7 last.

Asiatic Students' Congress, Rome

" A man once said and many others have since thought and repeated that the East is East and the West is West, and the twain shall never meet. Historically, the relationship between the East and the West has always been one of reciprocity and such a statement is nonsense." With these words Signor Mussolini welcomed the delegates to the Asiatic Students' Congress held in Rome on the 22nd of December last under the auspices of the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East which has for its object the promotion of closer association between Asia and Rome—so says a statement forwarded by the Secretary, Asiatic Students' Congress from Rome.

The Congress was attended by 600 Asiatic students from different European Universities including 100 Indians headed by Mr. Subhaschandra Bose. The Italian authorities were lavish in their hospitality towards the delegates to the Congress. A crowded programme was arranged for a whole week including visits to important places. The delegates were successively received by the Governor of Rome, the Rector of the Rome University and the Pope.

Continuing, the Il' Duce remarked in course of his speech :

" Twenty centuries ago Rome achieved a union in the Mediterranean between the East and the West which has been of tremendous importance in world's history. Rome colonised the West but in the East in Egypt, in Syria and in Persia attempted to foster a creative understanding. This union was the corner stone of our entire history and it gave rise to the European civilisation. This must now become " universal " once more or else it must perish....To-day Rome and the Mediterranean, through this Fascist renewal, look again towards resuming their historical function of unification. That is why this new Italy has invited you here. More than once in the past, in periods of fearful crises, world's civilisation has been saved by the co-operation of the Orient and Rome. In to-day's crisis of the whole system of the institution, the ideas of which are soulless and which paralyse mankind, we hope to resume the old tradition of our constructive co-operation."

After Signor Mussolini's speech, the President of the Congress and three delegates, a Persian, an Arab and an Indian, spoke reciprocating the sympathy expressed by the Il'Duce. Before dispersing, the Congress decided to establish a permanent Bureau in Rome and continue useful work for Asia. Mr. Amiya Sarkar, an Indian student, Madame Suzanne Liao, a Chinese lady, were appointed Joint Secretaries of the Bureau.

Simultaneously with the Asiatic Students' Congress the Third Convention of the Indian students abroad was held, about 100 students attending. Mr. Subhaschandra Bose was unanimously elected President. His Excellency De Stefani for the Rector welcomed the Indian students. Many useful resolutions affecting Indian students' welfare were adopted. The convention decided to reorganise the central office of the Federation and the office was shifted from London to Vienna.

Education in Germany

In the Berlin University education will be reserved for a chosen section of the youth in future according to the regulations which have recently been issued by the Government in order to prevent overcrowding of the schools next year. Only 15,000 will be admitted to the Universities, in the proportion of ten men to one girl. Candidates will be selected according to mental and bodily maturity, moral character and national reliability. The number contracts with the average of 28,000 annually since 1926, but will be further gradually reduced.

Dacca University

His Excellency the Chancellor of the Dacca University has re-appointed Prof. G. H. Langley as Vice-Chancellor of the University for a further period of six months from January 1 to June 30, 1934.

Education for Women

Presiding at the seventh All-India Women's Conference, held in Town Hall, Calcutta, during the last Christmas week, Lady Abdul Qadir of Lahore said :

" One of the most important questions is what should be the type of education for women. I think there can be no two opinions now as to the unsuitability of the existing

scheme of studies to the needs of girl students. It was meant really for boys and is now becoming out of date even for them. It is more so for girls. It may be all right for some girls, who want to seek employment as teachers in schools, but for the majority of them a line adapted to their particular needs must be chalked out, so that they may be able to complete their studies in a shorter period and may acquire knowledge which may be of use to them in their domestic life and in the bringing up of their children.

"I wish to say now a word about another type of institutions needed for the majority of girls, whose circumstances require that they should aim at nothing more than elementary education, coupled with a training in some useful handicrafts.

"Hitherto training in handicrafts was given to girls with the idea of adding to their accomplishments, but the increasing struggle of life clearly shows that the time is not far distant, when a growing number of women will be called upon to be their own bread-winners, and when marriage will no longer be considered as the only career for girls."

A number of resolutions for popularising education among Indian women, exhorting the Government and other public institutions to adopt measures so as to make primary education free and compulsory for girls along with boys, as well as compulsory physical instruction, were passed at the Conference in which Mrs. Sarojini Naidu took an active part.

All-India Educational Conference

"An air of unreality is found in our universities as in our schools. They represent nothing—not even the culture of the localities in which they are situated. With the exception of three, they embody no ideals and, therefore, leave no impress on the lives of their pupils."

This observation was made by Sir Ross Maswood, Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, in the course of his presidential address at the ninth session of the All-India Educational Conference held at Karachi during the last Christmas week. The Conference was attended by a large number of delegates from all parts of India.

"The universities," Sir Ross said, "have remained impervious to the pulsating life that surrounds them and have, for that reason, contributed nothing of value towards the solution of the many intricate problems with which our people are to-day faced. They remain hollow copies of a foreign model and are themselves shyly conscious of this fact.

"Our young men regard them as so many windows from where tickets are issued in the form of degrees, which they imagine will enable them to start on their bread-earning journey.

"In the new India that is now slowly coming into being all this must be changed. The universities must be brought into close contact with the harsh realities of life and their present seclusion ended once and for all."

Sir Ross made a strong plea in favour of using the main vernaculars in India as the media of instruction in schools and colleges, provided, at the same time, they made the study of the English language compulsory. India, he said, could never be free in the real sense of the term as long as she allowed the full power of expression inherent in her own languages to be cramped by the weight of a language that she could never treat as her own. Dealing with the education of girls, Sir Ross said:

"We are making the same mistake in the education of our girls, which we are now trying so hard to remedy in the case of our boys. Let us avoid this wastage of energy and lay down a scheme of education for our girls, which, while strengthening the social and economic life of our people, will also prove more soul-satisfying than that which we have hitherto followed so placidly.

"Denationalisation in the young men of the country is bad enough, but if it spreads to its young women, it will become a fatal disease. We can, with advantage, study the system of women's education prevalent in Europe and Japan and evolve a system which, while representing a compromise between the two views, will itself possess great elasticity and be capable of easy modification to suit the varying needs of the different groups in India."

Sir Ross suggested the creation of a fund from which every year help should be given to teachers who desired to visit foreign countries with the object of improving their knowledge of educational methods. If a sum of Rs. 6,000 was collected every year, one teacher could easily spend twelve months outside India. A resolution was also passed to consider the advisability of establishing an All-India Teachers' Registration Council on the lines on which such councils were run in England. Other resolutions were passed urging the Government to make the service conditions of teachers in aided schools or in schools maintained by local bodies secure.

Principal P. Seshadri welcomed the proposed revival of a Central Advisory Board of Education at the headquarters of the Government of India and the appointment of a veteran educationalist like Sir George Anderson, late Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab, as Educational Commissioner to guide the deliberations of the Board. Education was too important a subject to be handed over to the provinces without any co-ordination at the centre.

Universities and Unemployment

The criticism against universities in some of the recent convocation addresses appears to have led Prof. Amaranatha Jha of Allahabad University to select 'Indian Universities and their Critics' as the subject of a lecture, which he delivered on January 8, last, at Allahabad under the auspices of the University Union before a packed house of the staff and the students of the university.

In the course of his interesting lecture, Prof. Jha said that during recent months a good deal of adverse criticism against universities had been made, not only in this country but in Great Britain and America also. Over-production of graduates was a complaint, which had received attention recently in Germany. The question must be one of great importance in this country because almost all the convocation addresses delivered during the present academic year had drawn attention to the various defects and failings of the Indian universities. Prof. Jha said that those defects were not specially applicable to the Indian universities alone; they applied to universities generally both in the West and in this country. The war and the disillusionment of peace had produced in thinking men an attitude of doubt, disillusionment and despair. Ancient institutions were held to be responsible for all the major ills of the world and an attempt was being made to remould the entire scheme of things mainly by destroying ancient institutions. The universities as a very ancient institution naturally came in for their share of criticism and abuse.

What should be the ideals of a university? Should it aim at the creation and spread of knowledge, the propagation of truth, the purification of the national taste, or should it rather aim at equipping young men for particular pursuits and vocations? In other words, should the pursuit of knowledge be put in the first place or should it occupy a position next in importance to its success interpreted in terms of wealth?

Turning to the Indian universities in particular the speaker mentioned that the main charge brought against them was that there was a good deal of wastage. That was a statement made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in his Allahabad convocation address. A week or so earlier Sir P. C. Ray had complained that the universities drove men to revolt. Which of these eminent men was correct? Again Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru spoke of the call of hunger as being more insistent than the call of culture. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer on the other hand regarded a university as having failed in the discharge of its functions if it did not imbue its students with the elements of a liberal culture. Once again which of these was to be accepted as a guide? asked the lecturer. So far as vocational training was concerned some of the American universities were granting degrees in subjects like hotel management, cookery, business leadership, but had the demon of unemployment been driven out of America? At Allahabad there were degrees in law, commerce and agriculture but even those people trained for the vocations were not able to earn a living. The remedy did not lie in the hands of universities. The main industry of the land, agriculture, was languishing because of the fragmentation of the land and the unwillingness of the landlord to employ skilled labour. The other industries were either not controlled by Indian capital or Indian capitalists or were unable or unwilling to pay commerce graduates handsomely.

Referring to the Allahabad University in particular, Prof. Jha said that a very grave defect was the too short period of residence at the university, the inadequacy of

arrangement for residential accommodation, the insufficient stock of books in the library and the employment of a foreign tongue as the medium of instruction. Those were real defects and handicaps. The universities looked to the Government and to the public for support and assistance in an effort to overcome those defects.

Prof. Amaranatha Jha concluded by saying that the universities were right in being different from life but they would be committing a fatal mistake in being indifferent to it. Side by side with the imparting of liberal education some attempt should also be made to provide opportunities for training for some vocation but if the students that go out of the universities were able to bring order where there was disruption, harmony where there was discord and culture where there was rudeness, the universities would have amply justified their existence.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu on Ideals of Student-life

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu addressed a students' gathering on January 1, 1934, at the Albert Hall, Calcutta, on the ideals of student-life when she said, among other things:

".....You who are young and whose spirit therefore is quick, you who dream splendid dreams, may find it paradoxical to receive the advice that you should not merely be splendid but should also be commonplace, for it requires, I think, a greater measure of authentic heroism to be faithful, day after day, in fulfilling the drudgery of labour of our daily life than to sacrifice life on the actual battle-field with the blowing of trumpets and flying of coloured flags....."

".....Last of all, the students should realise that their first duty is to study, not to teach. Mahamed, the great Prophet of Islam, said two marvellous things. I want you, young patriots, to remember those. One is 'Seek ye knowledge from the cradle to the grave' and the other 'The ink of a Scholar is more precious than the blood of a martyr.'"

Applied Psychology as Guide to Career

Presiding over the Applied Psychology Section of the twenty-first session of the Indian Science Congress held early in January, Mr. Manmathanath Banerjee emphasised the necessity of utilising psychological research for what is known as Vocational guidance for the adolescent due to the lack of which 'there is enormous waste of human material resulting in avoidable unemployment, economic deterioration and political unrest'. He therefore urged that a thorough mental survey of the youth of the country should be made after determining the number that the different professions and industries could support and that universities should frame regulations requiring appointment in every school of a medical man and a psychologist thoroughly trained in Experimental Psychology to conduct periodical examination of the psychological and mental health and personality of every scholar with a view to formulating remedial measures.

Ourselfes

[I. *Inspector of Colleges*; II. *Appointment of Fellows*; III. *Earthquake Disaster*; IV. *Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee*; V *Annual Meeting of the Senate*; VI. *Teachers, Training Department*; VII. *Affiliation in Zoology*; VIII. *Some changes in Regulations*; IX. *Government Notifications*.]

I. INSPECTOR OF COLLEGES.

Dr. Harendracoomar Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., has been re-appointed Inspector of Colleges for a further period of one year with effect from 30th January, 1934. Dr. Mookerjee has served the University with conspicuous ability and devotion and his re-appointment will be hailed by all who are interested in the progress of University education in the province.

II. APPOINTMENT OF FELLOWS.

Dr. Herambachandra Maitra and Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee have been re-elected Fellows of the University by the Faculty of Arts. The Faculty of Science has elected Rai Bahadur Jnanchandra Ghosh as a Fellow in place of the late Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta. Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, who has been a Fellow of the University for the last fifteen years, has also been re-elected a Fellow by the Registered Graduates. In none of these cases was there any contest. The Faculty of Medicine also was called upon to elect a Fellow and two names were proposed, *viz.*, those of Dr. M. N. Bose, the sitting member and Dr. Birendranath Ghose, the latter being successful. Mr. Johan Van Manen has been re-appointed a Fellow by His Excellency the Chancellor.

We extend our cordial congratulations to the Members.

III. EARTHQUAKE DISASTER.

We desire to associate ourselves whole-heartedly with the following resolution which has been passed by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate in connection with the havoc caused by the recent earthquake in North Bihar. On occasions like this all differences are forgotten and human efforts unite in alleviating the sufferings of those who have been affected by the disaster. Thousands have lost their lives and those whose lives have been spared have been deprived of their earthly belongings ; numerous are the cases where persons have been rendered homeless and penniless. The resolution which was approved by the Senate on 27th January runs as follows :

“ The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate record their profound sense of sorrow at the appalling loss of life and property occasioned by the

recent earthquake in North Bihar and other parts of India, and express their deep sympathy with the sufferers.

“ They invite the heads of all schools and colleges within the jurisdiction of the University to co-operate in the task of alleviating the hardships and miseries caused by the disaster, and suggest that each institution should take steps at once to raise funds from among the students and teachers for relief of the sufferers, and otherwise assist in relief operations in the stricken areas. With a view to co-ordinating relief work, it is suggested that the funds raised may be remitted to some Central Organisation such as the Viceroy's National Fund or the Mayor's Earthquake Relief Fund or the Bihar Provincial Relief Fund.

“ The University will be prepared to consider favourably, for purposes of admission to the University examinations, cases of students engaging in actual relief work in the afflicted areas through accredited agencies, whose percentage of attendance at lectures or practical work may be thereby affected. Such students, before proceeding to engage in such work, should previously obtain the approval of the heads of their institutions, who will immediately report the names of the students with particulars to the Registrar; and at the time of applying later for condonation of consequent deficiency in attendance they should forward, along with the applications, certificates from the heads of the institutions concerned to the effect that the deficiency was due to their actual participation in relief work.”

IV. SIR RAJENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE.

In our last issue we announced the resignation of Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee of his membership of the Senate. His Excellency the Chancellor has since been pleased to nominate Sir Rajendra as an honorary fellow for life in recognition of his distinguished services. It is in the fitness of things that this honour should be conferred on Sir Rajendra at the close of his active connection with this University.

V. ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SENATE.

At the Annual Meeting of the Senate held on 27th January four representatives were elected to the Syndicate for the current year. They were Mr. B. M. Sen, Principal, Presidency College, Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, Principal, Scottish Church College, Mr. Charuchandra Biswas and Dr. Susilkumar Mukherjee. There were six candidates in all, the other two being Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, Principal, Sanskrit College, and Shams-ul-Ulama Khan Bahadur Hedayat Hossain, Principal, Calcutta Madrassah.

The Senate also elected the various Faculties and several important Boards and committees at this meeting.

VI. TEACHERS' TRAINING DEPARTMENT.

The Syndicate have appointed a committee to consider the possibility of creating a Teachers' Training Department directly under the University, which could provide facilities for students preparing for the B. T. Degree and also arrange for special courses of lectures which might be of practical help to teachers of secondary schools. It will be recalled a proposal for the establishment of a second Teachers' Training College in the city was recently turned down by Government mainly on the ground that Government were not satisfied that the institution would be in a position to maintain the necessary standard. At the same time it was pointed out by Government that they recognised the urgent need of a more adequate supply of trained teachers for the province and they expressed their willingness to co-operate with the University in the event of the latter formulating any scheme in this connection. We trust it will be possible for the committee to draw up a report on the basis of which both the University and Government may unite in satisfactorily meeting one of the most pressing educational needs of the province.

The Committee consists of the Vice-Chancellor, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, Principal J. R. Banerjea, Dr. W. S. Urquhart, Mr. P. N. Banerjee, Professor Pramathanath Banerjea, Rai Bahadur Khagendranath Mitra, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the University Inspector of Colleges and the Principal, David Hare Training College.

VII. AFFILIATION IN ZOOLOGY.

On the recommendation of the Syndicate the Senate have approved of the proposal that Scottish Church College, Calcutta, should be affiliated in Zoology up to the I.Sc. standard from the commencement of the ensuing session, subject to the final sanction of Government. This is for the first time that a college is being affiliated in this subject for the Intermediate examination. Facilities at present exist in the University for the teaching of Zoology for the B.Sc. and M.Sc. examinations but the absence of any arrangement at the Intermediate stage has long been regarded as unsatisfactory. The authorities of Scottish Church College are to be congratulated on the step they have taken which will go a long way in fostering the study of Zoology in this University.

VIII. SOME CHANGES IN THE REGULATIONS.

The Senate have accepted the recommendation of the Syndicate to add Hindi to the list of languages mentioned in Group A (1), Section 6, Sub-sections 3 and 4 of Chapter XXXII of the Regulations, which deals with the requirements for the B.A. Examination. Some years ago the University decided to treat Bengali and Urdu as major

languages for the B.A. Examination. They are treated as any ordinary pass subject and have three papers allotted to them. Candidates offering any such language are not allowed to take the Vernacular paper, in lieu of which a special paper is set for them dealing with History of Language and History of Literature. It has now been decided to treat Hindi in a similar manner.

The Senate have also decided to approve of new regulations for an examination for a Diploma in Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery. We trust it would be possible for the Medical Colleges to provide for necessary teaching facilities so that our advanced students in Medicine may not have to travel abroad for obtaining a Diploma in Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery.

The Regulations are being submitted to Government for approval.

GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATIONS.

(a) *Recruitment for the post of Imperial Entomologist and for the post of Imperial Agricultural Chemist at the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research, Pusa.*

1. A candidate must, if required, attend at such place as may be appointed for personal interview. The Public Service Commission do not defray the travelling or other expenses of candidates summoned for interview. They will, however, contribute towards those expenses at a rate corresponding to the amount of the intermediate railway fare from the candidate's place of residence to the place of interview and back.

2. A candidate must deposit a fee of Rs. 7-8-0 under the Account Head "XXVI—Miscellaneous Department—Miscellaneous—Examination Fee" into a Government Treasury and forward the treasury receipt to the Secretary, Public Service Commission, with his application. No claim for the refund of this fee will be entertained.

3. A candidate may send copies of three, but not more than three, testimonials from persons intimately acquainted with his work and character and must also give the names and address of three persons in India to whom reference can be made.

4. (a) No recommendations should be forwarded to the Commission except from persons who are acquainted with a candidate's work or from persons who give certificates of character in accordance with the terms of official regulations or announcements.

(b) No recommendations of any kind should be sent by or on behalf of any candidate to any individual Member of the Commission.

Any violation of these rules may operate to the candidate's disadvantage.

5. Candidates must be British subjects or subjects of a State in India. They must be in sound bodily health, and, if selected, will be required before appointment to satisfy a medical board appointed by the Government of India. Government servants may apply for either post. A subject of a State in India cannot be appointed unless he obtains a declaration under Section 96A of the Government of India Act.

6. A candidate for the post of Entomologist must—

- (a) have an Honours degree, or its equivalent, in Zoology ;
- (b) have specialised in Entomology ;
- (c) have proved his ability for carrying out research on entomological problems ; and
- (d) have experience in Applied Entomology.

8. A candidate for the post of Chemist must—

- (a) have a degree in Chemistry ;
- (b) have proved his ability to carry out research on agricultural problems.

The following are also desirable :—

- (c) Experience of tropical and sub-tropical agricultural conditions and
- (d) original research on soil chemistry.

9. (a) If a person not already in permanent Government service is appointed to either post, his pay will be on the scale Rs. 275—300 (probationary period)—325—25—650 (Efficiency Bar)—35—1,000, *plus* Special Pay of Rs. 150 per month *plus* Overseas Pay, if of non-Asiatic domicile. This pay will not be subject to the emergency cut. If a candidate is over 30 years of age at the date of his appointment, he may, if he has special qualifications and experience, be allowed an initial pay equivalent to such pay as he would draw if he had been drawing pay in the scale mentioned above at the rate of Rs. 400 per month on his 30th birthday.

(b) If an officer in permanent Government service, other than the Indian Agricultural Service, is appointed, his pay will be fixed with regard to the substantive pay which he was drawing at the time of appointment.

(c) If an officer of the Indian Agricultural Service is appointed, he will be given the pay to which he is entitled in the time-scale for that service, with additional pay on the scale Rs. 200—50—400, but the first increment in this scale will not be given until the officer has completed 15 years' service under Government, and his pay will be subject to the emergency cut as long as it lasts.

10. Free quarters will not be provided. If a person not already in Government service is appointed, he will be eligible to subscribe to the General Provident Fund during his probation, and, if confirmed, will be permitted to subscribe to the contributory Provident Fund (India), with retrospective effect from the date of his appointment. If an officer already in permanent pensionable service is appointed, he will retain his pensionable status.

11. The posts are permanent ; but appointments to them will be on probation for two years.

12. Applications must reach the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Metcalfe House, Delhi, before 24th January, 1934. A candidate who desires to have his application acknowledged must post it 'Acknowledgment Due.'

(b) *Indian Civil Service*

OPEN COMPETITION OF 1934

An Open Competitive Examination for admission to the Indian Civil Service will be held in London in 1934. The *viva voce* test will take place in July, the written examination in Section B subjects will begin on the 25th July, and that in Section A subjects on the 1st August.

The number of persons to be selected at this examination has not yet been decided.

No person will be admitted to compete from whom the Secretary, Civil Service Commission, has not received, on or before the 8th May, 1934, an application on the prescribed form, a copy of which is sent herewith. No allegation that an Application Form or a letter respecting such Form has been lost or delayed in the post will be considered by the Commissioners unless the person making such allegation produces a Post Office Certificate of Posting. Candidates who delay their applications until the last days will do so at their own risk. A fee of £2, being an instalment of the prescribed fee of £8, must accompany the Application Form ; this instalment is not returnable in any circumstances.

Acknowledgments of such Application Forms are sent, and any candidate who has filled up and returned the printed Application Form but has not received an acknowledgment of it within four complete days should at once write to the Secretary, Civil Service Commission, Burlington Gardens, London, W. 1. Failure to comply with this provision will deprive the candidate of any claim to consideration.

The Time Table of the written part of the examination will probably be posted towards the end of June to the address given on the Form of Application, and will contain instructions as to the time and place at which candidates are to attend. Candidates will be notified at the same time of the date and place fixed for their *viva voce* test and of the manner in which the balance (£6) of the prescribed fee of £8 is to be paid.

NOTE.

If Open Competitive Examinations for the following services, *viz.* :—

Ceylon Civil Service ;

Junior Grade of the Administrative Class in the Home Civil Service ;

should be held in 1934 concurrently with the Open Competitive Examination for the Indian

Civil Service, candidates duly eligible in respect of age, etc., will be admitted to compete for any two or all three of these Services, subject to the following conditions :—

(1) Every successful candidate who may have been admitted to compete for either the Indian or the Ceylon Service (or both), as well as for the Home Service, will be called upon to declare, immediately after the announcement of the result of the competitions, whether he prefers his name to remain on the list of candidates for the Indian or Ceylon Service or on the list of candidates for the Home Service.

The name of any candidate who fails to declare his choice when called upon to do so will be removed from the list of candidates for the Home Service.

(2) Every successful candidate who may have been admitted to compete for both the Indian and Ceylon Services will be called upon to declare, immediately after the announcement of the result of the competitions, whether he prefers his name to remain on the list of candidates for the Ceylon Service.

The name of any candidate who fails to declare his choice when called upon to do so will be removed from the list of candidates for the Ceylon Service.

(3) All declarations of choice are irrevocable.

(4) Candidates for all three or any two of the above mentioned services will be required to pay a consolidated fee of £8, of which £2 will be payable on application for permission to attend the examination and the balance (£6) on admission to the examination.

REGULATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

The following Regulations, made by the Secretary of State for India in Council, are liable to alteration from year to year.

1. An Examination for admission to the Indian Civil Service, open to all qualified persons, will be held in London in July and August of each year for such number of appointments to that Service as the Secretary of State may on each occasion determine. The date of the Examination will be announced beforehand by the Civil Service Commissioners.

2. A candidate must be a male and either :—

(a) A British subject whose father (if alive) is a British subject or a subject of a State in India, or (if dead) was at the time of his death either a British subject or a subject of a State in India or a person in the permanent service of the Crown or a person who had retired from that service ; or

(b) a ruler or a subject of a State in India in respect of whom the Governor General in Council has made a declaration under Section 96A of the Government of India Act.

Provided that in the case of a male British subject the requirements of this rule may be waived by the Secretary of State in Council if he is satisfied that their observance would occasion exceptional hardship and the Candidate is so closely connected by ancestry or upbringing with His Majesty's dominions as to justify special treatment.

3. A candidate must have attained the age of twenty-one, and must not have attained the age of twenty-four on the first day of August of the year in which the examination is held.

4. A candidate who is a Native of India must obtain a certificate of age and nationality issued in accordance with such instructions as

the Governor General in Council may, from time to time, prescribe, and signed, should he be a resident in British India, by the Secretary to the Government of the Province, or the Commissioner of the Division within which his family resides or should he reside in a Native State, by the highest Political Officer accredited to the State in which his family resides.

5. A candidate must be free from disease, constitutional affection, or bodily infirmity, unfitting him, or likely to unfit him, for the Indian Civil Service.

6. A candidate shall satisfy the Civil Service Commissioners that his character is such as to qualify him for employment in the Indian Civil Service.

7. No person who, in a previous year, accepted the offer of a nomination as a selected candidate for the Indian Civil Service and subsequently resigned his position as a Selected Candidate, will be admitted to the examination.

8. Should the evidence upon the above points be *prima facie* satisfactory to the Civil Service Commissioners, the candidate, on payment of the prescribed fee, will be admitted to the Examination. The Commissioners may, however, in their discretion, at any time prior to the grant of their Certificate of Qualification, institute such further inquiries as they may deem necessary; and if the result of such inquiries in the case of any Candidate should be unsatisfactory to them in any of the above respects he will be ineligible for admission to the Indian Civil Service, and, if already selected, will be removed from the position of a Probationer.

(c) *Examination for Auditor's Certificates.*

In pursuance of Rule 29 of the Auditor's Certificates Rules, 1932, it is hereby notified for general information that the First Examination under the said rules will be held on the 19th, 20th, 22nd and 23rd March, 1934, at 2 P.M. every day. The examination will be held at each of the following centres at which sufficient candidates present themselves for examination :—

1. Bombay.
2. Calcutta.
3. Madras.
4. Rangoon.
5. Lahore.
6. Bangalore and
7. Delhi.

Additional centres may be appointed should circumstances render such a course desirable.

2. Applications for admission to this examination are required to be made on the prescribed form, copies of which may be obtained from the Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Commerce, New Delhi. Every such application together with a fee of Rs. 30 and the necessary certificates, must be sent so as to reach the Government of India not later than the 15th of January, 1934.

By
ABANINDRANATH
TAGORE, D LITT



BRIHANNALA
AND
ARJUNA

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

PUBLISHED BY CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY



CONVOCATION ADDRESS

By SIR HASSAN SIHRAWARDY, KT.,

O.B.E., L.L.D., (LOND.), M.D., F.R.C.S., D.P.H.

MEMBERS OF THE CONVOCATION,

THE pleasant duty of addressing the annual Convocation and of greeting our new graduates has again devolved on me. I rejoice to be able to extend a hearty welcome to all of you once again in this Hall.

Before passing in brief review the work of the University during the past academic year, I must refer to the losses sustained by us due to death, retirement and resignation.

Obituary.

One of our late Chancellors, Lord Chelmsford, passed away last April. It was during the Viceroyalty of this great friend of India that the Calcutta University Commission came out and the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitutional Reforms were inaugurated. He was the last Viceroy Chancellor of this University.

Death has also removed from our midst one of the oldest Fellows of the University, who after serving as an active member of the Senate from 1887 for nearly 18 years, became an Honorary Fellow for life under Lord Curzon's University Act of 1904. The eldest son of Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif, C.I.E., the accredited leader of the

Muslims of his time, Nawab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman inherited from his father a position, character and ability which he put to great use. He was a man of many-sided activities and he possessed energy, tact and power of work in a wonderful measure. On this occasion I recall in affectionate memory his many acts of kindness to me, not only as a kinsman, but as a member of the Muslim community whose interests he served with ability and devotion.

I have also to mourn the death of one of the generous benefactors of our University, Srimati Sailasuta Devi, founder of the Radhika Mohan endowment of Rs. 1,50,000 for the development of Applied Science and Scientific Industry and Education among the Bengali Brahmins.

I have also to refer to the death of Sir Bipin Krishna Bose, K.C.I.E., late Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University and one of our earliest graduates. It will be ungrateful if I do not mention his generous assistance to this University at a time of great financial distress. Though the amount of the donation was not large, we appreciate the spontaneous spirit of help and genuine anxiety displayed by him for the welfare of his *Alma Mater*.

Felicitations.

Now I pass on to the pleasant duty of offering felicitations to those among us who during the past year have been recipients of honours and distinction.

The title of *Shams-ul-ulum* has been conferred on Moulvi Md. Haider, an Arabic scholar, who has just retired from the teaching staff of our University. The title of *Khan Bahadur* has been conferred on Agha Mirza Md. Kazim Shurazi, a Fellow of our University and a member of the teaching staff of our Post-Graduate Department since its inception. The title of *Rai Bahadur* has been conferred on Mr. Narendra Nath Sen who for 24 years has served the University and for the last 8 years carried out the onerous duty of Controller of Examinations in a most praiseworthy manner. Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., resigned his Fellowship after 25 years of active service and during this period, in spite of the heavy demand on his time, he cheerfully served the cause of education. The degree of D.Sc. (Engineering), *honoris causa*, had been conferred on him in 1931 and His Excellency has been pleased to appoint him an Honorary Fellow of the University for life.

I am grateful to His Excellency for having in this manner recognised scholarship, competence, integrity of character and long service,

and I feel His Excellency's appreciation will inspire others to follow the example set by these gentlemen.

I also offer my warm congratulations to the Members of the Senate on whom the King-Emperor has been pleased to confer honours: Sir Kedarnath Das, Principal, Carmichael Medical College; Lt.-Col. W. L. Harnett, C.I.E., I.M.S., Professor of Surgery in the Medical College of Bengal; Lt.-Col. A. D. Stewart, C.I.E., I.M.S. Director of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health. It is a matter of special gratification to me that all of them are members of my profession and colleagues, to whose support and co-operation I owe much as Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, during the three terms I have had the honour to occupy that position.

Changes in Curriculum and Regulations.

Several important changes in our curriculum of studies have been made during the year under review. A set of new regulations for the proposed "Diploma in Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery" have been passed by the Senate and are now being examined by the Government of Bengal. These regulations will provide for post-graduate study and research in ophthalmology. We have already instituted the degree of Doctor of Science in Public Health which has received the approval of the Government. The regulations for the degrees of Doctor of Medicine, Master of Surgery and Master of Obstetrics are now being revised by a Committee of the Syndicate. It is intended to bring these regulations in line with the latest regulations obtaining in British Universities on the subject.

The question of the institution of a Diploma in Pharmaceutical Chemistry is also engaging our attention.

The syllabus of study in Pali for the Matriculation, Intermediate and the B.A. Examinations has been thoroughly revised and the same for Arabic, Persian and Urdu is engaging our attention.

We have already French and German in our curriculum and special attention is being given to the teaching of Modern European Languages. The Consul-General for Germany has expressed to me his interest in our activities and has offered to secure for us the services of German scholars under favourable terms.

As a result of my discussions with Signor Gino Scarpa, the late Consul-General for Italy, with a view to cultural and academic reciprocity, Italian has been included in the list of languages for the Matriculation, Intermediate and B.A. Examinations. The Italian Government

has offered two special scholarships for the encouragement of the study of the language.

Among other important changes in our curriculum, mention may be made of the Regulations for the Degree of Bachelor of Commerce which have been recast in the light of past experience.

A post-graduate Diploma in Spoken English is being awarded for the first time this year. I hope more candidates will come forward in the future to compete for this most useful distinction.

I have under contemplation the institution of a similar Diploma for Spoken Arabic and Persian, as I found Indian students sadly lacking in this direction during my visit to the University of Al-azhar.

Jagattarini Gold Medal.

The Jagattarini Gold Medal for 1933 was awarded to Mr. Kedarnath Banerjee. This medal is awarded every alternate year to a person deemed the most eminent for original contributions to Letters or Science written in the Bengali language.

Visitors.

With a view to strengthening the bond of fellowship between the students of India and England the University welcomed a debating team of students of British Universities. Arrangements were made for a debate in Calcutta on the 1st November last with a team consisting of students of this University. It is to be hoped that from now on the visit of debating teams to and from British Universities will continue with periodic regularity.

The University was glad to welcome Prof. James Mackintosh, K.C., LL.D., Tagore Law Professor for 1932, who delivered a course of lectures "On Some Principles of Roman Law in Modern Practice" and Mr. G. Montagu Harris, who delivered his Readership Lectures on "The Principles and Organisation of Local Self-government in Different Countries and Capitals of the World" and on "Regional Planning in England, U.S.A., and Germany."

The Girishchandra Ghosh Lecture was delivered for the first time during the year under review by Mr. Hemendranath Dasgupta, B.L. The subject of his lecture was the "Place of Girishchandra Ghosh in the Modern Bengali Stage and Drama."

Researches.

Research workers of this University have been carrying on our tradition for original and valuable contribution and we are glad to note,

as will be evidenced by the appendix, that this year we have been able to keep to the old quality and standard. I congratulate the members of our teaching staff in the Post-Graduate Department in Arts and Science on their achievement.

Endowments.

As matters now stand neither the Government nor the University are in a position to start institutions on new lines for specialised training. Under the circumstances, it is the duty of a number of men of means to come together and combine their resources for the realisation of this laudable purpose. So long as this is not done, we should create facilities for the training of our young men at places where such training can be secured under favourable conditions. Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee's endowment is an example of what can be done in this direction. In 1932, Dr. Mookerjee created an endowment of Rs. 1,50,000, for awarding scholarships for the practical training of young men of the Protestant Indian Christian community in a variety of industrial and technical subjects in places outside India. He has again endowed this year one lakh of rupees in memory of his mother for training in business, applied economics and allied subjects.

I desire to put on record our deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Mookerjee for his generous benefactions. We believe his gifts are, in one sense, of an unparalleled nature because they emanate from one of the Officers of the University itself who has devoted nineteen years of solid work to its academic progress, and who now, towards the end of his active service as our Inspector of Colleges, has placed Rs. 2,50,000 at the disposal of his *Alma Mater*.

I have reasons to hope that the munificence of Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee has not ended and we may yet expect further help from him if only to round off his existing endowments. I earnestly hope that the example of sacrifice and service set by Dr. Mookerjee will be followed by an increasing number of our graduates.

The late Rai Bahadur Biharilal Mitra made a bequest to the University of Rs. 4,000 per month for the advancement of Hindu female education in Bengal. Mr. Haridas Majumdar has come forward with an offer of 50 bighas of land near Dum Dum Aerodrome which may be utilised to supplement the aforementioned bequest. These generous donors have simply indicated the purpose of their gift but as they have not made any suggestion as to how those purposes

may be best served, the University is drawing up a scheme to give effect to the wishes of the donors.

His Excellency's inspiring speech on St. Andrew's Day last year has given much food for serious thinking. We also have been pondering over the problem of unemployment. At a meeting at which I had the honour to preside, Sir Daniel Hamilton lectured to the University on the 'Man Standard' and it is a source of gratification to me to acknowledge his generous offer to place at our disposal, for a limited period, his property at the Sunderbans in connection with the scheme of Agricultural Education now being formulated by the University. I am glad to see in this connection that Sir Daniel himself has already opened an institute at Goshaba this month.

The Rashbehari Ghose Professor of Botany, Dr. S. P. Agharkar, has discussed with me his proposals regarding the introduction of an alternative course for imparting a knowledge of practical Botany for agricultural purposes. This certainly is a most useful scheme, but it will require money to pay for the additional staff which would be necessary and I hope some public-spirited persons will come forward with endowments for this specific purpose, because the solution of the unemployment problem of the *Bhadralok* class will to a certain extent be met by a knowledge of Applied Botany to agriculture.

Endowments have been made for technical training and female education, but I would also like to see people to come forward to help the cause of physical culture. On several occasions I have emphasised the importance of physical education and in my last address pointed out the tuberculosis menace for the student community. We have recently appointed a qualified graduate to organise sports. Whatever we might do is inadequate in the face of this appalling need unless our efforts are supplemented by those of others, and unless more money is forthcoming for drawing up a scheme for the protection and improvement of the health of our student community.

Participations in Academic Celebrations.

During 1933 on the occasion of the laying of the foundation of the new University buildings in London by His Majesty the King accompanied by the Queen, I represented my University and was the recipient of much favour and kindness at the hands of the London University authorities. I highly appreciate the compliment paid to the Calcutta University through its Vice-Chancellor. We also sent our congratulations to the Punjab University on the occasion of the fiftieth

Anniversary of its foundation. I much regret that owing to official duties I could not personally convey our warm felicitations. On 15th January of this year, under the Chairmanship of His Excellency, the University participated in the 150th Anniversary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Our association with this Society has been close and of long duration ; we have worked together for the advancement of learning, which is the motto of our University, and many of our Vice-Chancellors, members of the Senate, and Research workers have held important position in that institution.

Need for Second Grade and Training Colleges.

I am aware that there is a distinct disinclination on the part of students and their guardians to send their wards to mofussil institutions. This is due to a variety of causes. First of all many of the colleges are located in unhealthy parts of the country. Secondly, the staff of the mofussil colleges are not always as well qualified as those of Calcutta colleges, chiefly because they are not paid as well. Moreover, in Calcutta the amenities of life and opportunities for supplementing one's income by lucrative private tuition are greater and even examinations are given more lavishly to Calcutta teachers, though I have tried my best in the University to rectify to some extent this wrong. The grave risks to which immature youths are exposed in a large city like Calcutta are too well known to require amplification. They are liable to the loss of healthy exercise, to the weakening of family ties, to poor nourishment and town diseases. In the mofussil they can get purer air, fresh fruit and vegetables, a cheaper supply of milk and therefore I am very much in favour of creating a large number of Second Grade Arts and Science colleges in the mofussil, so that young men after passing the Matriculation Examination may be able to conduct their studies from their own homes or at centres of education within easy reach of their villages.

In my opinion a good class of High English schools in selected areas should have two college classes attached to them. The cost of maintenance of such Second Grade colleges would be reduced to a minimum and their efficiency improved, if for the upper classes of high schools and the college classes of the Second Grade colleges the same teachers be utilised with a small addition to their salary.

Still another want is that of properly trained teachers for our High English schools. According to the last quinquennial review on the 31st March, 1932, there were 1,096 High English schools for

boys with 14,259 men teachers, and 61 High English schools for girls with 821 women teachers. Among these 15,088 teachers there were only 858 trained men and women teachers. The number of graduate trained teachers for each High English school was therefore '74, i.e., 3 teachers for 4 schools. The state of affairs revealed by the above figures is truly deplorable. We have only one affiliated college for training men teachers. This can turn out about 65 men every year. At Loreto House, which enjoys affiliation up to the L. T. standard, not more than 20 women students are trained every year. The Loreto College has applied for affiliation up to the B. T. standard and have been allowed to present candidates for this diploma during the last ten years. The authorities of the Scottish Church College, I am glad to be able to state, have submitted proposals for starting B. T. classes for women students. I am, however, doubtful whether they will be in a position to meet adequately the demand for training which exists among our women students. I might suggest to the Government to start training colleges for our girl graduates at some suitable mofussil centres.

So far as men students are concerned, from figures available in the University offices, it appears that every year, about 400 men students seek admission into the David Hare Training College of whom 60 to 65 are accommodated. This shows that the number of trained teachers in our schools can be increased if there be sufficient facilities for their training. Here is an opportunity for patriots desirous of serving the cause of education. A well-equipped training college in North Bengal and another in East Bengal, perhaps at Chittagong, would solve the difficulty for the present and afford a supply of properly equipped teachers for our High English schools.

Improvement in University Education.

I would now like to deal with a question which has been engaging my mind for the past few years. What is the purpose of our education and in what way can the present system be made to harmonise with its ends? Formerly almost entire emphasis used to be laid on the purely academic side of knowledge. To-day the danger is perhaps from the opposite direction and the craze for technical efficiency, in some countries at least, is such as to place even the culinary proficient among the professors of learning.

During my visits to Europe in 1931 and 1933, I tried to investigate at close quarters the basic principles of University Education in the

British Isles and on the Continent of Europe and to readjust my mind with regard to the Indian Educational problems in the light of that experience. I found two different systems of Education current in Europe, one of which is generally common on the Continent and the other in the British Isles. I ascertained that in Continental Universities two points were characteristic of the educational system. The first that, with one exception, they impart a professional vocational training to the majority of their students and the second that they do not possess the residential system. The arrangement for students to live in hostels as in the Cite Universitaire of Paris does not come under the category of the residential system in the British sense. Continental Universities have the following departments:—

1. The Theological Faculty,
2. Faculty of Law and Politics,
3. Faculty of Medicine,
4. Faculty of Economics,
5. Faculty of Engineering ;

the Polytechnics, though usually separate institutions, also provide training in the various sections of Engineering.

I have, so far, not mentioned the Faculty of Philosophy. It is often compared with our Post-Graduate Departments in Arts and therefore it is necessary to explain that on the Continent all subjects which are not comprised under the five faculties mentioned above, are included under that of Philosophy, *e.g.*, Moral Philosophy, Political History, Literature, Psychology, Fine Arts, Archaeology, Astronomy and even Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, etc. The exception referred to by me consists in the fact that such students as are desirous of devoting their life to scholarly research join the Faculty of Philosophy and do not participate in what in a narrow sense might be termed "Professional Education." A point to be noticed is that, as in India, the Universities have been producing more graduates than can possibly be absorbed by the various vocations. As a result of this, University diploma-holders are employed at a less pay than working men who have their wages regulated by organized trade unions. The middle classes remain unorganized and have *inter se* to compete on low salaries. We notice a marked tendency on the Continent to restrict the number of students with relation to estimated future requirements. Very recently the new German Government has framed rules reducing the number of University students—a fact which had attracted the

attention of British Educational authorities, some of whom are advocating similar restriction in Great Britain.

We could divide British Universities into two groups. The first are similar to Continental centres of higher education and have arrangements for the professional training of future lawyers, engineers, medical men, clergymen, etc. It is worthy of note that in Great Britain an overproduction of graduates has not taken place because higher education is far more expensive there than on the Continent.

The second group deals with non-professional education. This is due to social and economic factors arising out of the existence of well-to-do, middle and upper classes who can afford to educate their sons for the sake merely of culture and intellectual attainments. They aim at a good general education united with sports and the experience of conducting themselves in social life which fit them for the higher executive appointments in Government or in the Diplomatic services—Politics, Commerce, Finance and Industry. This kind of education enables the students to think for themselves, to analyse complicated situations, to arrive at logical solutions, and to successfully face unexpected situations single-handed and alone.

One cannot help admiring in these institutions the fact that in spite of great personal liberty accorded to them by tradition, the students have to observe a high standard of discipline. A visitor to-day is as greatly impressed as Emerson was in his days by the sight of "twelve hundred young men, comprising the most spirited of the aristocracy" being "locked up every night and the porter at each Hall being required to give the name of any belated student." The combination of liberty, conducive to the fostering of a sense of responsibility and personal dignity, with an enlightened but exigent discipline is a feature of English academic life which it should be the aim of every educationist to translate to his own country. Another remarkable characteristic is the importance laid upon physical culture. In my Convocation address of 1931 I had drawn a piteous picture of the health of our student community. At the English Universities it is not the bespectacled, the narrow-chested and the weak-legged student who get the Honours degrees, but one who has been able to balance mental alertness with first-class physical fitness. This is a fact the importance of which cannot but be too often reiterated, specially by one with medical experience for whom moral and intellectual capacities are unconditionally linked with a clean, capable and healthy body.

Let us now turn to our Indian University problems. Though our educational system is composed of Faculties which are constituted to give strictly professional education such as Law, Medicine, Engineering, etc., the largest number of our students are absorbed by the non-professional Faculties. The vast majority of our B.A., M.A., B.Sc. and M.Sc. students come neither from an opulent class nor do they stand a fair chance of reaching high executive posts under Government or in business and finance. From the latest available figures in the University offices it appears that during the year 1933 there were under the University of Calcutta 1,243 affiliated schools which sent out about 20,768 candidates for the Matriculation Examination, out of whom 13,593 passed. Amongst these, 8,299 took their admission into the 60 colleges affiliated to the University. Out of the 1,923 successful I.Sc. candidates, only 235 took their admission in the two Medical Colleges and 64 in the one Engineering College. Of the 3,309 successful B.A. and B.Sc. students, only 822 have joined the three Law Colleges affiliated to the University. These are the figures for a University where the total number of students in the affiliated colleges is 30,805, of whom 18,500 reside in Calcutta alone.

So far as students of pure Arts and Science subjects, whether of the Intermediate or the Degree stages, are concerned, I find that a majority of them continue their studies, not because they feel a call, but because neither they nor their guardians have thought of anything better to do. They follow the lure of the beaten track and drift from schools to the Intermediate and thence to the Degree classes from sheer inertia. Such a state of things cannot conduce to the highest development of the special gifts of a large number of students and this can only be set right by opening up fresh avenues for their activities and giving them a lead and a vocational guidance quite early in life.

We are all aware of the restricted chances which exist for our graduates. The number of unemployed graduates is yearly increasing and this is not solely due to the present crisis. No economic prosperity is likely to absorb all our graduates. I do not know if, in the manner of Continental Universities, we will have to limit the number of admissions of students, but certainly something should be done for picking out the most suitable students for higher and cultural education. While on the one hand those of our students who are not fit for cultural education should resolutely set themselves to the task, occasionally unpleasant, of learning what has been characterised as the mechanical vocations of life, we on our side must be prepared to

meet them half way by providing adequate and efficient faculties for vocational training. This I regard as the most immediate problem of the University.

I do not wish to suggest revolutionary changes which would upset the balance of our educational life, but, I cannot help emphasizing the need for drastic measures to save our educational activities in this province from utter ineffectuality. Whether the cost of higher education should be raised or the numbers restricted is a matter for the authorities to decide, but I make bold to dare criticism by saying that the present diffusion of higher education, with the results that it has been giving, should be regulated and, if necessary, limited. I do not for a moment mean that the masses of our province should be deprived of education but I want to make clear the distinction that lies between the problem of literacy and that of higher education and culture. Demagogic demands for higher education for the masses in the present stage of our social development must be counteracted by a sane and well-considered educational policy answering the immediate needs of the moment. No less a person than Rabindranath Tagore, who cannot be suspected of class prejudices, in his inaugural University lecture at which I had the honour to preside, advocated what, in his poetic language, he called the narrowing of the meshes in our educational net if we really wish to capture a rich booty. In my Convocation address of last year I had suggested, and I take the liberty of doing so again, that Government should not attach undue importance to examination results as essential qualifications for entering service, but institute a board where physical fitness, strength of character, personality and mental agility might be regarded as tests of proficiency. This change in attitude it would be necessary to well advertise in order to deter parents from forcing their children to follow an ineffectual academic path. In schools, too, I would strongly urge that prizes and medals should not be given only to those who obtain high marks in studies and for meek conduct, but marks should also be awarded for scouting, sports, debating contests, and games which teach the value of team-work.

Address to Lady Graduates.

This year I would like to break the tradition by addressing not the graduates generally, but the women graduates of our University.

Calcutta is the birth-place of the earliest educational and social reforms inaugurated more than a century ago for the advancement of

women. Our University produced its first women graduates before the first provincial University of India had laid its foundation stone. In 1883 the Hon'ble Mr. H. J. Reynolds, one of my predecessors, congratulated the University because it counted two of your sex amongst its graduates in Arts. In 1933 I had the pleasure of admitting 140 of you to Degrees in Arts, Science, Teaching and Medicine. The number of women candidates at the Matriculation Examination rose from 116 in 1920, to 847 in 1933. No less than 803 of you are receiving education at the different colleges of Calcutta to-day. You are now participating in all branches of activities and it is my earnest desire that more of you will help me and future Vice-Chancellors with your advice as members of the Senate and the Faculties

Times are changing rapidly. The impact of western culture is upsetting the old customs and the social institutions of our people, the rigours of the *purdah* and caste restrictions are disappearing and the marriageable age of girls has been raised. I find around me unmistakable signs of strengthening of public opinion in favour of widow-remarriage. Your growing social emancipation has put new problems before us, but one thing to my mind is certain, that the majority of your sex will find the sphere of activity limited by their homes and it is only a few among you who will be seeking employment in the public or technical services. Therefore it is imperative that your education should be of such a nature as to enable you to fulfil your obligations in the home to which such high value is attached by Indian tradition. It should be our bounden duty, now that the movement is young, to find useful outlets for your intellectual curiosity. In the light of experience gained in this country and elsewhere, we have seriously to consider the special kind of education which would be best suited for you in conformity with your habits and traditions, the requirements of your health and happiness. We could supply you with a new curricula, but we have not the means of according to you separate educational institutions as yet. Hence it is that we are faced with the **Problem of Co-education** which has so many passionate advocates and antagonists. Co-education argues a free association of our young men and women in schools and colleges, which has not yet been permitted in their social relations outside the class room. It is still a plant of foreign growth which has not sufficiently acclimatised itself to its new environments, but the time is fast approaching when society is bound to sanction a certain amount of freedom of association which will undoubtedly develop new social relations between the sexes. In our

University, co-education in the Post-Graduate Department is already an established fact, though it is not a universally accepted principle in the stage of graduation except in the Medical Colleges. At the High School stage we have in certain cases adopted the device of holding girls' classes in boys' schools in the mornings, a makeshift arrangement which is probably the best during the transition period and under the present financial condition of the country. Our young men from whom I expect much and whose tact and justice in their domestic relations I so admire, will I am sure prove equal to the graceful but difficult art of chivalry and gallantry in the western sense of the term. Though co-education has been adopted by some of the colleges, it appears to me that for the present the real solution would be to start, as soon as possible, a large number of schools and colleges for you and to raise some of the high schools for girls to the status of colleges.

Amidst the conflicting currents the drift of which it is difficult to foresee, there is one perceptible strain in the stream, one un-deviated purpose slowly evolving from the present, and that is the unshackling of the womanhood of India from the chains of the past. Here the aspirations of all communities ought to be one; here the claims of climate, religion and social authority should be foregone in the unity of an undivided aim. It is to this future that I invite you to look, to this hope to turn for consolation, to this goal to concentrate your efforts. In the future you will play an increasingly important part in social life, in progress and the transformation of our ideals. You will indeed be the executives of our ideas of health, hygiene, social advancement and political development. Such steps as we take now will bear fruit in times to come and therefore it is the duty of our leaders, men and specially women, amongst whom I hope to see you soon, to take a forward step with a full sense of responsibility and with the knowledge that whatever we do to-day will guide the welfare and happiness of generations to come.

INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

By NALINIRANJAN SARKAR

Calcutta

AT a time when economic nationalism appears to be the dominant commercial policy the world over, a study devoted to the foreign trade of any country should be of peculiar significance. Even to-day, the importance of international trade, however restricted in the economic well-being of a country cannot be gainsaid. And so far as India is concerned, I feel that her economic prosperity depends very largely upon her foreign trade, and if India were somehow shut out from the world market either as consumers of her products or as sources of her requirements of foreign goods, the general economic condition of this country would have been very gravely affected. By this I do not mean to say that foreign trade is the *sine qua non* of a country's prosperity. The absence of a large and increasing foreign trade should not necessarily signify economic backwardness. The natural resources of a country may be so varied and abundant, its economy may be so planned that it may afford to be comparatively indifferent to foreign trade and yet be highly advanced and prosperous. The United States of America, until recently, was a well-known example. Many European countries had a larger volume of foreign trade and indeed a much larger *per capita* trade, and yet they were not half so prosperous as the great American republic. Hence we require to be warned against the easy assumptions from mere trade figures. But at the same time one has to remember that a country with a dense population and limited natural resources must depend on a steady and growing foreign trade for its mere existence. Another country if it is an international debtor and has to make large payments abroad, cannot help developing a prosperous foreign trade in order to produce a favourable trade balance year after year. Post-War Germany under the burden of Reparations and War-debts was confronted with such a grim situation which is not ended yet. India has also large foreign obligations to meet and this makes it necessary on her part to maintain a favourable balance in her foreign trade.

Yet so few of us realise that this great dependence upon foreign trade is a phenomenon of comparatively recent growth. Hardly sixty-five years ago, in the quinquennium 1864-65 to 1868-69 the total foreign trade of India in merchandise was valued at eighty-eight

crores, composed of about thirty-two crores of imports and fifty-six crores of exports. In the pre-War year 1913-14 the imports were 183 crores and exports 249 crores. In the year preceding the depression, 1928-29, the imports of merchandise were valued at 263 crores and exports at 339 crores, that is, a total foreign trade in merchandise valued at 602 crores. Compared with the quinquennial average sixty years ago, the imports increased over eight-fold, exports over six-fold and the total trade nearly seven-fold.

It is interesting to inquire into the main cause of this phenomenal development. It should be obvious that the period we have chosen synchronised with an era of intense economic activity in Europe. The progress of mechanical inventions and their application to the production of goods in Europe and, especially, in England increased their total quantity, lessened their costs and enlarged their effective market range. Industrial Europe required raw materials, and India produced a large variety of them in abundance. Naturally, Indian cotton, oil seeds, jute and hides and skins poured into the factories of Europe.

The exports of Indian commodities placed in the hands of their producers a new purchasing power which they utilised for buying imported manufactured commodities. No doubt the cheaply produced, machine-made articles of the West overwhelmed the ancient Indian hand-made goods ; but to some at least the rising demand for raw materials brought with it added prosperity. Contact with the West, and with the Government and the foreign commercial community in the country developed new tastes in the people and brought about new demands for the satisfaction of which imported goods were necessary. The whole system of Government, its policy and actions were also laid down in such a way as to encourage the use of imported manufactured commodities.

By far the most potent cause of the great strides in the development of India's foreign trade was undeniably the revolution in methods of transport. The development of steamships brought India nearer to Europe. The development of railways in India enabled the products grown in the vast interiors to be transported to the great ports for shipment to foreign countries, and foreign manufactured goods arriving at the ports to be distributed cheaply and quickly over wide inland markets.

There is yet another very important factor whose effects upon India's economy and her foreign trade is very often overlooked. I mean the cutting of the Suez Canal in 1869. The effect of the opening

of the Canal, as measured in mere distance, was to shorten the voyage from and to Indian ports by about four thousand miles, or over a fortnight's steaming for the fastest vessel of those days. It had a tremendous influence upon the character and direction of our trade. The Canal gave a strong impetus to the export of Indian produce to Europe, particularly to Mediterranean ports. Between 1870 and 1880 these Mediterranean ports began to purchase directly from India. The change, however, was gradual, since an old established commercial centre possesses a great power of resistance to any shifting of its traffic, and the United Kingdom even now enjoys considerable re-export trade in Indian commodities to Western Europe. India's trade with such ports and Naples, Genoa and Marseilles developed rapidly and, with the piercing of the Alps, still greater areas in Central Europe were brought into larger and stronger trade relations with India.

A glance at the Indian trade figures discloses the steady and uninterrupted growth of both exports and imports. Till the year 1899 the increase was fairly well maintained at a steady pace. During the fifteen years 1899-1914 both exports and imports shot up at a tremendous rate. Whereas during the preceding twenty years exports rose on an average by nearly 28 crores and imports by 24 crores, during these fifteen years exports expanded on an average by as much as 58 crores and imports by 45 crores. This was followed by the War period of comparative stagnation and another period of booming trade in 1919-1924, during which quinquennium the average value of exports rose by about 20 crores or 33% and imports by about 108 crores or 68%. During the next quinquennium both exports and imports more or less maintained their position, but with the onset of the depression in 1929, heavy shrinkage was recorded in both the value and volume of our foreign trade, both exports and imports of merchandise having declined considerably, as was only to be expected. But the fall has not been equally shared, and the reduction in exports, however, tended to be slightly more marked than the reduction in imports.

NATURE AND COMPOSITION OF INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

(i) *Export Trade*

It is interesting to analyse the nature and composition of India's foreign trade. Let us take the export.

It is well known that it consists mainly of raw materials and food grains, but, comparatively speaking, there is discernible a distinct

tendency for the percentage of exports of manufactures to increase except in the case of certain articles like cotton yarns and manufactures. However, even now the great bulk of exports consists of primary products.

Before the War over 75% of India's exports consisted of food drink and tobacco and raw materials or articles mainly unmanufactured and only about one-quarter of it was represented by manufactured articles. The War, by cutting away competing European sources of supply from many Asiatic and African markets, gave some Indian industries a great impetus. There was, besides, the increased demand for manufactures like jute goods which registered a great increase as a direct result of the War. Cotton, leather and steel industries also experienced more prosperous conditions due to the same causes. The export of manufactured goods rose from 22·4 per cent. in 1913-14 to 36·6 per cent. in 1918-19. It is significant however to point out that many other Empire countries recorded larger increases, especially Canada and South Africa.

If it had not been for restrictions imposed on export finance by Government control and the strict regulation of the sale of Council Bills, the shortage of shipping freight and the disorganisation of our internal transport system, especially the railways, India would have reaped greater advantages from the new demand and the disappearance of foreign competition from her export markets.

In spite of this War-time improvement the salient features of India's export trade remained unaltered. During the year 1928-29 about 72 per cent. of our export trade consisted of raw materials and food-stuffs. In the year 1932-33 export of manufactured articles were about 29 per cent. of the total exports, about 70 per cent. being raw materials and food-stuffs. The increase in the proportion of the former is mainly attributable to the fact that exports of metals, ferrous or non-ferrous, has more than maintained its percentage and that a welcome tendency is discernible to export hides and skins more largely in the tanned and dressed condition than in the raw state.

Jute and cotton are our most important commodities of export. The value of exports of raw and manufactured jute rose from the pre-War average of 42 crores to 53 crores during the War. The post-War average has been about 63 crores. Similarly the value of cotton and manufactures thereof averaged about 45 crores before the War and were about the same during the War ; but during the post-War period it was about 83 crores, due mainly to the tremendous increase in the exports of raw cotton. During the last few years, however, the value

of exports of raw cotton and cotton manufactures has fallen steeply, chiefly due to fall in prices, but largely also on account of the reduced exports of raw cotton. It is very significant that while the foreign demand for Indian raw cotton in 1931-32 was approximately the same as during the pre-War quinquennial average, in the year 1932-33 it fell well below that. Many of our oriental customers, especially our greatest customer, Japan, have, it seems, been rapidly changing over to American cotton. It may have been partly due to the comparatively high parity of Indian cotton that has been evident during the last 3 years. The steeper decline in the exports of Indian cotton last year was, however, brought about by the boycott of Indian cotton by Japanese spinners as a retaliation against the imposition of high tariffs on imports of non-British piecegoods into India.

The dependence of India's export trade so preponderatingly upon the two commodities, cotton and jute and their manufactures, is perhaps dimly known to us; but it is hardly realised that in the pre-depression year 1928-29, they accounted for nearly one-half of the value of our total exports of merchandise and in the year 1932-33 to over 42 per cent. If we include with cotton and jute two other commodities, Burma rice and tea, we will have accounted for nearly two-thirds of the value of our export trade. One cannot consider this preponderating dependence upon a few commodities as a very healthy sign of our export trade, and we are already experiencing the danger of such a situation; our price-level has marked the greatest fall among all agricultural countries and our trade balance also has declined more than that of most other countries. We may further say that though the export of these primary commodities has contributed to the national wealth of India by turning out increased trade balance in past years, it has, on the other hand, retarded the industrialization of India. While India's exports of raw jute, raw hides and skins, oil-seeds and cotton have built up the prosperity of the Dundee jute-manufacturing industry, the leather industry in U. K., U.S.A. and Germany, the oil-mill industry in France and elsewhere, and of the cotton-mill industry of Japan, India herself has not been able to take adequate advantage of her raw material resources chiefly on account of the competition offered by the foreign concerns. Besides, the production of these export commodities has, it would seem, retarded the production of food-grains, which has not kept pace either with the increase in population or expansion of exports. Even in regard to our existing exports, the position of some is being weakened by the growing competition of other sources of supply in the international market. In the light of

these circumstances it need hardly be stressed that in the interests of greater stability and resistance to adverse world influences, it would be distinctly to the advantage of this country to establish our export trade on a wider basis by increasing the number of commodities that enter into it and by expanding the volume of those which have great potentialities, but still belong to the category of minor importance.

(ii) *Import Trade*

The import trade of India also developed rapidly. In the year 1860-61 it was valued at the insignificant figure of 23·5 crores, by 1900-01 it had grown to 81 crores. During the next thirteen years it more than doubled and was valued at over 191 crores in the year preceding the War. During the War it averaged about 148 crores. In the year 1920-21, it rose to 398 crores, since when there has been a pronounced decline in value and to some extent in quantities. In 1921-29 it had declined to 353 crores, and continued to do so more or less steadily until it reached the abnormally low figure of 133 crores in the year 1932-33. That our import trade should have shrunk to nearly one-half during four years is a striking commentary on the severity of the economic depression in India and the great decline in the purchasing power of the country.

In strong contrast with the export trade the preponderating proportion of our imports consists of manufactured commodities. Before the War it was as high as 80 per cent. and though during the War on account of the difficulty of importing goods it showed a decline, the post-War developments have again led to the proportionate increase in the import of manufactured goods. In recent years, however, there is evident a healthy but faint tendency for it to come down. By 1928-29 it had been reduced to about 72 per cent. and it was almost the same in 1932-33. Although any very marked decline cannot be expected in the immediate future the percentage of manufactured imports must tend to decrease as Indian industries develop. Significant also is the fact that the proportion of imports of raw materials is also rising. Whereas before the War it was just under 7 per cent., by 1928-29 it has risen to about 8 per cent. During the years 1931-33 it has been maintained at slightly over double the proportion.

Cotton and cotton goods hold the front place on the import side, although the percentage proportion to total imports has declined from the quinquennial pre-War average of 36 per cent. to about 27 per cent. in 1928-29 and 25·5 per cent. in the year 1932-33. The development

of a large cotton-mill industry is largely responsible for this change. With the return of normal conditions and given time for the industry to reorganise and improve itself, one may safely predict that within another ten years the import of cotton piece-goods will have declined to about half its present level. India's import of raw cotton consists mainly of superior staples ; with the increase in the irrigated areas under cotton cultivation and larger attention to the growing of better-quality cotton there is every reason to hope for a substantial reduction in the import of raw cotton. On the other hand the present tendency is for Indian mills to extend the use of superior cotton more rapidly than the cultivators are taking to the growing of longer-staple cotton. The improvement of the entire outlook in regard to cotton mills in these circumstances depend on simultaneous endeavours to increase the export of short-staple cotton and expend the cultivation of long-staple cotton in India.

India's imports of sugar, which, not long ago, held the second place after piece-goods, have been declining rapidly in quantity and value. The development of an Indian industry is the primary reason, and now that it has been granted protection for a sufficiently long period, it is only natural to expect the imports to decline. In fact figures already disclose how actively this tendency has already begun to operate. A large number of sugar mills has already been established, while more are under construction. I anticipate that within the next five years at the latest, sugar will disappear almost completely from our list of imports.

The sugar trade has had a remarkable and chequered history. Accustomed so long to consume foreign sugar it may be difficult for us to realise that up to about 1885, India was a net exporter of sugar. After that date European countries started developing beet sugar industry by state assistance in the form of bounties on exports and to dump it into India at ridiculous prices. Countervailing duties were imposed in India and finally at the Brussels Conference of 1901 European Governments agreed to give up bounties on production or export and Indian import duties were repealed. This gave the chance to Mauritius to rapidly expand her exports to India. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that sugarcane in Mauritius was grown very largely with the help of Indian labour. At this time Java came on the scene. Shut out from the Japanese market by tariffs and from the great American market by the preferential treatment given to Cuban and Philippine sugar, Java sugar flooded the Indian market. The rapid gains she made and the predominant position she came to occupy in

India's imports of sugar within the short space of about six years is exceedingly remarkable. The decline in her trade during the next six years is likely to be equally striking.

India's imports of machinery and mill-work also claim our attention at this stage, for they provide a reliable index to the progressive industrialization of the country. In recent years, there has been a marked increase in the imports of cotton textile machinery, and machineries for sugar manufactures. It is true that for still many years to come India will have to depend on foreign countries for her machinery requirements, particularly in respect of the larger machines, as some types of smaller machines are being manufactured within the country with a promise of successfully replacing foreign machines. However, the requirements of India and the stage of industrial development she has already reached demand that a serious and organised effort should be made to manufacture even some of the larger machineries which are now imported into this country.

DIRECTION OF INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

When we come to consider the direction of India's foreign trade we find that whereas on the import side the United Kingdom and Europe generally have dominated the situation, our export trade has been distributed over a much larger number of countries although the United Kingdom is undoubtedly India's biggest customer.

The most outstanding feature of the direction of our import trade is the steady reduction in the share of the United Kingdom. Whereas in 1913-14 it was as high as 61·1 per cent by 1932-33 it had come down to 36·8 per cent. This is mainly attributable to the increased direct trade activities with countries like America, Germany, France, etc., but more to the determined and successful attempt made by countries like Germany and Japan to develop export industries. Germany was first in the field and achieved remarkable success between 1900 and 1914, and captured 6·9 per cent. of Indian imports by 1913-14, whereas at the close of the last century she had a share of only 2·4 per cent. America followed and was able to raise her share from 2·6 per cent. in 1913-14 to 8·5 per cent. in 1932-33. But the most magnificent success was achieved by Japan. Whereas in the beginning of the century imports from Japan were almost negligible, by 1913-14 she had come to occupy the fourth place with 2·6 per cent. In 1932-33 she was easily the second greatest source of Indian imports with a share of 15·4 per cent.; Java which figured prominently in our

import trade on account of one commodity, sugar, is fast disappearing from the country. Belgium has been steady, while Italy has been slowly and very steadily climbing up.

The export trade also disclosed a tendency towards diversion away from the United Kingdom even before the War. At the beginning of the present century about 29 per cent. of our exports were destined for U. K. By the year 1913-14 her share had been reduced to 23·1 per cent. Other countries of the world correspondingly increased their percentage share, especially Germany, France and Japan. Germany rose from the third place in 1900 to the second place in 1914, and Japan from the sixth to the third place.

The War, by cutting away a large number of European countries from Indian trade diverted for a time an increasing volume of export to the United Kingdom and countries like Japan and the U.S.A. The United Kingdom increased her share by as much as 6 per cent. during the five years 1913-14 to 1918-19, and whereas Germany and Belgium were knocked off, Japan and the United States stepped into the breach.

After the War the United Kingdom again sank back. Germany re-appeared but America and Japan not only remained but also carefully nursed their trade with India. During the last four years, however, the share of the United Kingdom had tended to rise but I am not quite sure whether as a result of the Ottawa Agreement she would take a larger proportion of our exports in the future. Germany's interest in our export products has waned, compared with the pre-War period and so has the share of the United States. But Japan is certainly maintaining if not increasing her share. In the year 1913-14 she occupied the third place in our export trade. In 1932-33 she was easily the second with the U. K. at the top.

INDIA'S SHARE IN THE WORLD TRADE

Let us now look at India's trade in the wider perspective of world trade. Unfortunately available figures do not carry us very far back. In 1929 India's share of world's import trade was 2·54 per cent. and curiously enough it was practically the same in 1932. On the other hand it is rather significant to note that whereas our share in the world's import trade has remained practically unaltered, our share of the world's export trade has declined from 3·54 per cent. in 1929 to 2·79 per cent. in 1932. While the total world imports declined by about 60 per cent. between 1929 and 1932 the import trade of India registered

a fall of very nearly the same extent; but in the matter of export *whereas world export shrank by about 64 per cent. India's export registered a fall of nearly 70 per cent.* No other important country in the Empire has disclosed such a precipitous shrinkage in exports.

FOREIGN TRADE AND INDIA'S EXTERNAL DEBTS

The above review of India's foreign trade does not surely present a very happy picture of India's position in the world economy. While it is admitted that foreign trade to-day is profitable to India and for the present at least advantageous to our economic well-being, from another standpoint it becomes necessary, imperatively necessary. India, as I have said before, is a debtor country. She has immense foreign obligations to discharge in the shape of interest on Government borrowings abroad, interest on foreign investments in India, pensions, salaries, etc. India has also to pay fairly large amounts of money every year for what are known as "Invisible imports." To this category would belong payments made for services rendered by foreign shipping, banking and insurance. In the case of India, which has no exchange bank of her own and very little shipping or marine insurance interests, these disbursements represent an increasingly large stream of payments abroad. The annual incidence of these have been estimated at about 100 crores of rupees. It means that India must have a net balance of trade, of excess of exports of merchandise over imports, equal to at least this amount in order that she may not default to her foreign creditors and may maintain her credit abroad unimpaired. I am not concerned here with the ethics or economic justice of India's foreign liabilities—how they came to be incurred, the terms, the nature of obligations involved in them, etc. Neither do I think it necessary here to enter the contentious ground of whether foreign trade will be equally necessary or will remain equally profitable in the future. I dare say the development of India in the direction of greater economic self-sufficiency might diminish the importance of foreign trade; but at the same time it should be realised that this very economic process will develop a demand for new goods of a kind for which again India will have to rely on foreign sources of supply. I mean capital goods.

During the last four years India's export surplus has tended to shrink dangerously and India has been forced to export gold, thanks to the continuance of an unwise currency and exchange policy which has put a premium on imports and heaped obstacles in the path of

the development of our export trade. It is needless to say that we cannot go on exporting gold for ever, and sooner or later we must revert to the only wise method of meeting our foreign obligations, namely, by developing an adequate surplus of exports over imports.

SCOPE FOR EXPANSION

I have already pointed out that in comparison with many other countries the foreign trade of India is not quite so extensive as it might be and that takes me to the consideration of the question of the scope for its further development. Our foreign trade is practically confined to a few countries which between them account for a preponderating proportion of our trade, either as the destination of our exports or as the source of our imports. While this feature may be advantageous in a certain sense, the danger of putting too many eggs into a few baskets should be obvious. It would mean that economic troubles in a few countries would greatly upset our trade. To minimise the reactions of adverse economic events upon our trade, to smooth our fluctuations and to be assured of a steadier trend of foreign trade, it is necessary that we should enlarge our circle of customers and extend the area of trade. Widening the basis of trade is also an important method of helping its developments. On the other hand, recent tariff developments in India would militate against it. India has been drawn tighter into the imperial preferential net and as a consequence been forced to discriminate fiscally against a large group of countries. I do not mean to say that preferential agreements cannot bring any advantage to India, but I do not feel that if they tend to make the non-Empire countries less keen on buying from us, the ultimate results are bound to be damaging to India's trade. In fact, taking a short-period view of the Ottawa Agreement on the foreign trade of India, it has to be admitted that India has not received much benefit from it. As far as the trade figures for 11 months from January to November 1933 indicate, there has been little addition to the inter-Imperial trade of India. During this period the British Empire shared 45·8 per cent. of our total export trade in 1932 and 44·1 per cent. in 1933. Hence there has been a net shrinkage in India's inter-Imperial export trade. If again we take U. K. separately we find that during the same period her percentage share in our export trade has advanced from 27·4 in 1932 to 29·3 in 1933, while the share of the rest of the Empire has shrunk from 18·4 per cent. to 17·8 per cent. Thus we find that while we have gained from U. K. we have

lost in our trade with other Empire countries. In fact, there has taken place only a diversion of our export trade within the Empire. In our import trade on the other hand the percentage share of the Empire has advanced from 44.4 to 47.9 and that of U. K. from 36.1 to 40.8, while the share of foreign countries has fallen from 55.6 per cent. to 52.1 per cent. It thus appears that the Empire as a whole has substantially benefited in our import trade at the cost of foreign countries. An agreeable contrast is, however, presented by the percentage share of foreign countries in our export trade. Their off-take has advanced from 54.2 per cent. in 1932 to 55.9 per cent. in 1933. It seems, therefore, that had there been no Ottawa Agreement and no discrimination against other countries the volume of India's export trade would have increased even more.

The theory of trade development by tariff agreements may be considered sound; but when they are governed mainly by political boundaries and imperial policies, and not so much by economic considerations, their nature is vitiated and their possibility for doing good greatly diminished.

The only trade agreement so far concluded on purely business grounds is the recent Indo-Japanese agreements; but it is strange to think that such an agreement did not suggest itself to the Government until the consequences of the Imperial agreements had so disturbed our relations with Japan as to threaten our trade with her. It is however gratifying to think that two such mutually great customers like India and Japan were not driven further apart as a result of India's closer imperial trade associations. The Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement, it is generally admitted, will be of assistance to our trade, and will assure to it a definite market in Japan, in return for similar concessions which Japan's trade will enjoy in the Indian market, though it should be pointed out that the Agreement will not ensure full protection to the Indian industries against the competition of Japan. It is at the same time the recognition of a great economic fact that India's trade relations are more extensive than the Empire and it marks the establishment of a valuable economic precedent. In fact some of her greatest customers are outside it. While England realised her position in this particular aspect as regards her own foreign trade and followed up the Ottawa Agreements with Empire countries by entering into trade pacts with a series of her non-Empire customers, such as Denmark, Argentine, Norway, Sweden and Germany no attempt was made to readjust India's trade relations with non-Empire countries in the light of her Ottawa undertaking. The Government

did not even realise that a comprehensive reconsideration of India's foreign trade contacts would be necessary. The reason was that whereas development of trade by agreement was adopted by England deliberately as part of her economic policy, India walked into it unprepared, without even being fully aware of the complete economic reaction of her policy ; one might almost say that she was pushed into it by her Imperial confederates. It was never contemplated by our Government nor even by our legislators that if it was possible to develop our trade by contracting agreements with Empire countries it should be equally possible to do so by entering into trade pacts with some at least of the non-Empire countries.

The Indo-Japanese agreement is in that respect an eye-opener and an economic event of great significance. This method requires development and extension over the entire field of our foreign trade. It is the logical result of Ottawa. We must, therefore, immediately re-examine in detail the trade relations of India in the light of our Ottawa commitments and explore the possibilities of either mitigating their adverse reactions upon our trade with non-Empire countries or even of extending our trade with them by means of corrective or supplementary agreements with countries like America, Belgium, France, Italy, Germany and China. By suggesting this I should not be understood to approve of or bless the Ottawa policy ; all I mean is that given the existence of Ottawa trade policy, re-alignment of policy becomes necessary to protect our trade with non-Empire countries by negotiating further agreements, even as England and other Dominions have been wise and careful enough to do.

The trend of international foreign trade policy is in the direction of regional groupings, and is in the immediate future the course of world trade will be greatly influenced by agreements. It is for India, therefore, to investigate deeply into the possibilities of trade development in all directions. The history, development and changes in our trade in each commodity with each country should be carefully analysed and studied, with a view to find out the exact measure and directions in which our foreign trade has been growing, the particular condition of trade in each of our principal markets, the competition encountered by our chief commodities, etc. Almost all the important articles of export from India are at present confronted with competition with other sources of supply which threaten to displace our exports in one or other of the various foreign markets. The problem arising out of these circumstances is growing more serious from day to day and a satisfactory solution of this is necessary not only to

maintain the stability of the particular branches of trade but also to sustain the economic advantage which the country now obtains from her foreign trade. Even in regard to jute, which is looked upon as a monopoly product, we cannot confidently rely on its continued prosperity in future. The fact that jute is used as a universal packing medium may lead one to believe that the trade in the fibre jute goods will look up again with the lifting of the present depression and may even expand with the restoration of the world trade to its normal conditions. Such a probability, however, has now to be seriously discounted owing to the appearance of the use of certain synthetic containers and mechanical devices for bulk handling of goods which threaten to displace the use of jute from particular branches of trade. The conditions of jute trade now demand a close vigilance over the circumstances which may affect the comparative cost of jute manufactures and other synthetic containers. To the extent a permanent displacement of jute on grounds of economy may be apprehended ahead, it will be necessary to maintain the present volume of production and exports of the fibre as well as to save the local jute industry from a serious dislocation, to explore new markets for jute and also to find new uses for it in countries to which the fibre is already known. By such means alone would it be possible for us to successfully avert the economic crisis which a loss of our jute trade may otherwise entail.

In regard to cotton, again, the trade cannot be said to be placed on a stable footing, by successful termination of the Indo-Japanese agreement. The fact that India has a large exportable surplus from her annual yield of cotton of which no more than 50 per cent. can possibly be consumed by her own mills at present and that for the disposal of the surplus we have to depend on a single country, is an unmistakable index of the weakness of our trade in cotton. Besides, the agreement itself is terminable after a specified period. The case of cotton thus presents a serious problem in connection with India's foreign trade suggesting the need for widening its markets abroad. The recent Bombay-Lancashire Agreement which reiterated the assurance given by the Ottawa Agreement regarding larger consumption of Indian cotton in Lancashire, offers a new scope for the expansion of the exports of Indian cotton, though the potentiality of this scope will depend largely on how far the assurances are given practical effect by the millowners in Great Britain. Closely allied to this problem of the export of Indian cotton is the fact that India, despite her being a producing country, has got to import

considerable amount of foreign long-stapled cotton and that her requirements of such cotton are likely to increase more and more in future as the newly constructed mills are being equipped to manufacture finer counts. The entire problem of cotton is required to be considered in the light of the possibility of growing long-stapled cotton in India with a view to dispense with the imports thereof and the possibility of both widening the channels of India's export of short-stapled cotton and of a larger consumption of such cotton by the Indian mills.

Even the case of tea provides cause for anxiety, despite the fact that more than 80 per cent. of India's exports of tea goes to the United Kingdom and that Indian tea enjoys a preference in the latter country under the Ottawa Agreement. India's most formidable competitor in respect of the supply of tea of superior quality is Ceylon which enjoys identical advantages under the Ottawa Agreement as India. It is significant that for some years before the ratification of the said agreement Ceylon had been stealing a march on India, increasing its export of tea by 23 per cent. between 1924 and 1929 against an increase of only 10 per cent. in the case of Indian tea. Since then the Export Restriction Scheme has imposed a definite limit on the scope of India's export of tea as of other producing countries, but the maintenance of the quota allowed to India cannot be viewed as altogether immune from difficulties, especially in view of the fact that there are some forces at work in certain countries on the continent of Europe which are calculated to restrict the consumption of tea. India will thus be required to make more organised effort to maintain her foreign markets for tea in future than have been done hitherto.

Similar problems confront our exports of hides and skins and oil-seeds which have to compete with other sources of supply in the international market. These instances effectively point out that in the interests of maintaining our foreign trade, we shall have to watch its trend as well as the reactions of all factors likely to bear any effect on it with the utmost care and devise steps to cope with such hindrance as may present itself from time to time. Close attention is necessary to watch the course of our foreign trade in all its directions. The responsibility in this regard should primarily devolve upon the Government as private individual efforts cannot possibly cope with this enormous task. If at any time we found that it was declining in any particular direction immediate action should be taken to investigate its causes and arrest the fall. If a diminution in the trade becomes inevitable we should immediately address ourselves to the task of restoring the deficiency by seeking compensatory expansion in other directions.

A mere annual survey of the sum-total of our trade, however detailed, cannot be fully adequate for the purpose, the more so because it is published long after the event. We want an organization, a live organization of the Government like the British Department of Overseas Trade, that will explore possibilities and directions of development by keeping a vigilant watch over the requirements of other countries to ascertain their present sources of supply and also whether India can possibly meet them.

Conditions in international trade are so highly involved and competitive, especially as a result of trade alliances and traffic changes, that we need a body of men with expert and specialised knowledge who will devote their exclusive attention to the important subject of our foreign trade. A beginning has been made by appointing Trade Commissioners in London and in Hamburg. They should be followed up immediately by opening similar agencies in other European trade centres in America, Japan and the Middle East. Simultaneously, the organization of the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics and the Commerce Department would require to be greatly expanded and reorganised according to requirements. The economic experts who have been making a survey in this regard will, presumably, deal with these problems and it is to be hoped that they will make some valuable constructive suggestions and not dispose of the task by merely pointing out the difficulties involved.

METHODS OF DEVELOPMENT

I will now consider several fruitful pre-requisites for the development of our foreign trade. The more important among these which India urgently requires at this stage are the establishment of direct trade relations and the development of a suitable national banking organisation to finance the international trade of the country. As regards the former, it is a sad reflection that a very large part of India's foreign trade should still be carried on by foreigners and that Indians should have so little share in it. In the absence of direct trade connections with foreign nations, not only are we paying an unnecessary commission to foreign merchant houses which might otherwise remain within the country or come to us in the form of higher prices for export, or lower prices for imports, but we remain ignorant of the condition of trade prices, demand, etc., in other markets, an ignorance for which this country has to pay a heavy premium every year. We are to-day so entirely at the mercy of

enterprising foreign businessmen that we are forced to sell to them or not sell at all. We have reached a stage in economic development when further progress can only be achieved by Indians opening direct trade relations with foreign countries. If individual merchants or firms cannot afford to do so, they should group together horizontally or vertically, or independent trading corporations should be formed to engage in foreign trade. It would be useful to take a leaf from Japan's book of trade experience. After a fairly long period of trading through foreign houses her businessmen began to open out abroad, and to-day the preponderating proportion of her purchases and sales abroad are made through their own associated houses.

Equally essential to our trade development is the establishment of our own banking and shipping organisations. There are of course many exchange banks in India which have been established by foreigners to finance the export and import trade of this country. There is thus no dearth of banking machineries as such, but the Indian businessmen do get but poor assistance from them. After all, you cannot expect foreign banking houses to help our traders as enthusiastically or liberally as they would help their own nationals. This fact, again, was realised by Japan very early. The Japanese Government went as far as to assist directly and financially Japanese exchange banks and offered them every kind of inducement and encouragement to open out in foreign countries. The phenomenal development of Japan's foreign trade is intimately related to the activities of the Yokohama Specie Bank and the Bank of Taiwan. Not only do they finance trade but they also supply accurate trade reports, information regarding trade openings, introductions, references, etc.

Indian businessmen should address themselves to this task. Either an Indian exchange bank should be established as an independent organisation with their support, or a group of existing Indian banks should unite to form an exchange banking organisation through which they will place all their business. Admittedly, there are difficulties involved in the task, but that can be no justifiable plea for postponing efforts to meet the requirement which is so urgent; and it cannot be too strongly emphasised that in either case the active assistance of the Government and the future Reserve Bank should be made available to the proposed Indian Exchange Bank.

Shipping is the handmaid of trade, and unless you develop your own merchant marine, trade expansion beyond a certain stage will always remain outside your reach. I do not mean to say that in the

present state of world shipping it would be advisable immediately to embark upon a programme of merchant marine development; but it must be kept constantly before our mind as the goal towards which we should be working. Hardly thirty years ago Japan had no merchant marine worth the name; to-day more than 50% of her foreign trade is carried in her own bottoms. It would of course be necessary to establish ourselves more firmly in our coastal trade before we venture out to secure a share in the foreign trade.

Incidentally, the development of foreign exchange banking and of shipping, facilitating an expansion of India's foreign trade, will provide a large scope for the employment of our educated youngmen. Foreign trade, by itself, offers a great scope. Indians, as I have already mentioned, participate to a very little extent in the foreign trade of the country as it is being carried on at present. The share of Bengalees is also almost negligible. But there is no reason why apart from acting as principals in the trade, our youngmen should not also engage themselves in many subsidiary occupations connected with foreign trade. Exchange broking, fire and marine insurance, and similar other lines are at present almost like a forbidden land to Indians and specially to Bengalees, while they also do not have a large share either in the distributing trade or in the movement of goods from the up-country to Calcutta, destined to be exported to the foreign countries. I am definitely of opinion that if honest and sincere efforts were made, there would not be much difficulty in opening these channels of employment to the educated youths of the country.

NEED FOR PLANNING

Thus in our foreign trade no less than in other fields of our economic activities, we require a well-conceived plan of action. The need for such a plan in India is greater than in many other countries, not only by reason of India's extensive international trade relations but also because her foreign trade affects vitally her entire economic life. The force of circumstances which is diverting international trade from its ancient moorings and directing it into newer channels must ultimately compel India as much as any other country to adopt a definite plan in regard to her foreign trade, and the sooner she decides upon the particular plan most suitable to her conditions, the better can she avoid the perils which the impact of changed circumstances must entail. Almost all the commercially advanced countries of the present-day world have, in their anxiety to sustain or improve their national

industrial systems, discarded the *laissez-faire* theory, and have been exercising control over imports, generally by means of tariffs, which are in some cases supplemented by quotas, prohibitions and the issue of licences authorising imports of specified articles. Fundamentally, all these devices are calculated to guide national production in particular directions, and it must not be overlooked that the prohibitive character of these measures necessarily leads to a restriction of international trade. India is no exception to the countries following these devices, and ere long she must be confronted with the situation arising from the steady diminution of the volume of international trade.

The question which necessarily arises in this connection as to the merits of these devices having a restrictive effect on international trade calls for no elaborate answer. In the world constituted as it is to-day either economically or politically, economic nationalism will, as far as one can see, still have the most effective influence over the policies of most of the countries. A reversion to free trade, is therefore to be regarded as out of question, whatever theoretical merits may be claimed for it according to the classical school that international trade is in essence only a territorial division of labour and must, therefore, be given a completely free scope to yield the maximum economic advantage to all the parties concerned. That being so, the question that would naturally suggest itself is whether an adherence to the present devices of controlling imports by restrictive measures like fiscal tariffs, would not react adversely in the end on the economic interests of the countries adopting these devices. The question impinges upon the allied problem of territorial advantages suggesting the advisability of national specialisation in particular lines of production. Though the disparity between the conditions of different countries in this regard is being gradually minimised by the advancement of scientific knowledge and the progress of the hitherto industrially backward countries, there can be no denying the fact that in respect of certain principal lines of production, a basic differential advantage must endure in favour of particular countries. Such advantage can be utilised to the benefit of mankind only by encouraging national specialisation on the basis of large-scale production. I need hardly point out that only a comprehensive plan of controlling international trade can secure a perfect division of specialised production among different countries of the world. However difficult it may appear to reach this goal in the face of the present tendencies of world trade, the need is now being increasingly felt of directing

international trade in some well-defined productive channels to retard the prospect of its continuous shrinkage under the urge of economic nationalism.

Indeed, it is felt that a necessary preliminary to the attainment of this desired goal is the control of foreign trade on a national basis exercised not by the present restrictive devices of protective tariff but by the more positive methods of trade agreements between particular countries. Such trade agreements are essentially based on principle of territorial division of labour and will conduce to the planning of international trade. Unlike tariffs such agreements do not restrict the movement of goods ; instead, these provide a scope for large-scale exchange of goods on terms of the greatest advantage to the trading countries without threatening their respective industrial interests. What is most urgently required for the interests of world trade, or for the matter of that of countries which are affected by international trade, is the 'development' and not the 'restriction' of the international exchange of goods. In the words of an eminent economist, control of foreign trade is necessary "not for the purpose of bottling up each nation within its own frontiers in a mistaken belief that it is somehow possible to sell more than one buys, and to take advantage of the economies of large-scale production within a nationally restricted market, but instead, for the liberation of the vast productive energy which is now lying unused all over the world by creating a system of organised international exchange on a basis of mutual advantage and superseding tariffs and other restrictive devices by large-scale arrangements for the collective interchange of complementary products." Toward such an order of planned international trade the world is slowly but inevitably moving. In her commercial interests, India cannot afford to stand aside and leave her commerce entirely at the mercy of economic forces of the world. She must formulate a definite plan for her own commerce and industry, and then alone she will be in a position to best serve the interests of her own people as well as of the welfare of the world trade, for in a world of planned economy no country without a planned organisation is likely to succeed.

ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Before I leave this point, I consider it necessary to make a brief reference to the theory of economic self-sufficiency. It is, as I have already pointed out, the latest economic by-product of the intense nationalism that developed particularly in the political confusion of

the post-War world. The avowed object of this theory is the liberation of one's country from the disturbing complications arising out of international competition in the field of commerce and thereby making it economically independent and self-contained with the help of a system of planned economy. Though this ideal is guiding the economic policy of many countries in these days, it should be admitted, at the same time, that it has many limitations that every country has got to consider very seriously before it aspires after the realization of such an ideal. In the present-day world complete isolation of any country is not a practical proposition. Besides, isolation, if it is possible at all, is not to the best advantage of a country which is not fortunate enough to possess sufficient natural resources that are adequate to the economic requirements of the nation. Russia for instance, is rich in national resources and that is why she is reported to have achieved a certain measure of success in her famous Five-year Plan organized for making Russia economically self-sufficient. Yet it has to be said that she could not entirely do away with her foreign trade and in view of the commercial treaty recently concluded by her with U. S. A., it may be pointed out that though a country may reduce to the minimum her foreign trade by an organized plan of national economy, that minimum must needs be determined by her natural resources, nature of planning and political condition. For India it may be asserted that given sufficient time for her industries to fully develop and given a definite plan for foreign trade, she bids fair to attain a considerable degree of self-sufficiency in future. Till then, as I have already indicated, she will have to depend on her foreign trade, for the development of her industries for meeting foreign obligations and for her general economic well-being.

CONCLUSION

I think, I have said enough to show how the foreign trade of India is of vital concern to her economic life. I have also referred to some of the grave issues which are involved in the problem of foreign trade with special reference to Indian conditions. In doing so I know that I have not endeavoured to furnish you with clear-cut and final conclusions on all the issues raised. My object was rather to impress on you the difficulties inherent in the subject and the necessity for clear thinking and careful investigations. No solution, no planning can be attempted in regard to a subject with such wide and obscure bearings unless it is based on a definite knowledge of all the relevant economic

data. The subject is encyclopedic in its vastness. Every country with which India has any trade connections and each commodity that enters into our foreign trade will demand separate examination. The compilation of the necessary data would require intensive objective study and it constitutes a vast field of economic research to which I would request our economists and scholars to devote greater attention. It is your privilege to make a valuable contribution in this respect and I cannot make a better appeal to you than to request you to maintain the spirit of research even after you leave the University, so that you may continue to apply yourselves to these wider economic problems of the country with the diligence and assiduity that characterised your work at the University.*

* An address delivered before the students of the Department of Economics, Calcutta University.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL NOTES

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS, PH.D.

Switzerland

TURKEY

REORGANISATION and re-opening of the Turkish University at Istambul (Constantinople) is an incident of tremendous international importance. It means a revolution in higher education in Turkey and closer international cultural co-operation between Turkey and the rest of the world. In the past the Turkish University at Constantinople was not a first class institution ; and most of the Turkish scholars of distinction received their higher education in European and American Universities. This had some advantages and at the same time a great disadvantage that those scholars often failed to adjust themselves to the demands of the nation. This fact became apparent to the leaders of New Turkey, especially Mastapha Kemal Pasha, the father of the rejuvenated and modern Turkey. So about nineteen months ago, the Turkish Government requested the Government of Switzerland to lend an expert educator who would be able to act as an adviser to the Minister of Public Instruction, on the special problem of reforming the University at Istambul. Prof. Malche of Switzerland was sent to Istambul to undertake this work. After prolonged study he submitted a very careful report on the subject which was accepted by the Turkish authorities. The Turkish authorities were not slow to enforce the recommendations and asked Prof. Malche to supervise the delicate task of reorganising the University.

New Turkey under Mastapha Kemal Pasha does not adopt half measures. The authorities decided to have a thorough house-cleaning of the University at Istambul which was at best a moribund institution, inadequate to fulfil the demands of a progressive nation. "On August 1st, 1933, therefore, the University was suppressed by law, and the faculty, numbering about one hundred, dismissed. Other instructors had therefore to be found, before the new University could be opened." This was a revolutionary measure.

In Turkey there was not many persons who could fulfil the obligations of professorship in a first class University and therefore Prof. Malche had to find suitable persons from other countries. According to a report recently published in the *London Times* no

less than 35 German-Jewish professors who have international standing as authorities in their own fields of studies, but had to leave German Universities because of their Jewish origin, have been employed by the Turkish Government in the Istanbul University.

In the Medical Faculty of this University a large number of German Jewish Professors have been appointed :—Dr. Phellippe Schevary of Hungarian birth but German by residence, who had been Professor of Pathological Anatomy at Frankfurt University, is to teach the same subject in the new university. *Dr. Rudolph Nissen, late Surgeon at the hospital of La Charite at Berlin, has become Professor of Surgery. He assisted Dr. Sauerbruch when that great surgeon was hurriedly summoned to London to operate on King George V in 1928. Nissen comes of Protestant parents, but one of his grandmothers was of Jewish stock.* Also Dr. Sauerbruch is taking a keen interest in the medical school of the new university and is expected to come over from time to time to act as adviser. Dr. Wilhelm Lepman from Berlin University has been appointed to the Chair of Gynecology ; Dr. Hugo Braun, late professor at Frankfurt University is teaching bacteriology, Dr. Julius Hirsch of Berlin, hygiene and Dr. Haus Winterstun, late professor at Breslau University, experimental physiology. Others who have been named to chairs are : Dr. Joseph Egershumer, another professor from Frankfurt University, ophthalmology ; Dr. Siegfried Obandoz, formerly a professor at Munich University, experimental pathology ; Dr. Vernon Lipsicz, ex-professor at Frankfurt University, biological chemistry ; and Dr. Karl Lervental, late of Berlin, histology.

It may be added that many distinguished German-Jewish professors have been appointed in the departments of physics, mathematics, botany as well as agriculture. These professors have a stupendous work before them. They will have to teach through the medium of Turkish language and they do not know it and therefore will have to use interpreters. It is expected that after three years these professors must lecture in Turkish. German-Jewish professors will have to work hard and they will not be able to draw their salary on their past reputation ; because it has been decided by the educational authorities *that every professor, at the beginning of the academic year, will have to deliver a special address in which he will have to discuss the latest contributions of scientists of the world in his special field. These addresses will be published by the University and sent to all the Universities of the world. A professor in the new University in Istanbul must keep abreast of the*

latest development of knowledge in his field of studies or he would lose his position.

It may be added that the Turkish authorities have recently employed several German professors at Angora Agricultural Institute and at the new model hospital. These actions of the Turkish Government will have tremendous effect in cultural development of the people of Turkey. Furthermore it will afford opportunity to many distinguished educators to carry on their labour which will enrich the whole world.

New Turkey has no religious or racial fanaticism; yet it must not be misunderstood that Turkey would encourage an unlimited number of foreign Jewish immigrants. Turkey does not wish to have a racial minority in her midst. It is interesting to note and refreshing to think that Turkey—an Asiatic State—has brought about a radical reform of a University within less than two years and with the aid of foreign experts. Some fifteen years ago the Sadler Commission reported for certain reforms in Calcutta University and alas, Bengal under the administration of British rulers has not been able to carry out these recommendations of a great British educator! What is going on in the field of educational reforms in Turkey demonstrates the fact that Asiatic States administered by Asiatics can at times act more efficiently than western administrators. Educational reforms in Turkey may be an inspiration for Bengal's educational leaders.

FRANCE

“ France, which is justly proud of the originality and devotion of its scientists, has adopted a program by which it is hoped to insure that they will have competent successors and to encourage those who are fitted to dedicate themselves to scientific research.

“ The Ministry of Education has formulated a system by which students in the universities and workers in the laboratories may be assisted financially to test their talents in the field of research.

“ *Since the war a large number of well-equipped laboratories have been constructed or modernized and their equipment has been brought up to first rate standing in some measure through German reparations in kind. Among these are the laboratories of the normal school, of the College de France and the School of Physics and Chemistry, as well as numerous private institutions such as the Pasteur Institute, the Institute of Chemical and Physical Biology, the Radium Institute, the Oceanic Institute and the Optical Institute. These and scores of other research organizations provide an immense field for capable workers,*

and will guarantee a steady demand for the type of scientific searchers that the new State plan aims to develop.

"For the moment the field of research has been divided into eight sections. Mathematical Sciences, Astronomical Sciences and Sciences of Statistics and Mechanics, Physical Sciences, Chemical Sciences, Biological Sciences, Natural Sciences, Historical and Philological Sciences, Social and Philosophical Sciences.

"Candidates with aptitude in these various sections will be selected by the superior committee of research which has just been created. The members have been appointed for the first six sections by the French Academy of Sciences, for the seventh by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, and for the last by the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences all aided by the Federation of Scientific Societies and by research workers' organizations.

"The committee will award scholarships and gradually eliminate all but the most apt of those seeking research posts. The youngest candidates will be eligible to "research scholarships," lasting one year and renewable four times. The best candidates of this initial group will receive laboratory assignments of three years.

"The degree of Master of Research, which may, in the discretion of the committee, be accompanied by a financial allotment, will be awarded to those who distinguish themselves by particular achievements.

"French scientists it is realized, have always been too individualistic for it to be possible to make this hierarchical system too rigid, but the government is convinced that the need for research workers in the future demands definite and practical encouragement to replace the system that has allowed French scientists in the past to rely almost wholly on their own resources or aid from individual philanthropists.

"Under the present budget 5,000,000 francs has been included for scholarships and financial awards to research workers. This includes 47 awards in the physical sciences, 25 in mathematical sciences, 52 in chemical sciences, 40 in biological sciences and 36 in natural sciences."

The above news item is gleaned from the *New York Times* of December 17, 1933. This is a radical measure adopted by the French Government to increase national efficiency. Has the Government of Bengal any special fund to aid research workers?

We know that Sir P. C. Ray has established a fund to aid promising students to carry on higher studies in Chemistry. Calcutta University offers a few research scholarships. Some private institutions are also doing their share admirably. We hope that the

Government of Bengal will follow the example of the French Government in encouraging research and thus furthering the cause of national efficiency.

GERMANY

New Rules for Selection of Professors in German Universities.

"Scholarship and scientific accomplishments will no longer be the decisive tests for appointments to the teaching bodies of the Prussian universities.

"Henceforth, in accordance with a decree by Bernhard Rust, Minister of Education, all applicants must have engaged for several months either in 'Geländesport,' a euphemism for military field drill, or have served in labor camp. Thus, it is declared, 'he will have an opportunity in non-academic surroundings to demonstrate his character.' This will be followed by a course in a special academy for university instructors, and after that will come a final examination in his academic field.

"This decree follows on the heels of the ruling reported some weeks ago requiring all university students in future to have served in one of the Nazi's uniformed organizations."

To many this regulation may seem fantastic, if not militaristic. However one must admit that it has some merit, that the educators will not merely be "book-worms," but men of health and be conscious of their responsibility for national defence. In Japan, Italy, France and other countries where conscription is the practice, university students get their military education. In American *state universities* American students (citizens) are bound to take at least one year's military drill, and those who fail to comply with this regulation cannot get their Degree, unless they can prove they fail to fulfil this requirement due to physical deformity, etc.

Medical reports about the physical condition of Indian university students and teachers indicate that a very large percentage of them are below normal in physical health. It will be wise for educational authorities of Bengal to make some form of physical education—even military drill—compulsory for students as well as teachers. Of all the provinces of India, Bengal needs this very badly. The people of Bengal are indirectly deprived of the opportunity of acquiring efficiency in national defence.

The *Times* (London) of December 29, 1933, gives the following news-item regarding the regulations restricting admissions of students in German universities:—

"The Reich Ministry of the Interior has resumed its efforts to reduce the number of students preparing for the universities and other places of higher education. For 1934 only 15,000 scholars will be allowed to qualify for admission to such institutions and the number is distributed in fixed proportions among the States. The number of girls affected by this measure is not laid down, but it is recommended that they should receive only 10 per cent. of the places.

"The main object of the measure is to prevent overcrowding of the professions and to thin the ranks of the 'breadless army of doctors.' Whereas in 1911 there were 62,900 students at the universities, in 1931 there were 123,000. The increase is partly accounted for by the social ambitions of parents who made every sacrifice that their sons might rise to be officials or professional men and avoid the stigma of ordinary work. The Nazis, on the other hand, insist on the dignity of manual labour and all work, and now a large number of children will be diverted from the secondary schools into practical trades.

"In justification of this restriction, it is said that too much attention has been paid in the past to the secondary schools and not enough to the *Volksschulen*, or elementary schools. According to Nazi ideas an exaggerated respect for purely intellectual gifts is wrong and a relic of 'Liberalism.' In fact, the new German educational ideas are coming to resemble more and more some of the accepted principles of English public-school education. It would not be surprising to learn that Nazi pedagogues pore eagerly over 'Tom Brown's Schooldays.'

"The very arbitrary powers given to examiners by this decision will almost inevitably be used for political ends."

This idea of restriction of admission of students into universities is not a new one. Japan has practised it even for high schools and higher schools as well as universities. The idea of emphasizing practical education in the elementary as well as secondary schools is a very important one; and the educational system of Bengal should utilise it.

Advocates of restricting higher education in Bengal may cite the Nazi ideal as a model. But one must not forget that Germany with a population of about 65,000,000 has 123,000 university students. The standard of German universities is much higher than that of Indian universities. A graduate of a Gymnasium or German high school can be well compared with a B.A. or B.Sc. of an Indian university. Therefore there are 123,000 university students who have no less qualifications than B.A.'s or B.Sc.'s of Indian universities. This gives an idea about the inferiority of Indian higher education both in quality and quantity, in comparison with the German standard.

GREAT BRITAIN

On the 29th of December a party of 20 public school boys selected by the School Empire Tour Committee left London for Bombay for a tour of Northern India. The party sailed from Tilbury in the P. and O. liner *Kaiser-i-Hind* which is due to reach Bombay on January 18 and spend two months in Northern India before sailing for England by the same steamer. The public schools represented by the party are as follows:—Ampleforth, Brayanstar, Charterhouse, Dartmouth, Eastbourne, Eton, Harrow, Leys School, Cambridge, Malvern, Rugby, Stowe and Tanbridge. According to a statement of Dr. Rendell, the chairman of the Committee, the object of the tour is educational as well as imperial, i.e., to offer opportunities to these selected young students to get a vision of their duty and responsibilities in later life. The Viceroy had taken a warm personal interest in the tour; the India Office at home, the steamboat companies and the railway authorities had all worked in their interest."

The following report of the speech of Lord Lothian who is keenly interested in the success of the enterprise will be of great interest to those who are anxious to fathom the progressive tendencies among far-sighted British statesmen of the type of Lord Lothian:

" Lord Lothian said that he wished to leave with the boys one or two leading ideas about India which he thought they ought to have in mind when travelling there. The Indian problem was to-day in the melting pot. They had read, no doubt, a great deal about old India and about Clive and Warren Hastings and about great administrators like Lord Curzon. They ought to feel a very legitimate pride in what was done in India by Great Britain in the past. The problem of India began with the famous minute of Lord Macaulay, almost exactly 100 years ago, in which he discussed through what medium education ought to be advanced in India and decided on English. There were to-day in the universities of India no fewer than 100,000 students, or twice as many as in England, and they were being brought up with exactly the same literature as the students of our own universities. There was also in India a ubiquitous and all-pervading Press and there was broad casting.

" The Indian villager, who 20 years ago knew nothing and cared nothing about anything outside his village, was beginning to realize that he has linked up with "world prizes" and other influences. There had been also the famous announcement in 1919 and the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Forty-three per cent. of the Indian Civil Service to-day consisted of Indians and a beginning was even

being made in the Indianization of the Indian Army. The central problem now in India was how to accommodate the old law and order and so on with the movement for self-government and Indian nationality which was also very largely the creation of the educational system of this country.

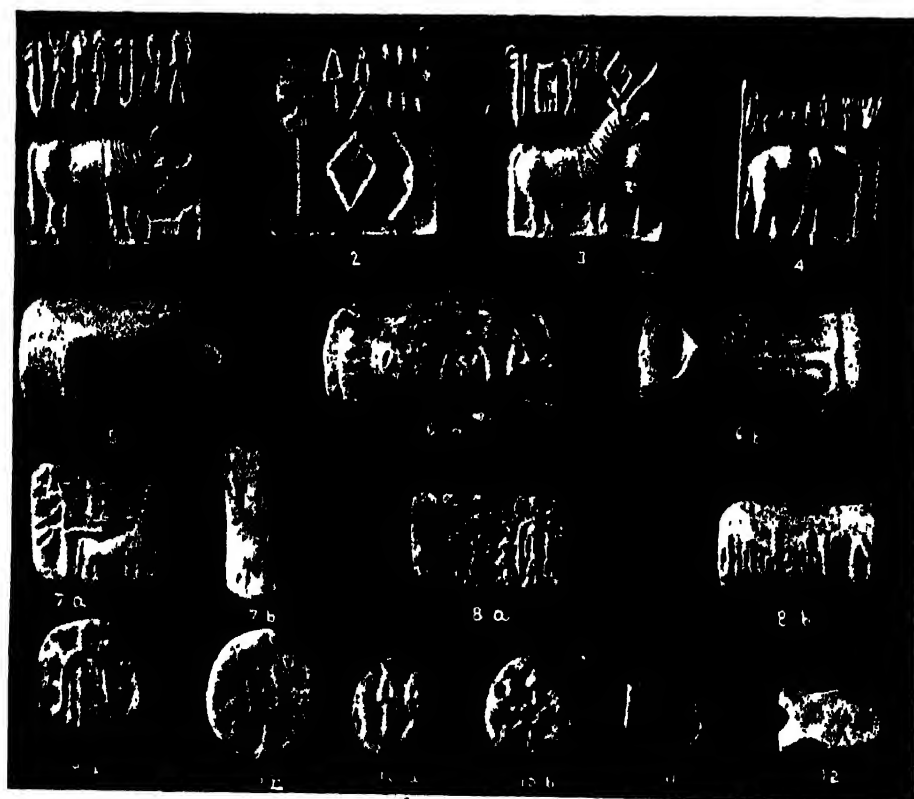
"They would find every one in India talking about this problem. He wanted them to think about it themselves and to do so without any preconceived ideas. They should try to see a certain number of leaders of Indian opinion as well as the leaders of British opinion. They would then begin to understand something of the great problem that rested on the shoulders of the statesmen of this country and in which they themselves might one day have to take a part. Leadership in the old days could be summed up as the capacity to say "Go on" and getting other people to do as one thought right. In the modern world, with its democracy, the voting machine, the Press, and wireless, it was a nobler leadership—the capacity to say "Come on" and getting other people to follow.

"Lord Milner once told him that when he looked over the Empire with the innumerable people living within it, most of them simple people without any understanding of the difficulties of the world, and the fortunes of whose children then depended on a very few people in London, he did not feel inclined to boast of the Empire and its glories but to go into a corner and pray that he might be given light and understanding to discharge the terrific responsibility placed on him. "I hope," Lord Lothian concluded, "that you boys will help to keep this country in the place it has occupied in the world as one of the leaders of mankind."

If the mission of the British youth is to do their share to keep Great Britain in the place of one of the leaders of mankind, the responsibility of the Indian youth is still greater. They are to raise their country from its present degraded condition to her rightful place as a torch-bearer of human progress. Indian educators and public men have the great responsibility of training Indian youths, so that they may possess world vision. In this matter they can learn much from the examples of British educators and political leaders. The Viceroy of India, the governors of Indian provinces, India Office in London and all high officials—British and Indian—in India have also their obligations towards training future leaders of India, and the Indian public can look for their support in the matter.



Seals representing animals from Mohen-jo-daro



Seals representing animals from Mohen-jo-daro

THE EARLIEST CHAPTER OF INDIAN ART

(Representation and Animals)

By SYAMA CHARAN BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

Calcutta

I

THE excavations at Mohenjo-daro between the years 1922 and 1927 unearthed a new civilisation, pushed back the history of the country by several millennia and destroyed many false notions. They created vast vacant periods in the history of India and emphasised still more strongly the unfortunate fact of the spasmodic discontinuity of Indian history.

A too close attention to the theory of evolution has compared history to a river which flows on with slow transformations towards a certain goal. The river of Indian history flows on at a capricious pace, and sometimes for miles together it dives deep into the subterranean regions of oblivion, to rise again in scintillating sparkles in some unexpected far-off parts. Occasionally its pace is so lethargic that several centuries of history can be boldly summarised in a few pages, but often and anon it acquires incredible speed, occupies a vast space, but not content yet, rises on and on, and overflows both the banks with its abundance. The historian then gets bewildered by profusion, just as he erstwhile ago lamented scarcity. Well, what then can he do but spend his life-time in the study of the one aspect of the perplexing vastness ?

The spade of the archæologist at Mohenjo-daro has brought to light an epoch of civilisation which is rich in materials and unique in character. Hitherto the dawn of Indian history was the invasion of Alexander in 326 B. C. Though the darkness before the period remains as good as ever with only certain patches of phosphorescence, a new day, sunny and brilliant, has been discovered in the 3rd or 4th millennium B. C. A too vast, a too complicated web of Indian history, composed of the most diverse elements, religious, political, moral, intellectual and economic is here !

It is said that the Vedic Aryans subdued and enslaved a dark, flat-nosed barbarian race who resisted the foreign invaders from their own fortifications. Unanimously the Vedic scholars have presented to

us a portrait of the race which is surely not in any way reassuring. But in the light of the recent discoveries which display before our critical eye a civilisation with a background of several millennia the history of India during the period is to be thoroughly rewritten and revised. The redoubtable theory of to-morrow is a ridiculous piece of dissertations to-day, for there is no finality in archæology,—but only stepping-stones.

Striking resemblances have been found between the civilisations of Mesopotamia and the Indus valley. There is also geographical similarity between the two countries. Both are alluvial plains watered by snow-fed rivers, both have steep ranges with high table-lands, both are free from tropical luxuriance, having a desert close by and both display many similar climatic conditions.

Early trade relations between Sumer and Sindh have been, in the language of Mr. V. Gordon Childe, "proved to the hilt." It was Mr. Hall who first pointed out the ethnic kinship between the Sumerians and the early Indian races. Mr. Childe thus confirms him: "The features are really similar, the way of dressing the hair is identical. The daggers from Harappa, again, belong to the same tanged family as the Sumerian, but to a more primitive stage. The Indus and the Sumerian beakers have an unmistakable family likeness. The cylindrical vase of silver from Mohenjo-daro invites comparison with the alabaster vessels of the same shape from Ur and Susa. The Sumerian and Indus toilet sets are in principle identical, and each show the same peculiar construction of the looped head. Artistic devices like the use of shell inlays connect the two regions strikingly. Motifs like the trefoil and the rosette, even religious themes such as monsters, are common to both countries. It is fantastic to suggest that the wheel and carts had been independently invented in both lands." From the afore mentioned resemblances which can in no way be explained away as accidental, Mr. Childe, therefore, suggests or hints at the Indian origin of the Sumerians and asserts that the proto-Sumerian civilisation was of Indian origin, its decay being due to want of Indian inspiration in a later age. But Mr. Wooley is reluctant to consider the Indus valley as the home of the Sumerians and puts his theory thus: "To say that these resemblances prove identity of race or even political unity would be to exaggerate the weight of evidence; to account for them by mere trade connexion would be, in my opinion, to underrate it no less rashly: it is safest, for the time being, to regard the two civilisations as off-shoots from a common source which presumably lies somewhere between the

Indus and the Euphrates valleys, though whether the center from which this culture radiates so far afield is to be sought in the hills of Baluchistan, or where, we have no means of knowing as yet."

In the Genesis, there is a passage which thus refers to the Sumerians: "and the people journeyed from the East and came into the plane of Shinar and dwelt there." The following facts about the original home of the race can be gathered from Sumerian legends: they came from a hilly country (*cf.* Ziggurat=The Hill of Heaven), their gods stand on mountains and the animal representations are of a mountain type. In this connection, it is worthwhile to consider the tradition of *Sumru parvata* in Indian mythology. Like the Indian workers in stone, the Sumerian architects and sculptors could not shake off the memory of a wooded beginning of their arts.

In style and execution, in shape and size, the Sumerian and the Indian seals and terracottas bear striking resemblances. In Al-Ubaid, Sir Arthur Keith remarks: "One can still trace the ancient Sumerian face eastwards among the inhabitants of Afghanistan and Baluchistan until the valley of Indus is reached—some 1,500 miles distant from Mesopotamia." But here it is to be noted that the Vedic hymns describe the pre-Aryans as dark-skinned and snub-nosed barbarians. Mr. Wolley in discussing their origins remarks: "The study of their bones and skulls shows that they were a branch of the Indo-European stock of the human race resembling what is called the Caucasian man, a people who in stature and appearance might pass as modern Europeans rather than as orientals." And so here's the rub! In the face of this, many pet theories fall to the ground.

II

The earliest cradles of Indian æsthetic inspiration are the seals with images of unicorns, bulls, rhinoceroses, etc., and crude ideographic signs. Of the artistic and religious products excavated at Mohenjodaro in recent years, there are none so interesting and important as the seals which throw a flood of light on a hitherto unknown portion of the history of India. We have it on the authority of Herodotus that in his times every Babylonian carried a seal with him. These seals might have been used for purposes which might have been secular as well as religious. In the ancient world seals with certain motifs were always considered to contain certain magic properties. The Egyptians of old extensively used amulets of wood, enamelled clay or metal with figures of gods and kings to secure health, strength, stability, greenness, beauty, vigilance, protection, life, etc. In the

talisman was usually depicted a story of a particular adventure of a powerful god. (Amulets with representations of sheep, ram and squirrel have also been obtained in Mohenjo-daro.)

The seals which might have their origin in the recognition of private rights or ownership were an indispensable convenience to the merchants of the old, old world. Seals might not have prevented theft, but surely they helped greatly in identification after the arrest of the thief. The men of ancient times without many other suitable substitutes used it to a greater extent than we do. Mr. Newberry in his work entitled *Scarabs* justly remarks: "What locks and keys are to us, seals were to the people of the old world." When a man closed his shop, he put pats of clay on the doors and impressed his seals on them. A householder also did the same thing. They thought that by the impressions of the seals, they made it impossible for anybody to enter the house and the shop without breaking the seals. Deeds, documents and letters also bore the seal of the ultimate owner.

Of the animals on the seals, the unicorn occupies the pride of place with 312 representations. The short-horned bull is a bad second with 22, the rest in order of numerical strength being, the elephant 17, the Brahmani bull 14, the rhinoceros and the tiger 7 each, the buffalo and the Gharial 3 each and the antelope 2. The lion, the symbol of majesty in Mesopotamian art (which depicts the creature always in deadly combat with Gilgamesh, the inevitable conqueror), has not been found in a single seal.

Of the other animals who have found place in the seals, the following deserve mention; the jungle fowl, the duck, the fish, the goat, the serpent and the scorpion. On one seal is depicted a man with bow and arrow and on another a man is seated in the conventional yogi attitude on an elevated platform, on his two sides being two worshippers with cobra hoods behind their back.

Art for art's sake is a phrase which was unknown in the ancient world. The artist's institution was wheeled to the chariot of the prescription of the priest, who wielded enormous power and influence. But there is one fact to remember, the artist believed in the myths of the priest with absolute faith. He did not question the occult nature of the priest's restrictions but made his own fine sensibilities vibrant with life on the material he handled. The unicorns and the bulls are so beautiful because the artist has lived for some time in these.

The spirit of the animals looks through the material representation and the material representation speaks of the spirit. We can even to-day feel the great strength of the bull and feel the muscles under-

neath the silky skin. Though standing across many millennia, the bull is to our emotion a reality,—a spark from the flaming forge of the ancient world. It can snort and bleat, create and uncreate an epoch of civilisation.

III

Even to the casual observer, two trends of art make themselves evident ; one is infantile in simplicity and execution, though not in conception and the other is well-developed and mature. An outstanding feature of the art is its uniformity and absence of progression. Conventions show little inclination to change and technique remains the same. How is it to be explained ? The evident conclusion is that for a long period the civilisation of the land remained in a static condition. Will it be a bold inference if we remark that the fresh infusion of Aryan blood, brought about a change in the whole angle of vision and culture ? But hitherto we have come across nothing to justify our jumping to such a bold conception.

On the evidence of art alone we are in a position to assert that the civilisation at Mohenjo-daro has already seen its best days and were decaying on its close. The technique was well-developed but refused to move, a characteristic generally found in an old race which has exhausted its formula. Certain rigid conventions also support the afore-mentioned conclusion. The skilful use of alloy and the architectonic conceptions of the race also point out that the base of the civilisation was to be sought centuries ago. The mastery of materials displayed in the execution of the seals and the sublimity of the conception of the bull coupled with the delicacy of its treatment further confirm us in our supposition. Only after ages of hard experiments and continuous effort can any race make its hand serve its imagination with so much truth and faithfulness. The heavy treatment of the head-dress, use of armlets from the wrist to the shoulders and profusion of necklaces, earrings and head-dresses, etc., may appear grotesque and garish to the western æsthetician who fails to read and appreciate subtle turns and twists and ingenious subtlety of the oriental mind which in its progress towards truth and beauty can never sever itself totally from the past of misty sweetness. But whether in the treatment of necklaces, coiffures or armlets, or in the decoration by fluting on some of the seals or in the harmonious following of the structural lines of the vessel with decorative motifs, the artist seldom blinds himself to the suave beauty of lines. In fine, after a long and historic past of experiment and struggle, the artists

of Mohenjo-daro knew how to impart force to composition, stability to balance, surety to draughtsmanship and above all remarkableness to harmony and beauty to everything created and conceived.

IV

A great silence haunts around the representation on the seals. The greatest number of representations found of any animals is that of a mythical species called unicorn. Invariably it stands under a series of pictographs with its head over an incense-burner or manger. The dignified majesty of the animal compels admiration and arrests attention for, real or mythical, it is vibrant with the "one thing needful,"—life. The force within the animal is like that of a furious horse checked on the border of a headlong precipice. It is restrained but impressive in grandeur. We are not sure what the artist really meant to represent, of what idea is this creature, a mixture of an antelope and a bull, an ultimatization. It has been said that the animal is really two-horned, but the artist represents him as one-horned because of some inner necessity of perspective. In reply to this, one can put in that if it is so why does the artist invariably represent the four legs in clear outline? It has been also argued that in very ancient times there might have been a one-horned animal of the type illustrated. Such an argument is indeed childish in the absence of any definite data. In archæology unrestrained play of imagination is never desirable. The horn of the animal which is sometimes smooth and sometimes ridged seems to penetrate into empty space with violence. The ear is short, pointed and attentive, probably to the prayer of the humble devotees. The neck is sometimes chequered with prominent and harmonious undulations and is sometimes bare. Force seems to burst out from the slight curvature of the neck. At Mohenjo-daro the bones and the muscles never stretch the skin to the breaking point, as they do in the Assyrian Art. The art is nevertheless occasionally bold and positive, but there is a restraint about it. Certain fondness for a chequered effect of light and shade is sought by the artist whenever possible. He seeks it on the horn and the neck of the unicorn, on the manger and the incense-burner, in the very pictographs, on the neck of the bull, on the front and back aspects of the rhinoceros, on the body of the tiger and the crocodile. The eye of the animal is rendered inexorable by ridged lids and seems to look inward as well as outward. A terrible squareness from the foreleg to the tail articulates the vigour of the divine beast.

Any one who has travelled in India will agree that the representation of the bull at Mohenjo-daro is artistic in effect because it is so very natural in pose. The attitude is free from any trammel of artificiality and is, therefore, full of vigour and animation. Even a most unimaginative man can feel the latent strength of the bull,—his arrogance and impressive majesty. It is indeed far better than many modern representations of the animal. The hump, the haunches and other parts of the physiognomy are depicted with a verisimilitude that is really astounding. A glance convinces any one of the mighty force behind them. One seems to feel the rich texture of the skin and the high quality of the muscles beneath them. The desired effect is materialized by beautiful undulations on the surface of the body, a quite legitimate procedure. In spite of the vigorous positivism of the artist, one perceives in the long vertically streaked dewlap which is profuse in luxuriance, the stealthy intrusion of schematic treatment. The influence of the force of habit has made itself evident. The bull is the symbolism of majesty, of strength, of generative force. One wonders how the same artist who depicts the powerful muscles of the body with such force is entirely schematic.—say in the treatment of the tuft of the tail. The explanation that suggests itself is that in the depiction of super-strength, it is quite unnecessary to pay as much attention to the tuft of the tail. There is a governing idea behind the artist's mind and therefore he does not ever depart from the road to his goal. In the achievement of his purpose, he uses both subtlety of conventionalism and the verisimilitude of actual life.

Two types of bull,—the short-horned and the Brahamani—are found depicted on the seals. The short-horned type is also found depicted on pottery. The head is generally bent low with a slight twist in an attitude of charging.

V

The single-horned rhinoceros which was found as far as Peshawar even in the sixteenth century is represented at Mohenjo-daro with graphic realism. From the style of representation we can safely assert that the artist was very familiar with the animal. With round circular knobs, the rough excrescences on the skin are delineated with great fidelity and the thick-skin is presented by massive folds. Clay models of the animal have also been unearthed.

The artist faithfully represents the attitude of a buffalo about to let loose his enormous strength on a creature who is surely doomed. Sucking the air with his nose up and the horns high, he is

the symbol of murderous energy that the Assyrians loved so much to represent. In the representation of the tiger, the artist is crude in his method. At present no tiger is found in Sind and it is doubtful whether the artist has seen a tiger whom he feeds on a manger. Compared with the bull or the buffalo, the tiger seems to be the far-off reminiscence of a long-forgotten dream. The terror of the forest has lost much of his majesty and dignity. An analysis shows that herein we lack the intense realism which we find in the bull. From the bull to the rhinoceros and from the rhinoceros to the tiger is a regular gradation. The stripes of the tiger are represented with ridges which are infantile in simplicity.

The elephant which is an important motif in the early Indian art is at Mohenjo-daro next in popularity to the bull. It is curious that here we get representation of the type of elephant which is now found only in Africa. The delineation though not as vigorous as the bull, is nevertheless better than that of the tiger. By a quaint prescription of his grammar, the artist presents the creases along the back of the elephant by small serrations. Only a few representations of the animal have been found in the pottery.

Gharials or fish-eating crocodiles are presented with their elongated snout and excrescences on the thick hide.

Antelopes which are so plentiful in the Sumerian seals are conspicuous by rarity of representation in India. These short-tailed animals with long curling horns are seen with collars of some woven materials on neck feeding on shrubs placed before it. A few semi-human representations of Nagas treated conventionally have also been dug out. We also come across many mythological creatures who are combinations of several animals joined together. A man underneath a few ideographic signs by the side of a tree is depicted fighting a horned tiger. The man with the hoofs, the horns and the tail of a bison is an Indian brother of Enkidu of Mesopotamia who is usually represented fighting a lion just as his companion Gilgamesh is represented struggling against a bull. In an attempt to harmonise into one whole the virtues of various totems, often six animals are joined together in one representation.

T. S. ELIOT :

A NEW FORCE IN ENGLISH POETRY

By S. K. SENGUPTA

Calcutta

WHEN Wordsworth and Coleridge in 1798 brought out their *Lyrical Ballads* English literature distinctly felt the impulse of a new power. Criticism ran high both for and against this new literary venture, but there was no question of ignoring the new forces at work. Even if the tranquil depth of Wordsworth's nature poetry appeared to many as altogether too dreamy, the rhythmic dance of clear-cut phrasings and images in Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* soon involved the reader in the swing and rush of its metrical and narrative skill. The classical age was now definitely closed. Though a Byron might choose to call himself a classicist, his classicism swung wide apart from that of Pope or of Gray. Even the defiers of romanticism caught the romantic spirit and sang to the new tune.

But the recognition of Mr. Eliot's poetry was not so instantaneous. Even in 1919, Roy Campbell tells us, he was with great difficulty introducing the poems of Eliot to Oxford literary circles. Yet *The Portrait of a Lady* was published in 1909, and *Prutrack* came only a year later. *La Figlia Che Piange* came in 1912. There was still enough time before the War broke out for England to talk about this new star in her literary firmament. But Englishmen began to talk about this new master after *The Waste Land* was published in 1922. Since that time the new generation of English poets have been following the lead of Eliot in the field of both ideas and expression. A whole school of poetry has by this time grown up which can be called "Eliotic" and every new name is swelling the Eliotist roll.

T. S. Eliot is, however, not what we call a popular poet, nor is he likely to become one in the near future. The very methods of his writing preclude that possibility. Though the newest filth of the civilised city life is flung so plentifully across the pages of his poetry, his style is yet distinctly classical and teems with allusions to all the primary and secondary sources of literature. The full flavour of his poetry is only meant for the very highly cultured palate. His phrasings are not merely rich in literary associations, they are regular

quotations, and the meaning of a whole group of lines becomes intelligible only when a quotation has been traced to its proper setting ; as when he speaks of

That corpse you planted last year in your garden
Has it begun to sprout ? Will it bloom this year ?
Or has the sudden frost disturbed its bed ?
Oh keep the Dog far hence, that is friend to men,
Or with his nails he'll dig it up again.

The distorted quotation from the well-known song in Webster's *White Devil* is to be clearly understood before an appreciation of the passage becomes possible. Eliot calls himself a classicist, possibly meaning thereby an uncanny precision in the use of his language and a subtle inweaving into his lines of the rich colours of past masters. His quotations range from the *Brihadaranyakopanishad* to Verlaine's *Parsifal*, from Dante's *Purgatorio* to Baudelaire's *Fleurs du Mal*. An appreciation of the direct quotations requires a good knowledge of at least five different languages. French, German and Italian are most frequently drawn upon. Indeed Eliot himself writes poetry in the French language and publishes it along with his English poems, as the entire bulk of his poetry forms an organic whole and no part can, without much damage, be separated from the main body. This is what makes him frequently quote from his own writings, and a thorough acquaintance with every preceding piece of his poetry is required for the proper understanding of each succeeding one, be their themes never so dissimilar. He is absolutely impartial in his quotations, filching from other people's property as well as from his own. The flagrancy of this filching saves it from the charge of plagiarism. He would most unblushingly proclaim that only a second-rate writer imitates, a genius always steals. It is the use of the stolen property that constitutes the test of genius.

The allusions in his poetry, whether direct or indirect, have so big a share in the effect produced that a ready appreciation of these forms a necessary key for unlocking the winding corridors of his genius. In *Sweeney among the Nightingales*

The Host with someone indistinct
Converses at the door apart.
The Nightingales are singing near
The Convent of the Sacred Heart

And sang within the bloody wood
 When Agamemnon cried aloud
 And let their liquid siftings fall
 To stain the stiff dishonoured shroud

the allusion is clear and its appeal instantaneous. But often the allusion lies in the mere cadence that catches the resonances of a great master, or in the confused mass of shadowy forms that are flung tumultuously upon the screen of memory. And yet these looming shapes must darken our imagination before we can perceive the light that bursts from Eliot's vision. The image of the three leopards sitting under a juniper tree (*Ash Wednesday*) recalls Ecclesiastes. In *The Hollow Men*

Between the idea
 And the reality
 Between the notion
 And the act
 Falls the shadow
 For thine is the kingdom

the liturgical twang is of course unmistakable. But in the fifth part of *The Wasted Land* (*What the Thunder Said*)

After the torchlight red on sweaty faces
 After the frosty silence in the gardens
 After the agony in stony places
 The shouting and the crying
 Prison and palace and reverberation
 Of thunder and spring over distant mountains
 He who was living is now dead
 We who were living are now dying
 with a little patience.

the capture of Christ, the mock trial in the temple, the howling fanatics at the crucifixion and the rolling of the rock at the Resurrection—these images do not strike the sight so immediately, for the mind is little prepared to receive their majesty in the drought-parched waste land with its drab background and its underlying vegetation myth.

This difficulty of Eliot's classicism has made him a poet of the few—the select few of cultivated sensibility. But the much greater difficulty about his poetry lies in the broken thread of his imagery which the reader is to piece up into his mind into a continuous chain. The abrupt changing from theme to theme in Browning still leaves

enough links to bind the whole together. But in Eliot the invisible threads that link idea to idea are veritable gossamers, flickering with sunbeams now and then but more often entirely lost to sight. Do they really form a network or are merely broken ends of strings that the mind casts forth to catch the fitting phantoms of the air? The reader's mind is even tortured with the doubt that a connected whole is not projected by the poet himself, only the jagged ends of his broken fancies are thrust into our benumbed conceivings to provoke them to thought. There is the further doubt still, for the uninitiated, whether any meaning lurks behind the lines or whether they are merely the clever befoolings of a subtle practical joker who tantalises our mind with promises of a blessed vision which does not exist even in his own imagination. But such a doubt is only momentary. The reading aloud of one of the poems is bound to awaken in the mind "a hundred visions and revisions, a hundred indecisions" which force us to look once more at the dangling fragments of ideas before we give them up as mere brilliant humbuggings.

Thomas Stearns Eliot is only forty-five, having been born, of New England parents, in 1888. He was educated at Harvard and at Oxford, and he married an English lady, Vivian Haig-Wood of London. An Englishman's dislike for the new-fangled moods and manners of a Yankee is therefore partially thrown away before a master mind whose habitat thus stretches across the Atlantic over two continents. As an American Mr. Eliot is the inheritor of the latest innovations of civilised life and is not tied down to conventions of literary form. Literature in America is an everchanging current, or rather, the scattered ripples of a troubled bay where each new form catches the fluctuating fancy and has its day. But the uncontrolled activities of his American imagination have, in the case of Mr. Eliot, been subjected to the discipline of English traditionalism; for, an Englishman is not likely to forget that he is "the heir of all the ages in the foremost files of time," and the pride of his inheritance ties him wholesomely to things of the past. The two trails are seen in Mr. Eliot's defiance of tradition in the ultra-scientific modulation of his themes, and in his use of language that recalls the fashionings of the mighty minds of old, unfurling that page of knowledge which is rich with the spoils of time. Mr. Eliot has enunciated his creed as "A Royalist in politics, a classicist in literature and an Anglo-Catholic in religion." He calls himself a literary disciple of his countryman Ezra Pound, though it is certain that the disciple now far excels the master. After the publication of the *Waste Land* in 1922 Mr. Eliot has collected together

what he considered of value in his poetical work and brought out in 1925 his *Poems, 1909-1925*. It is this thin volume of poems (not even a hundred pages) that has created the stir in the English reading public. His prose works are mostly critical appreciations of his wide studies which include authoritative works of present-day professors and the splendid products of the great age of Elizabethan literature. *The Sacred Wood* was published in 1920, *For Lancelot Andrews* in 1928. His lectures as Norton Professor of Poetry have been brought out in the form of a volume entitled *The Use of Poetry and of Criticism*. He was appointed to this professorship at Harvard only in 1932. His *Homage to Dryden*, prefixed to his edition of Dryden's works, shows his own classical bent more than anything else. The *Criterion* of which journal Mr. Eliot is the editor, now commands a wide circulation. Since 1925 Mr. Eliot's poetic output, never of great bulk, has been thinner still. The *Ash Wednesday* was published in 1930. *Sweeney Agonistes* gives in two fragments with those curious fashionings

Under the bam
Under the boo
Under the bamboo tree

which have been handled a hundred times over. Messrs. Faber and Faber (of which publishing firm Mr. Eliot is the literary director) have been bringing out a number of shilling pamphlets (none more than half a dozen pages long including the covers) of the fitful poetry of Mr. Eliot. *The Triumphal March*, *Rorina*, *Animula*, *A Song for Simson*, *Journey of the Magi* are some of these fancy sheets for Christmas presents. Two of these poems, *The Triumphal March* and *The Difficulties of a Statesman* form sections of a projected work. As *The Waste Land* paints the decadence of the post-War world, the new poem goes to expose the equally hopeless failure of the post-Peace world to solve the question that is vexing out its existence—"Which way lies life?"

It is however on the 1925 volume that Mr. Eliot's merit substantially rests. The book opens with *The Love-song of J. Alfred Prufrock*. And what a love song! It is, to invert the language of Charles Lamb, the commentary of Jeremiah on the sentimentalism of Lawrence Sterne. The poem at once marks Eliot as the evangelist of the sophisticated drab in modern life and of the forces that pierce through its humdrum exterior to the tragic futility of an out-worn civilisation. A middle-aged lover hardly gathers courage to speak to

the lady to whom he is drawn. He has not the strength "to force the moment to its crisis." But his failure is only symbolical of the failure of each one of us as he feels

No! I am not prince Hamlet, nor was meant to be,
Am an attendant lord, one that will do
To swell a progress, start a scene or two.

Each one feels that the clear keen joyance of his undirected energies is sicklied over with the pale cast of his experience, as Prutrock says—

And I have known the eyes already, known them all—
The eyes that fix you in a formulated phrase
And when I am formulated, sprawling on a pin,
When I am pinned and wriggling on the wall,
Then how should I begin
To spit out all the but ends of my days and ways?
And how should I presume?

Presume to do what? "To disturb the universe,"

To have squeezed the universe into a ball
And roll it toward some overwhelming question.

Hamlet felt the cursed spite that he was born to set the world aright and he magnificently failed. We feel the utter incapacity of our shrunken nature even to dream of such a mission.

In *The Portrait of a Lady* we have the situation reversed. We seem to have come into

An atmosphere of Juliet's tomb
Prepared for all the things to be said of left unsaid.

Here it is the lady that fails "to force the moment to its crisis." But while she falters "Perhaps you can write to me," "I wonder why we have not grown into friends," the young man feels

My self-possession gutters; we are really in the dark.

Mr. Apollinax describes the impression made on Bostonians by Bertrand Russel's visit to the United States (as the busy tattle of literary circles gives it out). *Poem 1920* include *Gerontion* which

gives the pathetic sense of inane helplessness of an old man "being read to by a boy, waiting for the rain," whose mumbling still fall upon the ear with the accents of a prophetic blast.

But it is *The Waste Land* that gives the small volume the dignity that it possesses. Its 433 lines do what double that number of pages in Joyce's *Ulysses* does not succeed in doing—to expose the piteous helplessness of an age that has bankrupted itself of the creative impulse. The waters of life have left the Waste Land in its arid vacuity and until they come again the parched-up desert is left to have its impotent plaint to the cicada and the dry grass surging. The remedy suggested by the three thundering injunctions of the Brihadaranyakopanishad,—“Datta,” “Dayadhvam,” “Damayata,”—give, sympathise, control—may fall flat upon western ears; but the value of the poem lies in the tremendous force with which the utter impotency of a mechanical civilisation is brought home to our mind. The joyous scroll of nature and humanity that the Romanticoists held forth to our gaze has shrivelled down to crumpled worthlessness; but a steady gaze at its faded folds is what the poetry of Eliot undoubtedly directs and in this acceptance of facts as such lies his real success.

The volume ends with *The Hollow Men* who are the stuffed men,—men who “whisper together, are quiet and meaningless as wind in dry grass or rats' feet over broken glass in a dry collar.” The achievement of man falls miserably short of his impulse and even his conception fails to limn in clear outline the longing of his heart. But the worst of all misfortunes comes when the soul itself has ceased to aspire and dares not and the shadow falls over the mumblings of drivelling inanity.

In the reach of his ideas Eliot soars beyond the heights aspired to by poets of the past. This is what could only be expected of the twentieth century poet who has inherited the immense treasure left out of the hoardings of ages and the new wealth dug out of the bowels of the modern world. It is not only this wealth of ideas or his tremendously powerful grasp on facts that marks him out as the one great force of the new age. There is a freshness and strength in his expressions that makes the platitudes of Wordsworth or Keats look like child's play beside his work. The compact forcefulness of his language drives his lines straight into the mind and the unborrowed truthfulness of his imagery helps the unrelenting precision in his use of words. When he tries to bring out his meaning by an imagery

As if a magic lantern threw the nerves on a pattern upon a screen

or when he speaks of

His soul stretched tight across the skies
That fade behind a city block
Or trampled by insistent feet
At four or five and six o'clock

we are immediately aware that we are face to face with a new force in literature. His similes are never drawn from the over-used warehouse of nature's bloom. But he speaks of the evening being spread out against the sky.

Like a patient etherised upon a table.

or of Mr. Apollinax's visit to the U. S. A. when

His laughter tinkled among the tea-cups.

He speaks of

The yellow fog that rubs its back upon the window panes
The yellow smoke that rubs its muzzle on the window panes.

or of

The young red and pustular
Clutching piaculation pence.

It is not the mere novelty of these similes that overpowers the fancy: it is the determination of facing the facts of a dried-up, over-sophisticated world that lends its grim vigour to his expressive rhythm.

How does Eliot fare as a master rhythm? The abrupt strength of his measures in

Should I after tea and cakes and ices
Have the strength to force the moment to its crises

or their rumbling in

Miss Nancy Ellicot
Strode across the hills and broke them
Rode across the hills and broke them

has its counterpart more or less in Browning and Swinburne. But is he a real singer? All the tortuosities of Browning's rambling lines

would not have saved him from the charge of poetic bankruptcy if he had not spoken of the thrush that

sings each song twice over
Lest you should think he could never recapture
The first fine careless rapture

or given us the magnificent paeon of the Grammarian in which the rush of metres hurries us to the purlines of all the high-fliers of the skies where the grammarian's disciples

Leave him still loftier than the word suspects
Living or dying.

Is the lyric impulse equally strong in Eliot? Has he not given us the lines—

I am moved by fancies that are curled
And around these images, and cling :
The notion of some infinitely, gentle
Infinitely suffering thing.

or

He shall be washed white as snow
By all the martyr virgins kist
While the true church remains below
Wrapt in its old miasmal mist

or

The nightingales are singing near
The Convent of the Sacred Heart.

It is these spontaneous outbursts of melodies that show that the discipline of drabness which Eliot has imposed upon himself is a sore task to his musical sensibility, and that the completion of a line by a single word like " polyphiloprogenitive " or the insertion of four big O's in a single line. is not due to any death of metrical sweetness.

Since the publication of *Act Wednesday* (1930) two appreciations of Eliot's poetry have come out in the book form besides an innumerable host of magazine articles and notices. Mr. McGreevy's book is more of the nature of a critical estimate than a loving introduction to the poetry of Eliot—a need that has been amply fulfilled by H. R. Williamson's *Poetry of T. S. Eliot*. Mr. Edmund Wilson's

article in his *Axel's castle* is an excellent appreciation of the factors that go to build up the poetry of Eliot: and the second volume of the *Scrubines* (edited by Edgell Rickword) notices both the lyric impulse of Eliot and his critical acumen. The world of letters to-day looks forward with eager expectancy to every new poem that comes out of the pen of this trans-Atlantic English genius.

THE ORGANISATION OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN CAPITAL CITIES

By G. MONTAGU HARRIS, O.B.E., M.A.

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I THINK this is a subject which should interest those who live in the second city of the British Empire. Local self-government is a very large subject. Last time I dealt with the general principles. This time I shall go into details with regard to the capital cities of the world, because generally speaking in each country the capital cities are governed on some different principle from the other cities. Capitals are generally the largest cities and for that reason have special forms of organisation, but there is another point of view, because in some countries the capital city receives special grants of money from the central government for its organisation and its administration simply because it is the capital. That is the case with Rome and Paris, but is not the case in England.

Before 1888 there was no governing authority for the whole of London, though there had been a Metropolitan Board of Works for certain purposes. The London County Council was then established, but before I speak of that I will describe the government of the city, which occupies only one square mile out of the 118 which constitute the area of what we now call London. The corporation of the city of London has existed for many centuries and the ancient city is still governed on the old lines. There are several governing bodies, one of them being called the Court of Aldermen, which consists of the Lord Mayor and 25 aldermen who are elected for life. This is the only municipal second chamber in England. The body which is really responsible for the government of the city is the Court of Common Council. It consists of the Lord Mayor, aldermen and 206 common councillors who are elected annually. The electors of the city of London must have a property qualification. Then there is a body called the Court of Common Hall, which consists of the Lord Mayor, aldermen, sheriff and liverymen, and is concerned mainly with elections and appointments. The liverymen are the members of the city guilds or companies, which are the descendants of the old trade guilds, have large funds to deal with and occupy a prominent position

in the city. The Lord Mayor is chosen annually by the Court of Aldermen out of two aldermen who are proposed by the livery voters of the city guilds. The Lord Mayor must have passed through certain stages before he can be proposed as Lord Mayor, for he must have been both an alderman and a sheriff. He occupies a very distinguished position. But, although he is called the Lord Mayor of London, his jurisdiction does not extend beyond the city.

Besides the city, there are within London 28 metropolitan boroughs and each of these metropolitan Boroughs and the City Corporation is the sanitary or public health authority over the particular area. It has also other duties to perform. It is responsible for the streets. All the streets in London are managed, constructed and maintained and kept clean by the particular metropolitan boroughs in which they are situated and as sanitary authority the metropolitan Borough Council or the City Council has to inspect the area regularly in order to see that there are no nuisances, to examine into the sanitary condition of all houses and generally to look after the sanitation of the whole area. It has also power to carry out housing schemes and to provide public open spaces for recreation purposes. The City Corporation besides being responsible for all these purposes has further powers. It has a police force of its own. It is the sanitary authority for the Port of London, which extends from Teddington to the mouth of the river Thames. It also owns and maintains large open spaces outside London, of which Epping Forest is one. It has large trust funds which can be used for purposes of this description and others.

In spite of the very large powers which are possessed by the city and the metropolitan boroughs, there is another body with power over the whole area, and this is the London County Council, which was established in 1888. This council consists of 120 councillors who are elected for different wards by the electors throughout London for three years and 20 aldermen who are elected by the council. A chairman, vice-chairman and deputy chairman are elected annually. The meeting of the London County Council is held once a week and its duties are those which affect the county of London as a whole, which extends over 118 sq. miles with a population of four and a half millions. The London County Council is responsible for the main sewers of London and sewage disposal. Another function is the Fire Brigade. It is responsible for seeing that building is carried out in accordance with the Building Acts and, as well as the metropolitan boroughs can itself carry out, housing schemes inside or outside the county. It carries out large improve-

ments in London itself, which are too large for the resources of any single metropolitan borough and it can also provide large open spaces. It is the educational authority for the whole of London and is the supervisory and co-ordinating authority in the matter of public health, though the metropolitan boroughs are the responsible public health authorities. Since 1929 it has been given the duty of administering the Poor Law which was formerly distributed among 28 Boards of Guardians throughout London.

This was a very great change. Of course London, as you will realise, has almost its metropolitan boroughs, some which are very rich and some which are very poor. Poor districts formerly got very little help from the richer, though there was a certain arrangement for the equalisation of rates, but this did not go far. Under the new system the charge for the Poor Law is levied uniformly over the whole county of London, which is all to the advantage of the poorer districts.

There is one matter of importance which is not under either of these local authorities. That is the Police. The City of London has its own police, but the London County Council has no police. The police for London are under the direct control of the Home Office, which deals with the police for a larger area than the County of London itself (called the Metropolitan Police District) through a Commissioner who is appointed for the purpose. Another matter which the London County Council does not carry out is the water supply. This is under the control of a separate board. The working of the Port of London is carried on by another board, elected partly by the local authorities and partly by those directly concerned with the business of the port. There is also an electric authority which deals with large areas outside London as well as London itself. The London County Council carries on its work in a different way from most of the other cities in England, because it very closely follows the example of Parliament. It has a party system. There are party whips as in Parliament Council and all the parliamentary forms of government and procedure, with an opposition perpetually opposed to the party which is for the time being in power.

I do not propose to say anything about Edinburgh, as the condition there does not differ materially from that of any of the other big cities in Scotland. But Dublin has some special characteristics ; for instance, in addition to the 30 elected members, the Council includes five " commercial " councillors, who are elected by the registered occupiers of business premises, who have larger or smaller

votes according to the rateable value of their business. The first ordinary member in each of the five wards and the first commercial member are made aldermen. The Lord Mayor is elected annually. Also, there is an official called the City Manager and Town Clerk, who seems to occupy much the same position as the City Manager in America. This official is appointed by the Council for life, unless he is removed for any particular reason, and he cannot be removed without the permission of the Minister, who also determines his remuneration.

Now, turning to other countries—Paris has a remarkable system of government, for, in spite of its position as capital and its supreme importance in France, it has no Mayor. Paris is within the department of the Seine and that department is administered on the same principle as the other departments of France. The man at the head of the department is the Prefect of the Seine. He really carries out most of the duties of Mayor of Paris as well as those of Prefect of the Department. Side by side with the Prefect of the Seine is another officer called Prefect of the Police. He is not a subordinate, but a colleague. He is appointed and dismissed by the President of the Republic. His business is not only to look after police matters concerned with criminal proceedings, but to supervise sanitary regulations, unhealthy industries and so on.

There is a Municipal Council for Paris consisting of 80 persons elected by manhood suffrage for four years. They are paid, but they have very little power, the greater part of the power being in the hands of the Prefect himself. In the department of the Seine there is a Council General as in other departments, which consists of these 80 members of the Municipal Council of Paris together with 40 representatives of the arrondissements outside Paris. Almost all the decisions of this Council require government approval. Therefore you see in Paris there is very little local self-government in the sense in which we use the term.

Paris is divided into 20 arrondissements and each of these arrondissements has a Mayor and 3 to 5 Deputy Mayors, who are appointed by the President. They are really agents of the Prefect of the Seine and, although there is a local committee for each of these arrondissements, it has to work under the Mayor and report to the Central Council, and has very little power.

Then there are a number of Advisory Boards, *e.g.*, the Council d' Hygiène et de Salubrité which consists of a number of officials and *ex-officio* persons, of which the Prefect of Police is the chairman. A

Public Assistance Board is also appointed, consisting of ex-officio persons and heads of various organisations. These advise the central government.

If you visit Brussels, you will think that it is a good-sized city. There are two large railway stations situated at opposite ends of what is the principal business street of Brussels, yet neither of these stations is actually in Brussels itself. The whole area of Brussels consists of 18 independent communes, which have no central organisation whatever except that the Mayors of these communes meet periodically at the Town Hall of Brussels, to discuss matters which are of common interest. But their decisions leave no executive authority. Brussels is only one of these 18 independent communes, but occupies the central position. There are various proposals,—naturally there would be, to unify the government—proposals to make these 18 communes one, but this has never yet been carried out. The same system goes on.

There have been many attempts to improve the system of government in Berlin. In 1911 there was formed a Union for special purposes which included Berlin, its suburbs and two landkreise or counties, covering in all an area of 1,400 sq. miles. This did not prove satisfactory and, in 1920, 91 local authorities were incorporated in Berlin, including 8 towns, 59 rural communes and 27 "memorial estates." The area of this incorporation was about 320 square miles. In 1931 another Act was passed. A Municipal Assembly was set up of 225 persons elected for a period of 4 years. This assembly appointed an executive called the Magistrate consisting of 9 paid and 6 unpaid officials, together with the Oberburgo master and two Burgo-masters, the Oberburgomaster being the chairman. Under this arrangement Berlin was also divided into 29 districts and each of these districts had a council, the executive of which was usually paid. Each of these districts had the power of supervising local institutions concerned with that particular area, but had no separate rating power.

I do not know for certain what is at the present moment the position in Berlin, and I have reason to believe that, as in other cities of Germany the elected council has been put an end to altogether and the whole organisation is controlled and officials appointed by the central government.

That is similar to the system in Rome. The same principle was adopted for the great city of Rome, as for all the other communes of Italy, and it is governed by a single official called the Governatore appointed by the central government. There is a Consulta consisting

of 12 Consultori who are similarly appointed for 4 years with power to give advice, which, however, need not be followed.

Vienna is at the same time a commune and a province and therefore has both municipal and provincial forms of organisation. There is a council consisting of 100 members elected for 5 years. This council chooses a "Town Senate" which consists of 10 members. Members of the council are debarred from becoming members of this Town Senate. It has certain executive powers and can pass resolutions on matters which are not definitely reserved to the larger bodies. The Burgo-master is the police authority, and administers through the Magistrate or Town Senate. Vienna is divided into 21 districts, each of which has an administrative committee of 30 members and these committees meet quarterly and are entirely subordinate to the Burgomaster.

Prague has very much the same sort of organisation, but there is one characteristic about Prague which is interesting. That is—the Council is elected by proportional representation. There are 14 or 15 different parties and by the system of proportional representation that is existing each party draws up a list of candidates. The electors cannot vote for any particular candidate. They have only to vote for a list. The city is divided into 13 districts, each of which has an elected council of 24 to 48 members, which has advisory powers only. These district councils have no independent budgets, their staff being appointed and paid by the central office.

Budapest, the capital of Hungary, was reorganised in 1930. The Chief Mayor is appointed by the central government from three persons recommended by the municipal assembly and his salary is paid by the state and not by Budapest. He has very large powers and presides over the Municipal Assembly and the executive. The Municipal Assembly consists of 202 members, out of which 150 are directly elected for 6 years by proportional representation. Voting is compulsory. There is another body the "Small Meeting" consisting of 26 members of the Municipal Assembly, out of which 20 are appointed by the assembly and 6 by the Mayor. It has no executive power. There are various committees to look after the municipal enterprises, which are very numerous.

I now turn to the United States. I do not propose to talk about the capital Washington as that is not an example of local self-government, since it is administered by an appointed Commission. I propose instead to describe the municipal administration of New York, a city which looms largest in the eyes of outsiders. It has a complicated

system of government. It really consists of 5 different counties and these counties have not disappeared in the organisation which is being set up in New York. They are kept separate for the purpose of the administration of justice and for the election of many officials. The Charter of 1897, under which the new government is working, formed those counties into boroughs. Each borough has a President who is elected for 4 years. His salary is 20,000 dollars a year. There is no borough council, the President being personally and individually responsible for the supervision of building and so forth.

The Mayor of New York is elected for 4 years. His salary is \$40,000 a year. The Mayor is really responsible for the whole of the administration of New York excepting finance. He also appoints all higher administrative officers and in most cases he may remove them at any time. He may himself be removed by the Governor of the State if charges are proved against him, otherwise he remains in office for 4 years.

The Board of Aldermen consists of 67 aldermen who are elected for 2 years together with the 5 borough presidents. This board has very little power. It can make amendments and repeal resolutions which the Mayor may veto, but his veto may be over-ruled by 2/3rds vote. The Board of Estimate and Apportionment is a most important body. It consists of the Mayor, Comptroller, President of the Board of Aldermen and Presidents of the boroughs. It prepares the budget, decides financial questions, and is the real power in the city after the Mayor.

There are other boards, one of which is the Board of Elections, which consists of 4 Commissioners,—2 republicans and 2 democrats,—appointed by the board of Aldermen for 2 years on the recommendation of the party organisations. The board settles all questions relating to elections and this exemplifies the extent to which party politics are brought into the municipal administrations. Then there is the Department of Health. It has a board of 7 but is actually administered by the Commissioner. In the Department of Education there are seven unpaid commissioners who are appointed by the Mayor, and the Police Commissioner is appointed by the Mayor for 5 years and is responsible for police.

It is worthy of notice that there is in America a great move for a different form of government for what are known as metropolitan regions. There are 96 such regions recognised in the United States census. These metropolitan regions are centred about one great city and include the areas immediately outside it and economically as

well as geographically connected with it. The Chicago region is a good example.

In Chicago itself there are 27 independent taxing bodies. In the Chicago region, which is held to cover about 4,836 square miles, extending into three states, there are 1,642 local authorities (including 15 counties), 7,700 elected officers and £5,000 municipal employees. A Chicago elector is expected, on polling day, to choose people for 150 different posts. The complication of 1,624 local authorities is really ridiculous, and one cure which is suggested is the establishment of Chicago as a State. It would mean very considerable alterations in the whole constitution of America for, if agreed to, it would probably lead to similar changes elsewhere.

The State Leagues of Municipalities are making a study of what is most needed for the local government for particular areas and are helping the municipalities in their respective states. The American Municipal Association, situated at Chicago, has formed a federation of these state Leagues and has joined the International Union of Local Authorities. Exchange of experience and information by this means is doing good work in America and, by its connection with the International Union of Local Authorities, America is able to find out what is being done in other countries, while it is on the other hand of great advantage to us that the American Municipal Association and through it the State Leagues of Municipalities have joined the International Union. In India the Local Self-government Institute of Bombay has joined the International Union of Local Authorities and I hope that the interest of India and of Indian local governing authorities will not end there, but that we shall have a similar connection with the local municipalities and other local authorities throughout India. As soon as that comes about I believe it will be the better for all concerned, as it will lead to better understanding and perhaps a solution of many of the problems that confront each municipality and are essentially the same everywhere.*

* Being the second of a course of three Readership Lectures on "A Comparative Study of Local Self-government and Regional Planning" delivered at the University of Calcutta. The first, on "Local Self-Government," was published in our February issue.

WHY IS PHILOSOPHY STAGNANT ?

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THE twentieth century, as everybody knows, is the century of Physics. Einstein is the fashionable deity of the day and the less he is understood the more reverently is he worshipped. Metaphysics is dismissed with a good-natured shrug if not looked down upon with positive contempt. From Galileo to Einstein is only three centuries, but in these three centuries Physics has risen from almost complete insignificance to its glorious supremacy of to-day. In comparison metaphysics is told to be ashamed of itself. What Plato and Aristotle thought and fought about two thousand years ago is, we are reminded, very much the same as what Russell and Royce, Bergson and Gentile are thinking and fighting about to this day. While Physics, restless with the spirit of time, moves on ever in search of "fresh woods and pastures new," metaphysics stands where it stood ages ago, cast aside from the world's surging tide of progress, stagnant, still,—an idle pursuit, a futile jugglery with high-sounding words, suited perhaps to the easy-going intellect of our early ancestors but utterly alien to the breathless vigour of spirit that characterises the present century. Though the scandal is too glaring for the metaphysician to deny it outright or to hush it up quietly, it is not altogether as flattering to the physicist as he usually makes it out to be.

But what exactly do we mean when we say that science has progressed ? To be sure the fund of facts at our command is enormously greater to-day than it was at the time of Galileo. No one, however, who has at all outgrown the naïveté of a laboratory assistant will be prepared to hold that genuine progress of science means a mere heaping of empirical data pile upon pile. The aspiration of an advanced science like Physics is to constitute itself into a deductive system based upon a few primitive concepts and postulates on the pattern of the systems of pure Geometry,—an aspiration that has been to a large extent realised in what is known as Field-Physics, thanks to the generalisations of Einstein's Theory of Gravitation in the hands of Weyl, Kaluza, Eddington and of Einstein himself in recent years. Like geometry again, physics takes for granted its fundamental principles and does not bother to subject them to analysis or criticism. Attention is exclusively focussed on the system that is built on them, the attitude towards the underlying basis being one of complacent nonchalance. It

is this arbitrary self-limitation on the part of the physicist that has made possible his triumphant march onwards. More and more facts are daily coming into the fold of his ever-expansive system but that merely means that these new facts can be referred back to certain fundamental laws and can be described in terms of certain fundamental concepts. These laws are never properly justified and these concepts are never satisfactorily explained. *Ad hoc* suggestions like the Quantum-rule of Planck or the Gravitation-equation of Einstein are tentatively put forward and if they are found capable of leading to experimentally verifiable measurements; they are accepted as true and go on to constitute the basic laws of this most advanced of all the sciences. And if any physicist knows what he means by concepts like space, time, electron, quantum and probability, he has been quite successful in scrupulously guarding the secret. Physicists are happy so long as you are content to gaze at and admire the magnificent structure that they have raised up, but if you show any curiosity as to the soundness of its foundation, you are apt to be treated like a naughty child asking indiscreet questions.

These indiscreet questions, however, cannot be hushed up for ever. Sooner or later they have to be asked and it falls to the lot of metaphysics to ask them. Metaphysics is best defined as the science of the categories. Categories are the fundamental ways of knowing if we adopt the subjectivistic standpoint of Kant, or the pervasive features of existence if we take up the realistic position of Alexander. In either case it is eminently desirable that metaphysics should seek for its categories in the organised systems of the sciences rather than in the chaotic crudities of common experience. The categories are in fact identical with the primitive concepts and postulates of the sciences. Like the history of science, the history of metaphysics would have been a continuous march of progress if the categories which constitute its subject-matter themselves formed a system, as the facts and laws of a science do. There is, however, an essential point in which the system of metaphysics is bound to differ from the systems of the sciences. We have seen that the latter are content to take for granted their fundamental notions and demand no explanation for them. But metaphysics, whose business it is to examine the foundations of the sciences, cannot leave its own foundation thus insecure. If metaphysics is to be possible as a system, its fundamental principles must be self-evident and self-explicatory. Moreover, it is not difficult to see that this foundational status cannot be assigned to more than one principle, for otherwise the relation between them

would constitute a fresh problem necessitating a higher principle. It thus becomes imperative to find out a category which is itself self-evident and self-explicatory and which is capable of serving as the ground of explanation for all other categories. Monists believe in such a principle, pluralists reject it as an unattainable ideal and consequently deny the possibility of metaphysics as a system. We shall see that it is the repeated failure in the history of philosophy of this claim of monism to constitute itself into a unified system lying at the basis of scientific systems, that is responsible for the charge of stagnation and stultification brought against metaphysics.

Monism has developed itself, broadly speaking, along two lines: materialistic and idealistic. The former will not detain us long for it has been the favourite target of attack amongst philosophers and has had its weakness ransacked to the least details. It has been pointed out with repeated relish that its fundamental principle, whether it be the crude elements of the Ionics, or the tiny indivisible atoms of Democritus, or the unanalysable electrical units, the electron and proton, of physics of the recent past, or lastly the four-dimensional space-time framework with modifications in its geometrical structure as suggested by Einstein and metaphysically elaborated by Alexander, —in no case is this principle either self-evident or self-explicatory. Nor does it in any of its forms serve as the ultimate ground from which other categories could be logically derived. Even if it be conceded that life is, or will be in some distant future, amenable to materialistic treatment, mind stubbornly refuses to display any such complacent docility. Alexander, who has given to materialistic monism a classic grandeur, maintains that everything from Kubla Khan's vision to the flat nose of a Chinaman has evolved out of the parent substance, space-time. But whenever a critical moment arrives in the development of his system, he finds it discreet to turn into an emergent evolutionist, which is only a genteel way of confessing to a logical *impasse*. Primary qualities, secondary qualities, life, mind are all introduced one after another as occasion demands without the slightest attempt at deducing them from, or explaining them in terms of, space-time. They just sprout forth from nowhere like the mango plant of an Indian magician.

Idealistic monism has as its two chief exponents, Samkara in India and Hegel in Europe. Both of them take self as the ultimate principle of metaphysical explanation. This is undoubtedly a great advance on the metaphysics of materialistic monism which regards self

as derivative; for if anything has been shown to demonstrative certainty by the history of philosophic thought from Descartes to Gentile, it is the impossibility of deriving self from the not-self. We have seen that a monistic metaphysics must fulfil two conditions: (1) its fundamental principle must be self-evident and self-explicatory, and (2) all other categories must be logically deducible from its first category. Idealistic monism has certainly succeeded in realising the first condition. Self is so involved in all thought and experience that to doubt it or to demand an explanation for it, already presupposes it. As regards the second condition, Hegel and Saṃkara adopt diametrically opposed attitudes. We shall briefly examine their respective orientations to this problem.

The distinctive feature of Hegel's philosophy is his Dialectic in which he constructs a triadic hierarchy of categories in order to exhibit that the Absolute Idea or Self is capable of yielding all the lower categories by a process of dialectical analysis. The dialectical process, however, as actually worked out by the master, is acknowledged even by his most ardent disciples to be full of errors and arbitrary makeshifts. But apart from that, there is a vital defect that is intrinsic to the nature of the theory itself, *viz.*, the treatment of self as a category. The categories, as Kant had shown, are the necessary conditions of objectivity. But they themselves can be made the objects of thought by a process of transcendental regress or epistemological abstraction; yet even this reflection on the categories presupposes the self as subject to which they are presented as objects. This is possible even in Kant for whom the categories have the form of activity; Hegel's treatment of them as constituting a hierarchical order involving mutual relation and dependence assigns to them the form of being, bringing out still more palpably the contrast between their objectivity and the subjectivity of self. The whole system of categories, as Green pointed out later, is possible on the presupposition of self as the unifying function which itself cannot be an element of the system. To identify it with a category, even if that be the highest category, is no less an error than it is to identify it with the cerebrum or with the psychical flux. All monistical philosophy, sooner or later, comes up against a dilemma that is as inevitable as it is insoluble. In self alone does it succeed in finding something that can neither be doubted nor be in need of any explanation, but self cannot function as the ground of explanation of the categories, for even the relation of ground and consequent presupposes it.

Saṃkara's characteristic way of meeting the situation is to adopt a negative method of attack in sharp contrast with the positive procedure of Hegelian dialectic. Brahman is reached, not by way of a progressive development of the categories, but through a successive denial of them. Saṃkara and his more ingenious disciple Śrīhaṛṣa subject the fundamental categories of thought to a searching criticism with a view to bring out the inner contradictions involved in them. Far from the categories being deduced from, or explained in terms of, Brahman, the legitimacy of even the demand for such an explanation is not admitted. They and the world known through them are assigned a different level of reality (empirical or *vyavahārika satya*) from that of Brahman which is the ultimate reality or *pāramārthikasatya*. The characterisation of the world as the product of *māyā* has been variously interpreted, one very plausible interpretation being that there is no possibility of relating the world to Brahman, which are truths on different levels. So the second condition of monistic metaphysics is met by Saṃkara, not by explaining the categories in terms of Brahman, but by rejecting them as self-contradictory and unintelligible, leaving Brahman as the one and only reality, *ekamadvītiyam*. We shall not enter here into the question as to whether the categories are really riddled with contradictions as they have been alleged to be. It might be maintained that where contradiction is alleged what is exhibited is only a lack of complete intelligibility, and that to find a category not fully intelligible is no reason for dismissing it as a source of illusion, —on the contrary it is a challenge to make renewed attempts to lay bare its unyielding secrets. Nor shall we argue against the claim for the superior truth of intuitive experience over that of intellectual knowledge based upon the *ipse dixit* of certain unknown yogis that in the mystical intuition of Brahman intellect and its object, the empirical world, are found to be sublated. It will suffice here to point out that Saṃkara's theory, whatever be its value otherwise, fails to give us any metaphysics. If anything, it is an express denial of it. All knowledge, whether scientific or philosophic, starts with the postulate that the world is intelligible. To deny the legitimacy of such a demand, to characterise the world as inexplicable, to take Brahman out of all relation to the world is to wash our hands of metaphysics altogether. Even if it be granted that intuition is capable of leading to a direct and immediate contact with reality—a contact that intellect is unable to establish with its never-ending chain of relational categories—it still remains for metaphysics to determine how appearances arise out of reality. An

intuitionist has either to maintain with Sankara that the world-appearance is sublated in the realisation of Brahman as the snake is sublated in the perception of the rope, or has to end in the sceptical faith of Bradley that appearances are there in the bosom of reality though we know not how. The eternal question: "Why appearances appear?" remains unanswered. Mysticism might be nobler than metaphysics but it is not metaphysics, and it is only the inferiority-complex of the mystics which is responsible for a confusion between the two. And if we say that the denial of metaphysics is itself a metaphysics, we are perilously near the triviality of punning upon words.

We have tried to show how monistic metaphysics as represented in its best exponents like Alexander, Hegel and Sankara, has failed to give us a system based upon a principle that is at once its own explanation and that of all other principles. But there is nothing in this failure to discredit philosophy in the eyes of science, for it is the outcome of greater ambition, not of lesser power. One could as well boast of his success in traversing large tracts of level ground and laugh at a comrade who has failed to reach the summit of Mount Everest. Nor should we forget that it is because science is allowed to pass its more serious difficulties on to philosophy that it is itself able to sail so smoothly. Science is ready with its systems because it thinks nothing of taking things for granted; philosophy is unable to build up a system because it refuses to rest with anything that is arbitrary or merely hypothetical.

If metaphysics is to escape the charge of stagnation, it will have to give up the monist's lofty but unattainable ideal of system-building. Progress seems to be possible only along pluralistic lines, and ever since the first great pluralistic conception of the universe was set forth by Kant, metaphysics has had fresh life breathed into it. The distinctive features of pluralism and monism are typically illustrated in the theories of Kant and Hegel respectively. The monistic hypothesis is only an 'Idea of Reason' for Kant, useful and acceptable so long as it is restricted to the limits of a regulative ideal, but a perpetual source of illusion when this caution is ignored. Hegel transforms the regulative ideals into constitutive principles and treats them all as the organic elements of a spiritual system. Pluralism conceives the essential task of metaphysics to consist, not in the construction of a system, but in giving us a better insight into and a clearer vision of the categories of science through an exhaustive analysis and criticism of them. This task begins, properly speaking, with Hume's analysis of

the conceptions of causality and material and mental substances. Kant's epoch-making contributions gave a tremendous impetus to it and the contemporary pluralists are carrying forward the traditions of Hume and Kant. The development in the notion of objectivity, and particularly in the relation between object and its appearances, is one among the many instances of the growing vitality of metaphysics. The passage from Locke's simple conception of object as the unknown cause outside of its appearances which are ideas within our minds to the elaborate intricacies of Russell's Class theory, Alexander's theory of Compound objects, Whitehead's Multiple Inherence theory, etc., though by no means claiming to have reached anything like finality, has undoubtedly thrown much light on this difficult problem.

It may be objected that analysis and criticism of a category is not possible except within a system of knowledge taken for granted. In a sense this is true. But what pluralism insists upon is that this system is not inviolate and its basis is not fixed as in science. The monists made heroic attempts to lay down a fixed basis for metaphysics in matter, in space-time or in self, and the history of their failure is a warning not to build metaphysics too closely on the model of the sciences. In studying some category some others have to be taken for granted, but any one of these latter can in turn be subjected to analysis and criticism for which the former along with others serve as basis. Metaphysics no doubt has a structure and a foundation, but characteristically enough the structure and the foundation can change places in accordance with logical exigencies.

The contemporary pluralistic reaction against monism, particularly against idealistic monism, has rescued metaphysics from the dead weight of another and a still more impossible ambition. The philosophical adventure of Plato, Spinoza and Hegel was a quest for a first principle that would not only unify the whole body of knowledge but would at the same time provide for the moral government of the world and serve as an outlet for the religious passion of mankind. These three distinct and often conflicting demands had proved a perpetual source of entanglement and embarrassment, resulting at times in elementary logical fallacies on the part of first-rate philosophers in their anxiety to keep intact the moral or religious impeccability of their system. Pluralists like Bertrand Russell have, by their courageous repudiation of ethical and religious demands from the domain of metaphysics, opened out the path of its progress far and wide. The metaphysician's task, as it is, is difficult enough; he need not make it impossible by aspiring to usurp the functions of Krishna and Christ.

BUDDHISM: A STUDY FROM THE HUMANISTIC POINT OF VIEW

By JYOTIRINDRA NATH DAS-GUPTA, M.A.

THE seer sees the needs of his times and tries to minister to them. Such a one was Buddha. He flourished in an age when India badly needed a reformer. The moral, religious and political atmosphere was then peculiarly chaotic. Politically, India had been sundered into a number of sovereign states, one conflicting with another. This chaos in politics had had its counterpart in the philosophical outlook of the day. People were growing more and more critical and conflicting theories about the Universe and Godhead were set up. Religion, thus, grew shaky on its philosophical foundation and, gradually, degenerated into an empty belief. The self-seeking priest seized this opportunity and set himself up as an intermediary between God and Man. He would, no longer, cure the sick by initiating them into the life of spirit, he would rather address them, "Son, bring me gold, I make a sacrifice unto God, he will forgive thee thy sins." The chord of direct communion between God and Man was cut off, and man began to fear rather than revere God. Sins might be permitted if only the angry gods were pleased. Moral life, thus, suffered and evils of all sort cankered the society. Besides, philosophers who are, ever, the best guides of people indulged in aimless metaphysical flights which were too lofty for the masses. The masses were, thus, cut off from the intellectual life of the classes and grew superstitious and ceremonial.

Buddha saw all this. He endeavoured to stem the tides of his times and divert them into the right course. And therein lay his greatness as also in the philosophy of life he expounded. Buddhism is only the criticism of the philosophical outlook of those days. But the criticism was more constructive than destructive, as Buddha churned the truth out of that philosophy and built up his own philosophy on them.

The Upanishads established the relationship of the Infinite with the Finite. The Infinite is not conceived as altogether transcending the Finite. On the contrary the Infinite is ever realising itself in and

through the Finite. This must not be taken to mean that the Finite can at any time exhaust the Infinite or that the Infinite is but the aggregate of the Finite which are only the manifestations of the Infinite. For the power and the manifestations of that Power can never be identified with each other. These transcendent and immanent aspects of the one Reality are most clearly portrayed in the Upanishads.

The ethical implications of this theory of the Infinite and Finite are far-reaching. The Finite is to be infinitised—that is the only ethical ideal compatible with it. Man is to realise his oneness with God—that is the only ideal for man. “May I enter thee, such as thou art, O Lord. May thou, O Lord, enter me.....May I become well cleansed, O Lord.” The realisation of God within man requires purification of soul. Thus in the Upanishads, religion was not mere belief. It was life—life in all its fullness. This was because the Infinite was not conceived as being something beyond the Finite; the Infinite was felt to be in the Finite and the Finite in the Infinite. The masses failed to grasp the spirit of this philosophy. In popular thought, it degenerated into abstract metaphysics and the Infinite God was gradually cut off from the finite man. The ethical consequences were awful. If God be conceived as a deity reigning without and not within, the Upanishadic ideal of the purification of soul does not hold. Man no longer hears the voice of God within himself. God can at most reward or chastise man from without. And since the path of evil runs more smooth than that of good, the frail man takes to that path, for sins can be made good if only the angry gods are bribed into quietness.

At this stage Buddha stepped in. He began to revolutionise the thoughts of his times. To him religion and metaphysics were of no value if they did not positively aid the uplift of man. And he clearly saw the evils of the intellectual and religious degeneration of his age. The Upanishads propounded the ideal religion for man. Buddha marked the degeneration of that religion in popular thought and saw how gradually philosophy and theology centred round God leaving man to sins, and that God reigned without and not within the finite man. Buddha would, for the time being, drive God, altogether out of the field, and shift the centre of philosophy from God to Man. He may, thus, be called the precursor of the modern movement of Humanism, for to him human values were of primary importance and values that are superhuman were to be evaluated only in relation to those that are human.

The supreme problem for man to solve is: how to alleviate his own sufferings. The metaphysical problems regarding the extra-phenomenal Reality which are but subsidiary to the physical problems as that of suffering, cannot be of the first importance, for "So long as we are in fire, we must first get out of the fire before we should philosophise as to what fire is." But we should always remember that Buddha only suspended his judgment on metaphysics, and this suspension must not be construed as the denial of metaphysical reality.

Buddha approached the problem with an appeal to common sense that even the man in the street might understand him. For it was mainly the lowly and degenerated that he had his message for. Besides Buddha, the prophet of Humanism, ever championed the reality of common sense. To him anything that was beyond common sense was abstract and unreal.¹ With this epistemology he attempted his philosophy

Man suffers because man desires. He desires what he mistakes to be permanent. In reality, that which he desires is impermanent, and disappointment follows. To bring this home to man's mind, Buddha first proved that everything was impermanent. Whatever we experience is transient,—experience always gives us becoming and never being. "The thing we experience are like flame." Though apparently they remain unchanged, they are, nevertheless, changing every moment. Change is the stuff of reality,—becoming is all that is. "There are three things, O King, which you cannot find in the world. That which, whether unconscious or conscious, is not subject to decay and death, you will not find. And in the highest sense there is no such thing as being possessed of being." (Milinda, IV, 7. 12)

The truth implied in these teachings is that the self, which the average selfish man desires to perpetuate, is not the true self of man. It is the self that seeks satisfaction in the worldly pleasures. If only the permanent deserves to be called the self, nothing on earth merits that title. That is why Buddha advises selflessness. Man must sacrifice his smaller self to realise the deeper self in him—he must die to live. Nevertheless, Buddha, even while denying the reality of smaller self, recognised, implicitly if not explicitly, the existence of a higher self which the Upanishads called Atman—the self in which man ultimately unites with man. For the sacrifice even of the impermanent

¹ Cf. Haldane—'The Philosophy of Humanism.'

transient self cannot be justified except as conducive to the ultimate good of man, that is, to the well-being of the permanent self that lies deeper in man. But Buddha was always silent on this all-pervading Atman, for he was afraid that it might be confused and identified with the smaller impermanent self of the selfish.

Never before was this more emphasised in Indian thought. The Upanishads did, doubtless, throw occasional hints at this point, but in the glare of the Upanishadic metaphysics ethics glowed rather a bit too feebly. And it was Buddha who first brought into the limelight the ethical significance of the Upanishads. Buddhism is but the rigorous ethical application of the teachings of the Upanishads to the life of man. The humanistic elements in the Upanishads were clearly brought out by Buddha, although he silently passed over metaphysics which was relatively superhuman. In the Upanishads, values that are superhuman, such as the Atman and Brahman, were emphasised, while in Buddhism, stress was laid on human values of purity, kindness, and goodness such as common sense would prize.

Buddhism is ethics and psychology rather than religion and metaphysics. The true Buddhist is he who conforms to the mode of life enjoined in Buddhism. He need not worship any god, for Buddhism does not recognise any. But he has got to worship man. This he can do only by serving himself and his fellow-sufferers in a spirit of selflessness—the spirit that urged Prince Gautama to renounce the world and move about in quest of the True. To man, man is of the first importance. First let man be perfect ; the question of God would, if at all, come in next.

This humanistic element in Buddhism always held an appeal for the masses. The lightless mass would find little interest in abstruse philosophical discussions, but that which affects them from the social and moral point of view would always elicit their interest. Besides, the lowly and the outcast found prospects of salvation in Buddhism ; for Buddhism left no room for class distinctions, as all men—the prince and the peasant—are alike suffering on earth and only men following the eightfold Aryan path of virtue can be, really, happy.

Buddhism is often unfairly charged with tendency towards asceticism. Asceticism, definitely, implies the abstraction of soul from body, and Buddha who would always approach the problem of life from the humanistic point of view, discouraged such abstractions, as common experience gives us only the concrete whole of body-mind and never the abstract units of body and mind. So Buddha would, always,

discourage abstract asceticism. He would only ask his disciples 'to be in the world but not of the world.' They must not be altogether engrossed in the worldly affairs, for then they would desire to perpetuate the smaller self that always tends to be selfish. Buddha would thus recommend the middle course—the two extremes of asceticism and worldliness are always to be avoided.

Buddha's contributions to ethics and sociology are immortal. He dealt with the failings of the average man and prescribed means for his uplift. Until ethics and sociology outgrow their needfulness,—until the world becomes a utopia in which only supermen who alone can dispense with ethical and social enjoinings would roam about—Buddha's teachings would be furnishing guiding principles for the life of man,—the common man that lives, loves and dies.

RELATIVE GROWTH OF THE HINDUS AND THE MUHAMMADANS IN BENGAL

(During the British Rule)

By RABINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc.

Calcutta

THOUGH the battle of Plassey was fought in 1757, the British did not take any active part in the administration of the affairs of Bengal till the grant of *Dewani* on the 12th August, 1765. Four years later came the devastating famine of 1176 B. S. (=1769), popularly remembered as the *Chhiattorer Manwantar*, i.e., the change of heavenly rulers in seventy-six. In this famine, nearly one-third of the population of Bengal was swept off; and it affected the western part of the province more than the eastern.

Scientific Census began to be taken in Bengal since 1872. Although the census of 1872 was not synchronous in the sense the census of 1881 and of the subsequent years were, yet the figures obtained are sufficiently accurate for our purposes. The growth of the population as a whole, and of the Hindus and the Muhammadans as communities, have been under accurate observation for the last 60 years. May we from the observed data, calculate backwards the population in 1757 or 1769, i.e., roughly a century earlier from the earliest recorded figures.

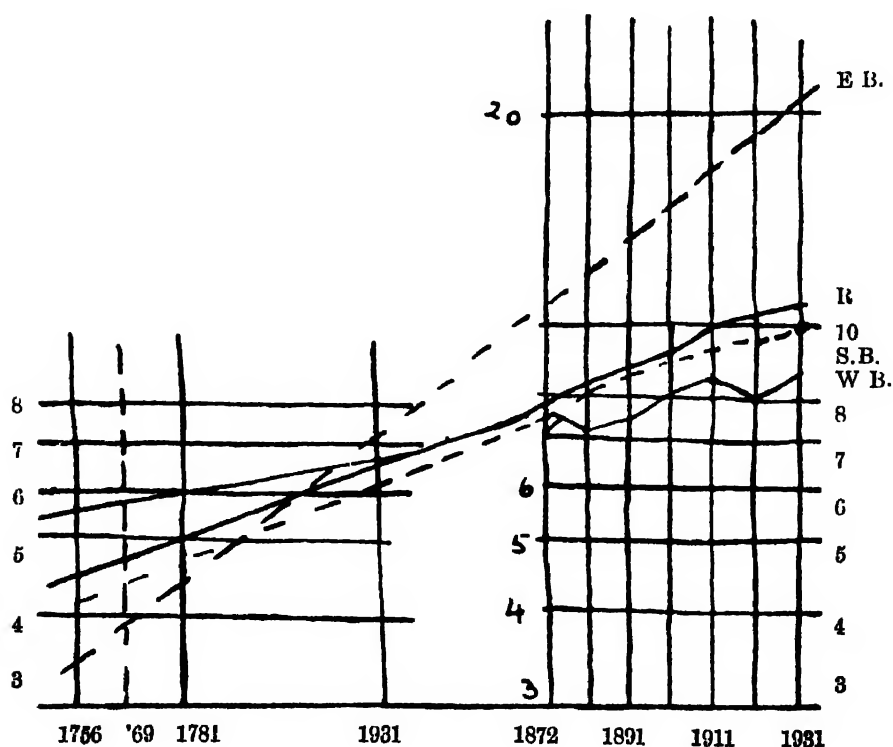
The growth of population, according to Raymond Pearl, follows a 'logistic curve;' and in the Bengal Census Report for 1931, the growth of the population, and of the different religious communities, have been plotted upon a "logarithmic" section, in which the vertical intervals are proportionate not to the differences between the figures represented by them but to the differences between the logarithms of these figures.

The changes of population since 1872 for the several natural divisions are plotted at page 20 of the Report. Let us assume that there has been the same rate of growth since 1769, as during the observed

period 1872-1931. On producing the curves backwards, we get the following results:—

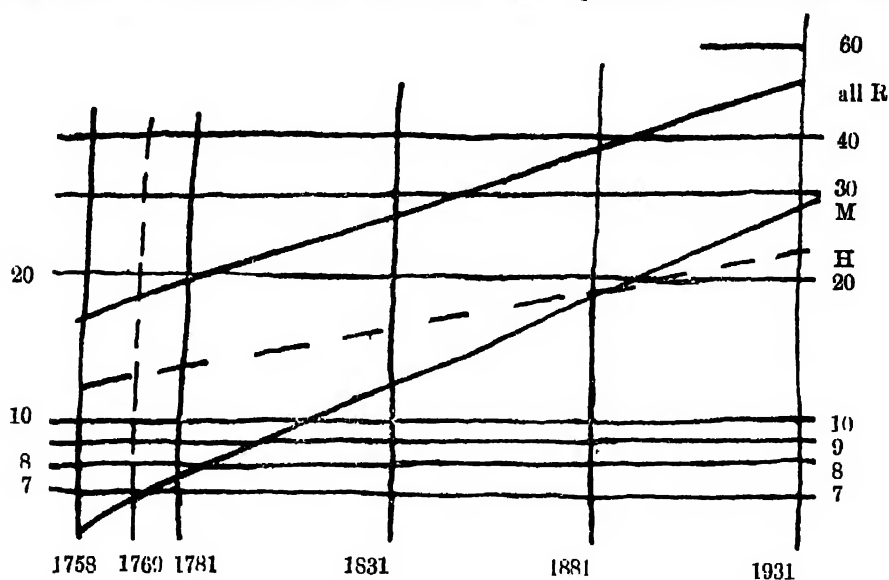
Population in millions in	1831.	1781.	1769.
(E. B.) Eastern Bengal (Dacca and Chittagong) ...	7·3	4·4	3·8
(R.) Rajshahi Division ...	6·7	5·2	4·9
(S. B.) Southern Bengal, or Presidency Division ...	6·3	4·8	4·5
(W. B.) Western Bengal ...	6·8	6·0	5·8
All Bengal ...	27·1	20·4	18·0

The curves we have obtained are reproduced here. The figures represent millions of population. The curve for Western Bengal is undulating; we have passed a smooth curve through it; and to be on the safe side, the produced curve is slightly lower than it should have been.



The changes in religions at each census from 1881 to 1931 are shown at page 386 of the Bengal Report. We reproduce the curves, showing the growth of total population, and of the Hindus and the

Muhammadans during 1881 to 1931, and produce them backwards



to 1756. On producing the curves, we get the following figures:—

Population in millions in	1831	1781.	1769.
(All R.)—All Religions	... 27 0	19.5	18 0
(H.)—Hindus	... 16 0	12.0	11.0
(M.)—Muhammadans	... 11 0	7.8	7 0

The curves we have obtained are reproduced here. The figures represent millions of population. The curve for the Hindus is slightly undulating during the observed period ; so we have passed a smooth line through the observed figures. To be on the safe side, it is slightly lower than it should have been.

That we are not far wrong in our estimates may be shown from the following considerations. The Permanent Settlement of land revenue was made in 1793. By it the Decennial Settlement made in 1789 was made permanent. At the time of the permanent settlement, the land-revenue was generally fixed at ten-elevenths of the gross rental. Ordinarily such gross rental will be proportional to population ; so the permanently settled revenue is proportional to the then population. Let us see how far this is correct.

	Pop. in millions in 1781.	Land Rev. in lakhs. Rs.
Eastern Bengal	... 4.4	45
Rajshahi	... 5.2	49
Presidency	... 4.8	44
Burdwan	... 6.0	77
	20.4	215

It may be that the assets or gross rental of the Zamindars of Western Bengal were more particularly known to the authorities; or that the Eastern Bengal landlords were more clever to conceal their assets; the broad fact remains that the land-revenue was more or less proportional to population.

That the Hindus greatly outnumbered the Muhammadans, and roughly in the proportion we have indicated, is borne out by the accounts of early observers. Montgomery Martin observes the preponderance of Hindus in Northern Bengal (*c.* 1820). In Bakarganj, at present (1931), the proportion of Muhammadans is 71·63 per cent. The Bakarganj District Gazetteer says:—"Indeed it is probable that there were as many Hindus as Muhammadans in the district in 1800 A.D."

The proportion of Hindus and Muhammadans we have obtained, is on the assumption that the growth is natural; and that if any portion of it is due to conversion, the rate of conversion has been the same throughout the period. But there are indications that the revival of Hindu Orthodoxy in the early days of British rule compelled many of the lower castes to adopt nominal Muhammadanism. Will any better brain work out this aspect of the problem?

LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN EUROPE

By BATAKRISHNA GHOSH, D. PHIL. (MUNICH),

D. LITT. (PARIS).

Calcutta

THE science of Grammar was assiduously cultivated by the philosophers of the ancient world, but an independent science of Linguistics never grew up out of their labours. Being philosophers they naturally tended to make the grammatical categories coincide with the logical ones although they were ill equipped with the apparatus by means of which alone the apparent gulf between the two systems can be bridged up,—an historical methodology regarding the origin and development of the language concerned, which however is not possible without comparative studies. The science of Grammar was actually founded in the West at a comparatively later date by Dionysios Thrax (cir. 100 B. C.) but his path was prepared by the long string of classical philosophers and Alexandrian philologists. Thus Plato in his *Kratulos* tried to establish that the relation between the word and its meaning is preordained (*phúsis*) and not dependent on human discrimination (*thésis*). Aristoteles anticipated even the earlier Indian grammarians when he remarked that truth or untruth lies not in an isolated word but only in the word in a sentence, and in the heyday of grammatical controversy between the analogists and the anomalists the renowned Alexandrian Aristarchos asserted the identity of logical and grammatical categories. Nowhere in the antique world however were grammatical studies so highly cherished as in India, and as here these studies began with objective philologists instead of theorising philosophers as in Greece, India has been able to make lasting contributions even to the modern science of Comparative Grammar.¹ The wonderful precision in descriptive phonology reached in the *Prātisūkhyas* can be equalled only by the modern linguistic works, the classification of compounds given by the Indian grammarians is usually adhered to in the treatment of all Indo-European languages, and the existence of dissyllabic roots was discovered in India long before Ferdinand de Saussure.

¹ popularly but wrongly called Comparative Philology.

In spite of all these brilliant achievements of the antique scholars the science of Linguistics and Comparative Grammar dates only from Franz Bopp (1791-1867). He laid the foundation of Comparative Grammar by the publication of his "Über das Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache, in Vergleichung mit jenem der griechischen, lateinischen, persischen und germanischen Sprache" (1816). Seventeen years later he published the first volume of his "Vergleichende Grammatik." The main purpose of Bopp was to explain nominal and verbal inflexion by means of the Agglutinating theory of Wilhelm von Humboldt. He believed that the words of all the Indo-European languages could be traced back to monosyllabic roots, and that all flexional endings were originally pronouns. Yet it has to be said to the credit of Bopp that he perceived those "physical laws" which govern all the Indo-European languages. By "physical" law Bopp meant nothing but phonetic law. Bopp never tried to trace the historical development of particular Indo-European languages in the light of Comparative Grammar but remained content only with establishing their close relation with one another. It was Jakob Grimm (1785-1863) who introduced the historical method into linguistic studies and thus paved the way to a really scientific foundation of Comparative Grammar. Grimm was a Germanist and no comparativist. But the strictly scientific methodology which he demonstrated in his "Deutsche Grammatik" has proved to be of decisive importance for all subsequent linguistic research, and has been applied to various other languages by subsequent writers. Thus Diez's "Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen" and Miklosich's "Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen" were directly inspired by Grimm's "Grammatik." Grimm pointed out that for the scientific treatment of any particular language it is indispensable to trace it back to its own oldest historical form and that comparison with other Indo-European dialects should begin only at that stage. Like Bopp Grimm too was profoundly influenced by Wilhelm von Humboldt and defended his famous postulate that language is not an artificial product of human intellect but the direct expression of human nature. The third great pioneer in the field of Comparative Grammar was August Friedrich Pott, whose *magnum opus* is the voluminous "Etymologische Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen." Directly inspired by Bopp and Grimm he rendered invaluable services to the science of Linguistics by defining more rigorously than his predecessors the phonetic laws of the Indo-European languages and in this he was guided solely by his etymologies.

In the first period of comparative studies in Europe almost all the works on Comparative Grammar were disfigured by philological inaccuracies which brought them into disrepute specially among the classical scholars. Exulting over undreamt of parallelisms with languages hitherto almost quite unknown the comparativists neglected the languages themselves and transferred their whole attention to the study of these parallelisms alone. As a result of the inevitable reaction the comparativists were soon constrained to study more carefully the languages they were dealing with and Theodor Benfey may be called the first scholar who tried to combine in himself the qualities of both the philologist and the comparativist. His edition of the *Sāmaveda* (1848) with text, translation and glossary was a remarkable achievement for the age, but his "*Griechisches Wurzellexikon*" was less satisfactory. From the comparativist's point of view it has to be said to his credit that he insisted on the "organic" relation between various forms etymologically connected with one another. The position of Max Müller, so well known in India, is rather dubious. He was doubtless a sound and conscientious Sanskritist and his pedagogic genius has rendered immense service to the science of Comparative Grammar by popularising it among wider circles. But in vulgarising the science he debased its quality and Whitney's onslaughts on him are unjustified only on account of their ferocity. In the field of Comparative Mythology too Müller played the same unhappy rôle: Kuhn founded it and gave it the status of a social science but Müller brought it into disrepute.

The first period of linguistic studies was brought to a close by August Schleicher (1821-1868) and Georg Curtius (1820-1885). Schleicher was a Slavist and his lasting contribution to the science of Linguistics lies in his publications on Lithuanian. But his "*Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik*" (1862) marks a great advance on Bopp's Comparative Grammar, specially in methodology. Endowed with a rare genial spirit and trained in Hegelian philosophy Schleicher divided the elements of the language into those of *meaning* and *connection* respectively. The meaning lies in the root and connection in additions and affixes. According to Schleicher originally the language was an isolating one (like Chinese), but already in prehistoric times the connecting elements were affixed to the roots and lent it an agglutinating character, and the whole historical development of the Indo-European dialects shows nothing but a tendency to revert to the original isolating type. These assertions naturally gave rise to violent controversy at a later date. Schleicher's Hegelian

leanings also determined his linguistic philosophy. He considered language to be a natural organism and placed it on the same footing with the natural sciences. This was a definitely retrograde movement from the position represented by Humboldt that language is *energeia* and not *phúsis*. But the greatest methodological achievement of Schleicher is without doubt his attempt to reconstruct the original Indo-European. Bopp established the relation between the Indo-European dialects and Grimm led the way to their historical treatment. But it was reserved for Schleicher to take the third logical step of synthesising these two tendencies and trace the various dialects back to one original language. Schleicher however missed his mark in estimating the value of reconstructed forms which he considered to have actually existed at some previous time. To-day they are regarded as mere convenient symbols to express the varying tendencies of the modern linguistic science. More they cannot be, for what Hendrik Kern facetiously remarked is but too true: the reconstructed original Indo-European changes its physiognomy every ten years.

Georg Curtius was essentially a Greek scholar and his "Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie" is still regularly consulted by linguists. In a sense he was the founder of modern Greek phonology. But his greatest achievement was to establish peace between the classical scholars and the linguists. The classical scholars shuddered at the thought that their holy Homer has to be explained with the help of Sanskrit; but Curtius, armed with his own profound knowledge of Greek, convinced at least a section of them of the great advantage to be derived from a linguistic and comparative study of the classical languages. The work of Curtius is being continued with equal ability and more geniality by Prof. Paul Kretschmer of Vienna whose "Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache" is a model work of its kind and is indispensable to every student of Greek and Comparative Grammar. Curtius was the last of the older stalwarts and on him fell the brunt of the battle with the new school of linguists. As usual, Curtius failed to see the signs of time and when in 1885 he published his "Zur Kritik der neuesten Sprachforschung" victory was already in the hands of his adversaries. To his last day Curtius believed that of all the Indo-European dialects Sanskrit has most faithfully preserved the Indo-European vowel system and in the field of consonantism he adhered to the theory of "sporadic" phonetic changes.

The second period of linguistic studies was heralded by Scherer and Leskien, ushered in by Ascoli, Fick and Schmidt and brought to a

close by the so-called *Junggrammatiker*. The main achievements of these scholars are doubtless to be sought in the field of Indo-European phonology. Scherer's "*Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*" (1868) is a modern work in every sense. All the subsequent publications of eminent Germanists like Kluge and Streitberg are modelled on this unique publication of Scherer. Equally important, though in another field, is Leskien's "*Die Declination in Slavisch-Litauischen und Germanischen*" (1876). At the hands of these scholars the methodology of linguistic research underwent a new orientation. The great importance of analogy in linguistic development was now realised for the first time and it began to slowly dawn upon the scholars that the flexional systems in all their entirety were already present in the basic Indo-European language and that the later apparent discord is mostly due to analogy.

It is due mainly to the penetrating researches of Ascoli, the renowned chief of the Italian school of linguists, that the vexed question of Indo-European gutturals has been solved, although occasional differences of opinion still occur regarding minor details. Ascoli began his linguistic studies with the living Romance languages and thus developed his own peculiar critical method which he applied to the problems of Comparative Grammar. Fick's greatest contribution to Comparative Grammar is his monumental "*Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*" (1870). The recent comparative dictionary by Walde-Pokorny is naturally more up to date, but there is no reason to believe that it is qualitatively superior to Fick's work. Many of the etymologies suggested by Fick have stood the test of time. In collaboration with Bechtel he wrote his important work on Greek proper names. Researches in this line were further continued by Bechtel who is also the author of the remarkable book "*Hauptprobleme der indo-germanischen Lautlehre seit Schleicher*" (1892) which is considered to be one of the classics in the field of Comparative Grammar. Moreover Bechtel has made voluminous contributions to the study of Greek dialects, but his publications on this subject, although a mine of invaluable information, must be characterised as unsystematic and sometimes even inaccurate.

In his earlier publications Johannes Schmidt still adheres to the old school and he did not go over to the new school without a struggle: his classical "*Kritik der Sonantentheorie*" is the result of his controversy with Brugmann *cum suis* over a vital problem. But if Schmidt hesitated to accept the tenets of the new school it is because all great

scholars find it difficult to change or modify their cherished views on account of new unexpected discoveries. For few scholars can boast of such profound depth of learning as Johannes Schmidt. His endless publications in the pages of *Kuhn's Zeitschrift* have enriched almost every branch of Comparative Grammar and his peerless "*Pluralbildungen der indo-germanischen Neutra*," written for specialists only, must always remain a wonder work of profound erudition. The Leipzig school of linguists, who formed the kernel of the *Junggrammatiker*, often received sharp but healthy criticism from the pen of Johannes Schmidt. His pupil, collaborator and successor in Berlin, Wilhelm Schulze, essentially continued the tradition of Schmidt. The students of Schulze are often heard to say in a tone of absolute conviction "Schulze knows everything,"—the present writer missed him narrowly, for he retired the same year the latter came to Germany. There is hardly any branch of Comparative Grammar in which Schulze has not left his mark. His work on the Homeric dialect "*Questiones epicae*" (1892) is still the best on the subject and his monumental "*Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen*" is considered to be a model work of the kind.

It is necessary to go back a few decades in order to begin the story of the *Junggrammatiker*—a word originally used in a malicious and pejorative sense to designate the pioneers of the new school but later considered to be a flattering epithet on account of those with whose names it was originally associated, for the *Junggrammatiker* are no others than Brugmann, Osthoff, Paul, etc., and in a sense also de Saussure, Kern and Fortunatov. A famous formula is for ever associated with the names of these scholars: *Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze* (phonetic laws admit no exception). Brugmann *cum suis* believed that the phonetic laws act with mechanical regularity and every apparent exception is to be attributed to the influence of analogy. Modern linguistic science no longer believes in such cast-iron phonetic laws; it considers them more as akin to laws of changing modes of clothing, as Guentert has actually put it: the majority follow the rule but a certain percentage always lags behind. Yet to the eternal credit of the *Junggrammatiker* it must be said that it is they who founded the entire discipline of Comparative Grammar on a really firm scientific basis and settled once for all the phonology of Indo-European dialects. Their individual contribution to science is second to that of no other scholar and above all Brugmann, the author of the *Grundriss*, holds a unique position in the whole history of Comparative Grammar: in a sense he even personifies it.

The theory of 'phonetic laws without exception' owes its origin to a brilliant discovery of the Danish scholar Karl Verner, a countryman of Rasmus Rask who disputes with Grimm the honour of having discovered the law of Germanic consonant mutation. Ever since the days of Grimm-Rask the appearance of an unexpected media in the place of tenuis in Germanic forms was a thorn in the side of all linguists, and Germanists in particular. While in a playful mood in a Leipzig beer-hall frequented by students Verner accidentally discovered that this unexpected eruption of mediae into the realm of tenuis can be fully explained if the position of the accent is taken into consideration: in fact whenever the accent is not immediately preceding an unexpected media should take the place of the expected tenuis. This was the signal for a great revolution in linguistic science. A host of anomalous forms which could be hitherto explained only on the assumption of sporadic phonetic change could now be satisfactorily explained with the help of Verner's law. Phonetic laws rose at once in the esteem of the scholarly world, but their zealous sponsors shot above the target when they attributed to them the inexorableness of the laws of nature. Modern reaction against this view has been already referred to. Verner's discovery was of inestimable value also in another respect,—it solved the problem of Indo-European accent on all essential points. Hitherto Sanskrit and Greek had been the only two languages which still showed the old accent, but as they often differed from each other an insight into the nature of the original Indo-European accent was quite impossible. Now that the old Germanic accent could be inferred from the effects of Verner's law the welcome evidence of a third party was available which decided the issue in favour of Sanskrit on most essential points.

In connection with the individual contributions of the *Jung-grammatiker* Brugmann's *Grundriss* has naturally to be mentioned first. This monumental work is not an "adventurous and personal" (Meillet) encyclopaedia like Hirt's recent "Indo-germanische Grammatik," but fully deserves its high reputation as a sober synthesis of all the multifarious achievements in the field of Comparative Grammar. The *Grundriss* is the basis of all modern linguistic research. Brugmann's discovery of the existence of syllabic nasals in the original Indo-European is one of the most brilliant in the history of Comparative Grammar. In the light of this discovery Brugmann theoretically postulated Greek forms in *-oia* for first person sing. optative. People were at first sceptical about these theoretical forms, but when from ancient Greek epigraphic records the

form *exclaunoiu* actually came to light it was a triumph not only for Brugmann himself but also for the whole science of Comparative Grammar. His colleague Osthoff, jointly with whom he published the famous "*Morphologische Untersuchungen*," discovered the existence of syllabic liquids in the original Indo-European. Osthoff specialised in presenting highly technical things in an attractive non-technical language, and all his writings are characterised by his own peculiar fresh and vigorous style.

Another important discovery, which finally unseated Sanskrit from its high pedestal in the realm of Comparative Grammar, was now imminent. It is the law of palatalisation in the Aryan languages which conclusively proved that Greek and not Sanskrit has faithfully preserved the Indo-European vowel system. This discovery, most credit for which has to be given to Collitz and Johannes Schmidt, for the first time cleared the way to a real understanding of Indo-European vocalism which was further cleared up and elucidated by de Saussure in his immortal *Mémoire*. De Saussure combined in himself creative imagination, rigorous accuracy and rare geniality and the value of his contribution to Comparative Grammar cannot be overestimated. It required an uncommon amount of imagination and self-confidence to suggest that in all cases *e* is the normal vowel and an even greater amount of erudition and power of presentation to convince the world of it. He also perceived that the Schwa Indogermanicum becomes *i* in the Aryan languages. This theory has been universally accepted with the solitary exception of Pedersen, who on that account has been severely taken to task by Guentert.

A host of eminent scholars of more or less independent position have to be mentioned at this stage, all of whom, in some way or other, were inspired by the *Junggrammatiker*. Quite a new field of research was opened up with the publication of Bréal's epoch-making "*Essai de sémantique*." Hitherto the grammars of individual Indo-European dialects were divided into three main sections—phonology, morphology and syntax. But Bréal's brilliant work was enough to show that semasiology too should be given an equally important place, and Nyrop in his "*Grammaire historique de la langue française*" has actually devoted a whole section to semasiology. Bechtel in his "*Ueber die Bezeichnungen der sinnlichen Wahrnehmungen in den indo-germanischen Sprachen*" ingeniously formulated the semasiological law which is associated with his name. In terms of this law words signifying subjective perception and the corresponding objective sensation are derived from the same root. Thus English *palm* (of

hand—of course a loan-word) and *feel* are etymologically connected with each other. Modern tendencies in semasiological researches may be best studied perhaps in the publications of Leo Spitzer and something like a system of Comparative Semasiology is being gradually built up under the inspiration of Antoine Meillet.

Jakob Wackernagel, the octogenarian savant of Bâle, is truly regarded as a prodigy of learning and a grammatical genius. Everything that issues from the pen of Wackernagel at once passes on to the classics in the field of Comparative Grammar,—all that he has touched he has turned into gold. At the side of his incomparable “Vorlesungen über Syntax” the bulky volumes of Delbrück seem to be a shapeless mass. His brilliant paper on the position of enclitica is a model work of scientific research. His numerous etymologies testify to his creative imagination and his Homeric studies are reckoned among the best of the kind. It is a great good fortune for India that for the last fifty years this veteran scholar is engaged in writing his “Altindische Grammatik,” the third volume of which appeared only two years ago. The remaining three volumes will be brought out evidently by his pupil Debrunner who already appears as a collaborator in the third volume. There are excellent grammars of particular Indo-European dialects, such as the Greek grammar of Brugmann-Thumb and the Latin grammar of Stolz-Malz (new ed. by Leumann-Hofmann), but they will all have to be regarded as second-rate when Wackernagel’s Sanskrit grammar is completed (though by that time the earlier volumes will require a revision,—the first volume requires it already), for Wackernagel’s “Altindische Grammatik” is not only more exhaustive from the view-point of earlier Sanskrit but also gives a wider scope to Comparative Grammar. The study of Indian linguistics must begin with Wackernagel’s grammar and in a sense also end there, so far as earlier Sanskrit is concerned, for a better treatment of the subject can be hardly imagined. Moreover Wackernagel’s grammar is at the same time the best extant etymological dictionary of Sanskrit. There are excellent etymological dictionaries of Greek, Latin, Slavic, Gothic, etc., but for Sanskrit, one of the most important Indo-European dialects, we have as yet only Uhlenbeck’s “Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch” which in fact is much smaller and less satisfactory than even the title would suggest. Happily this great desideratum in the field of Indic philology is at last going to be met, for the long expected etymological dictionary of Prof. Wüst, under whom the present writer had the privilege of working for three years in Munich, is in the press.

Wüst's work will be more extensive than any existing etymological dictionary, and its magnitude is certainly commensurate with the importance of the subject it deals with. Among the Sanskritists Wüst's bibliography is always by far the most complete and that signifies a great advantage for his coming dictionary. What is more, Wüst has his own method and has done pioneer work in the field of etymology. He has raised the *art* of etymology to the status of an exact *science*. In sharp contrast to the Scandinavian etymologists like Persson, Johansson, Charpentier, Petersson, Wüst has reduced the rôle of imagination to a minimum and established definite laws of elimination from which the ultimate solution is derived with inexorable certainty. Wüst's dictionary is not a mere repertory of results achieved in the field of Indic philology: about a thousand obscure words find satisfactory explanation for the first time in this work. In short, Wackernagel's grammar and Wüst's dictionary will be the main pillars on which will rest the future edifice of linguistic research in the field of Sanskrit.

A rapid survey of the Sanskritists of Europe may not be out of place here. The Vedic researches of Weber, Oldenberg, Bergaigne, Hillebrandt, Geldner, Pischel, etc., are too well-known to require any introduction at this time of day, specially in India. Almost all that Oldenberg has published is impeccable, and his "*R̥gveda-Noten*," together with Geldner's translation of the *R̥gveda*, a part only of which has been published as yet, forms the basis of further research in the field. The *R̥gvedic* dictionary of Grassmann, who distinguished himself also in the field of Comparative Grammar by discovering the law of the dissimilation of aspirates, is still indispensable to every student of the Veda, and the learned supplements of Neisser, the first two fasciculi of which have already appeared, have greatly enhanced its value. The renowned Dutch Sanskritist Caland specialised in the *Brāhmaṇas* and his thoroughness has since become proverbial. His translation of the *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* is unique and indispensable to every student of Ancient Indian Ritual and his magnificent translation of the *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* shows what a great improvement can be made on similar works in the Harvard Oriental Series. Among Caland's various valuable contributions to Comparative Grammar may be mentioned his discovery of the close relation between *-ro* and *-i*-stems, e.g., *śvitráḥ śitikanṭha*, *argós* < **argrós* : *argikeraśnos*. Prof. Oertel of Munich has also specialised in the *Brāhmaṇas* and he is truly regarded as a syntactical genius. The first volume of his monumental "*The Syntax of Cases in the*

Narrative and Descriptive Prose of the Brāhmaṇas" (to be completed in six volumes) has already appeared. To the high credit of Oertel it must be said that he has for the time banished mystical language from syntactical researches and instead of grouping under one head, for instance, all the cases of "dative in the place of genitive" undertook to investigate every particular case on its own merits and even each individual flexional form apart in the light of its own peculiar associations and connections. The present writer made his apprenticeship in Vedic text criticism under the guidance of Prof. Oertel. Herman Jacobi, the veteran Sanskritist of Bonn, has rarely engaged himself with linguistic studies, but his genial "Compositum und Nebensätze" is a lasting contribution to Comparative Grammar, though all his views are no longer accepted by scholars. Jolly's monograph on Indo-European infinitives is still useful. Prof. Jules Bloch, the acknowledged authority on New Indian dialects, rose to fame long ago on the publication of his important paper on "Phrase nominale" which is still indispensable, and his work on the modern Indo-Aryan dialects of India is in the press. Louis Renou, trained in the school of Meillet, is certainly one of the most interesting figures among the younger Sanskritists and linguists of Europe. One of his German admirers once told the present writer, "every two years Renou brings out a life's work," and the latter had the opportunity of testing the truth of this statement when working with him in Paris. Truly has Renou achieved a unique position within a few years through the quantity and quality of his work. His remarkable "Valeur du parfait" is a lasting contribution to Comparative Grammar and his "Bibliographie védique" must be at the elbow of every Vedic scholar. But his greatest achievement is without doubt his unique "Grammaire sanskrite." Here he has done for classical Sanskrit what Wackernagel proposes to do for Vedic, and in methodology he has struck a wise middle path between Whitney's and Wackernagel's. Paul Thieme is the author of an important monograph on the "Plusquamperfektum im Veda." This thin brochure of less than hundred pages, very difficult to read, marks a distinct advance in our knowledge. The Vedic researches of Macdonell and Keith are of an altogether unlinguistic character. Macdonell's Vedic grammar is lifeless and statistical and Keith's publications are often disfigured by inaccuracies. Whitney's is still the only complete scientific Vedic grammar.

Iranian philology is doubtless the creation of the three eminent French savants,—du Perron, Burnouf and Darmsteter,—each of whom

represents a distinct age, as Geldner aptly said. But it was placed on a truly scientific basis by that redoubtable Iranist Christian Bartholomae, who alone has done for Avesta what Böhlingk, Roth and Wackernagel have done for Vedic. He was perhaps the strictest of all great linguists and with a stern objectivity of mind he successfully resisted the literary charm of the texts to the study of which he had devoted his life. His "Vorgeschichte" of the Iranian languages and grammar of Avestan and Old Persian in the "Grundriss der iranischen Philologie" are still the best in the field and quite indispensable to every student of Iranian philology; but even these works pale into insignificance at the side of his monumental "Altiranisches Wörterbuch." In the preface to his dictionary Bartholomae claims to have given in his work a systematic, exhaustive and scientific treatment of all that is known of the Old Iranian languages, and his claim has never been challenged. Bartholomae has also made invaluable contributions to general Comparative Grammar and Vedic, of which may be mentioned here "Bartholomae's law" about metathesis of aspiration and concomitant sonorisation in Aryan languages (e.g., *mu(g)h + ta = mugdha*). Wilhelm Geiger, the octogenarian Iranist and Vedist of Munich, is an old friend and colleague of Bartholomae. He has done invaluable pioneer work in the field of Iranian dialectology. Geiger, under whom the present writer had the privilege of working, refuses to treat the language as something apart from life and thence his lively interest in all that concerns Iranian culture. At present Geiger is engaged on his monumental Ceylonese dictionary. Bartholomae's pupil Hans Reichelt is a distinguished comparativist and a very efficient Iranist. He has rendered yeoman's service to the cause of Iranian philology by publishing the Soghdian texts only a few years ago. Pioneer work on Soghdian was done by Gauthiot who fell in war after publishing only the first part of his "Grammaire sogdienne." The second part was published long afterwards by Benveniste with whom the present writer had the privilege of working in Paris. A pupil of Meillet and a strict linguist,—the publications of Benveniste are characterised by rare sobriety and rigid accuracy.

Bartholomae had a great rival in Andreas who trained up a host of scholars but himself forgot to publish anything. His things are now being published posthumously by his pupils. Andreas had fundamental differences of opinion with Bartholomae on the value of vowels in Old Iranian texts and he made a distinguished convert in the person of Jakob Wackernagel. But the subsequent linguistic

research has shown that on this point Andreas was wrong and inconsistent. Jointly with F. W. K. Müller of Berlin Andreas has done more than anybody else to decipher and interpret the Middle Persian fragments recovered by the Turfan expedition and to him also goes the credit of having first of all discovered the existence of the Soghdian language. The noted Iranist Hertel has his own way in almost everything which however he has not yet been able to persuade others to adopt.

Three great Celtists—Thurneysen, Pedersen and Vendryès have acquired unique fame in the field of Comparative Grammar. Thurneysen was originally a Latinist and his numerous publications have done much to solve the problems of Latin phonology and morphology. Still more distinguished are his services to Celtic philology and his "Handbuch des Altirischen" is still by far the best Old Irish grammar. Some of the most brilliant discoveries in the field of Comparative Grammar are associated with his name. Thus it was he who established the Indo-European antiquity of the *n*-flexion of Germanic comparatives by pointing out the parallelism between Goth. *sutizins* and Gr. *hēdónos* < **hēdisonos*, and he also gave his well-known explanation of the mysterious double accented Vedic infinitive in *tavāi*, which in his opinion is derived from *-tave + vāi* through haplology. Pedersen's *magnum opus* is without doubt his "Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen" which is indispensable to every comparativist not well up in the baffling Celtic languages, but there is hardly any branch of Comparative Grammar which has not been enormously enriched by the penetrating researches of this great Danish scholar. An eminent Slavist he has done pioneer work in elucidating some of the most obscure Indo-European dialects, such as Albanian and Armenian, and his contributions in the field of Latin philology are also invaluable. Pedersen is a supporter of Moeller's famous theory of the common origin of Semitic and Indo-European languages, for which he has been often severely taken to task by orthodox comparativists. Prof. Vendryès, under whom the present writer did his bit of Celtic philology, is a friend and colleague of Meillet. Many works of the first importance have appeared under their joint names, though their methods of research cannot be said to be identical in every respect. Vendryès' Old Irish grammar and his innumerable publications in *Revue Celtique* have placed him among the foremost Celtic scholars of Europe.

Some of the great linguists who worked chiefly on the classical languages have been already mentioned above, and it is impossible to

give anything like a complete list of even the most prominent scholars in this field. Yet, even at the risk of injustice inherent in selection, let us mention here Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, the *doyen* of Greek philology, and Eduard Norden who holds an equally high position in the field of Latin, though both of them are philologists and not linguists in any strict sense. Solmsen, who under the pseudonym 'Usener' published his famous book on "Götternamen," distinguished himself by his researches on some of the most difficult problems of the classical languages, and Skutsch rendered equally eminent services to Latin grammar. Prof. Kroll of Vienna is an old friend and collaborator of Kretschmer and is with him the joint editor of "Glotta." Prof. Ferdinand Sommer of Munich, at whose feet the present writer did his apprenticeship in Comparative Grammar and Classical philology, is distinguished for his thoroughness and exactitude. His "Handbuch der lateinischen Laut und Formenlehre" is still the best work on the subject, his "Griechische Lautstudien" solved some vexed problems of Greek, he dispelled the illusion about the existence of a spirantic *y* in original Indo-European for which Schulze was responsible, his monumental monograph on *-ia -io* stems in the Baltic languages is an inexhaustible mine of rich information and his penetrating researches on *nu ephelkustikon* have at last thrown a flood of light on a fascinating problem of Greek. But his greatest achievement is no doubt that he has established Hittite philology on a really scientific basis and his method is the only recognised one to-day in interpreting Hittite texts. In sharp contrast to Delaporte of France and Sturtevant of America Prof. Sommer carries on his Hittite studies on strictly philological lines and discourages the spirit of cheap comparison among his students.

In the field of Balto-Slavic philology the pride of place naturally goes to Leskien, by following whose lead the *Junggrammatiker* achieved their sensational successes. Leskien has done more than anybody else to bind down the Slavic languages by means of scientific grammar and his imposing monograph on nominal formations in Lithuanian is a marvel of industry and scientific acumen. The non-temporal character of the Indo-European verbal system was first perceived by him and it is at his instance that the theory of verbal 'aspects' has been gradually elaborated in Comparative Grammar. Bezzenberger was a comparativist but specialised in the Baltic languages and rendered distinguished services in the field of Old Prussian. Prof. Berneker of Munich, at whose feet the present writer began his Balto-Slavic studies, is considered to be the greatest

living Slavist. It is a pity that Prof. Berneker has given up the idea of completing his comparative dictionary of the Slavic languages, the first part of which however continues to evoke the admiration of all linguists. Passing over a large number of eminent scholars in this branch of Comparative Grammar let us mention the three towering Russian savants Fortunatov, Shachmatov and Jagic, whose genial writings are considered to be classics in the field of Slavic philology. Fortunatov also discovered the famous law of cerebralisation in Sanskrit which has however to-day become a mere linguistic etiquette in the domain of Comparative Grammar and is no longer regarded as a phonetic law. It has since been fundamentally modified by Scheftelovitz but it is hardly tenable even in this reduced form.

The number of eminent Germanists is so large that we have to confine ourselves here to specialists in English philology for which there is a special interest in our country. Both Kluge and Sievers, who did pioneer work to lay the foundation of scientific Germanic philology, were at the same time expert Anglicists. Skcat's etymological dictionary has still to be compared with Kluge's dictionary of the German language on various phonological problems and corrected accordingly, and although Wyld's excellent work may be profitably used for all elementary purposes Sievers' grammar is still indispensable to every serious student of Old English. The publications of Zupitza in this field are hardly less important. The great tradition of these scholars is now being continued by Luick, Brandl, Holthausen, Foerster, etc. Luick's monumental "Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache," of which about a thousand pages have already appeared, is as yet hardly known in our country, although this work is for English what Wackernagel's grammar is for Vedic Sanskrit. All further Anglistic research must begin with a reference to Luick's grammar, for in it has been collected and presented in a strictly scientific form all that has been hitherto achieved in this field. Better known in our country are the publications of the genial Danish Anglicist Jespersen, who is however often personal, and some of his more important theories have not found general acceptance. The French Anglicist Huchon has mostly published textbooks on the subject and Wright's Old English Grammar, like all his grammars, is notorious for its unsystematic and unscientific character.

English philology has so far ceded no ground to the general tendencies of the twentieth century and is still dominated by the mechanical *Weltanschauung* characteristic of the nineteenth which

favoured the rise of the school of *Junggrammatiker*. The new tendencies have however made a complete conquest of Romanic philology. In the domain of this vast discipline hardly anything is done to day in connection with phonology or morphology. In other words, modern Romanic philology is entirely the product of the third phase of linguistic studies in Europe as is amply proved by the publications of the eminent linguistic philosopher Karl Vossler. His "Frankreichs Kultur im Spiegel seiner Sprachentwicklung" shows that language is now regarded as a social science, and this is without doubt the most characteristic feature of the third phase.

The stalwarts of this new movement have taken upon themselves the onerous task of making a higher synthesis of all the details brought to light by the labours of the *Junggrammatiker* and the host of scholars enumerated above who were directly or indirectly inspired by them. The recognised leader of this new movement is Antoine Meillet whose position in the field of Comparative Grammar is unique. Meillet is the point of confluence of all the different currents of linguistic tendencies of the second period which has not yet come to a close and from him radiate the new channels of creative research which characterises the modern age. Without claiming to be a specialist in any particular Indo-European dialect he easily possesses specialist's knowledge in every branch of Comparative Grammar. Meillet is of an altogether synthetic mind. He has done no spade-work for any particular language (excepting for Old Church Slavic), but the students of Comparative Grammar have to depend upon his writings in order to be able to form a correct estimate of each language in its relation to all the other dialects. Brugmann's *Grundriss* falls short of the purpose on account of the mechanical and separate treatment of the languages and Meillet's famous "Introduction" supplies the necessary corrective to it. Paul, Wundt, van Ginneken, Vossler had directed the study of linguistic psychology into a separate channel, but Meillet brought it back within the fold of orthodox linguistic studies. In short, Meillet gave the final form to the linguistic achievements of the second period and ushered in the third. His is the proud position of the master commanding and directing the course and currents of the science of Linguistics.

The third age of linguistic studies is still in its infancy. Particular branches, like Romanic philology, are already more or less completely penetrated and inspired by the new ideas. But in spite of the distinguished lead of Meillet, comparativists, Sanskritists and classical philologists are still mostly lagging behind. Yet it is an

undeniable fact that all their works to-day have received a clear new orientation. The rights of analogy have now been fully vindicated for the first time in the history of Linguistics,—formerly it was resorted to by the *Junggrammatiker* only to explain 'exceptions.' In the field of Comparative Grammar most characteristic of the new age are perhaps the publications of Guentert and Havers. Guentert's studies in "Reimwortbildung" have enriched the arsenal of Comparative Grammar with a new weapon the importance of which is only now beginning to be realised, and Havers' syntactical researches, every page of which testifies to an astounding penetrating acumen, have at last paved the way to an adequate comprehension of the psychological background of Indo-European syntax.

Though still in its infancy the third age of Linguistics contains also the seed of the fourth, the first utterings of which have not been altogether happy. This fourth age, which may be provisionally called "glottogonical," has been heralded in the domain of scientific Linguistics by Hermann Hirt, who achieved well-deserved fame through original studies in Ablaut, which he however could not materially enhance through his recent voluminous "*Indogermanische Grammatik*." The characteristic tendency of Hirt's researches is to reduce the original Indo-European to an ideal isolating idiom which through subsequent agglutination assumed the characteristics of the later Indo-European languages. Such adventurous theories have naturally not met with universal approbation. Walleser's recent researches on Sanskrit morphology are simply disastrous, and Baader's sensational monograph on "*Ich-Deixis*" must be regarded as fantastic and unscientific. Thus modern tendencies in the international linguistic literature present the fascinating multi-coloured picture of a baffling interplay of sharp cross-currents and opposite tendencies, of subdued emotion and exultant enthusiasm,—altogether singularly reminiscent of Hegelian dialectics, which stood god-father to this young science.

IS SHAVIANISM AN ERROR ?

*By SURESHCHANDRA SEN, M.A.
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There may be difference of opinion, as there is, about the genius of Bernard Shaw and I am one of those who have not always been able to subscribe to his views of men and things, regarding him sometimes more as a cynic than a dispassionate artist. I have often looked upon him as an awful iconoclast who must be approached with due caution, lest one might find oneself entangled in some of his taking though dangerous dicta. But growing more and more in experience of the world I find that some of his utterances which I regarded as light banter, not worthy of serious notice, are really fraught with a deep significance. And while I have wondered at his hold on the modern age and taste, I have not been able to free myself from his fascination, allowing myself to be carried away by it, not knowing whither I was being led. His power is thus established both over his critics and his "Boswells." While I have doubted if society has reasons to be grateful to him, I have admired the manner in which he has sought to tear the veil of hypocrisy from off its face and expose the hollow insincerity of mere professors of idealism—preachers, priests and teachers—and so enlist our sympathies for the fallen and down-trodden—the untouchables and the depressed classes, who not only disfigure Indian society but all societies where man's laws have been superimposed upon God's—where pride and tradition have sought to crush the natural impulses of the heart! And this admiration of mine has always lurked in a secret corner of my heart so that even when I have been angry at some of his daring sayings, I have had my regard for this friend of man. In spite of what the great Tolstoy was pleased to remark that such a genius as Shaw's was wrecked by his dwelling and doting more on the superficialities of human life than on its depths, I have felt that the pride and sanction which so often hide vices in high and privileged classes cannot be adequately held up to ridicule by mere idealistic art. Caustic satire with a gripping sense of the realities and actualities of life as it is lived even on its surface is the most effective weapon to restore normality in our outlook, by teaching us to assess things at their proper values and not merely at their prices as fixed on their labels, handed down by tradition or law or superstition. If the surface of life is rotten and rancorous, is it not sheer folly to search for purity beneath and be busy with the depth, neglecting the appearance as if no reality were there? Should we bring abstractions of metaphysics to the hungry who are clamouring for bread? And this clamour for food is a pressing necessity which no one who poses to be a teacher should lose sight of. Nature has given us our appetites, our impulses, our sentiments—should they be stifled and ignored altogether so that the law-giver or the social form may flourish? And here we find Shaw at work—throwing all regard for mere forms to the winds, he sets about to rehabilitate human society in his characteristic boldness, laying stress on the demands of the heart, while scorning conventions, norms and standards that have, in his opinion, ill shaped, mutilated or dwarfed human natures. It is this aspect of Shaw's writings that appeals to me, though I wish he had also been alive to the higher demands of the soul, while so keenly responsive to our desires, impulses and appetites.

These latter are certainly real in that they make their irresistible appeal in the very constitution of our being. The problem before the philosopher is how to regulate them with reference to the ideal which must nourish and feed us. The problem before Ibsen or Bernard Shaw is to recognise their case which a craze for ideal only seeks to shut out of view and then develop them on their intrinsic merits, never forgetting that they have their supreme value in the economy of human existence.

This value must be recognised and society reconstructed and there must be a re-stamping of new labels according to the right adjustment of life's values. The rich or the powerful should not be allowed to browbeat or oppress the poor or the weak. We all feel alike in circumstances which are alike. The man within must not be insulted, though he be a servant or a subordinate. It is very often seen how the arrogant master forgets that even a servant has a soul—that he also bleeds when pricked and shivers if exposed to cold. Carried by pride of power, the man in authority only looks for services and homage from his dependants and the most faithful and loyal servant is for even a slight irregularity, real or fancied, spat on, spurned and kicked as if he were a contemptible cur. A Shaw rises in rebellion at this sight and calls proud society to cry halt.

A man lapses and sins with impunity, still careering gaily along, commanding those below and dispensing justice which he seldom follows in his own life. A woman is guilty of the slightest error. She is hounded and ostracised and condemned to hell-fire by your grave judge or graver priest. Shaw's heart is lacerated at the sight of this iniquity. Diplomacy outwits, the glamour of power blinds and the claims of the mute, because they are weak, go unheeded. Shaw's indignation rises to a white heat and reminds us of the old prophet denouncing divine wrath on sinning Israel. Though Shaw does not pretend to any spiritual faith or higher beliefs, which are necessary for the progress of man, and though he may be looking on the surface of life as it appears, yet his warm and feeling heart, yearning to right the wrong from which he suffers, is perhaps a better place of pilgrimage than many of our shrines, which may not after all comfort the weary and sick at heart. This is downright blasphemy to some. But the mealy-mouthed philosopher or priest who preaches to hide his own sins, his lips professing what his heart denies, is a real danger to society. Shaw hates sentimentalism but he cherishes sentiments; he shrinks from mere exhibition of feelings, while he respects them when rightly indulged and so acted out for the good of others and not simply for the satisfaction of a passing whim or impulse or for ostentation. Hysteria and theatricalism are his scorn. The world would be happier in his view if we talked less, cherished less ideals, mirroring ourselves as we are, giving up delusions and seeing things as they are and not as they ought to be. The "ought-to-be" is, according to Shaw, the most dangerous will-o'-the-wisp that has misled us through the morasses, while we neglected the "is" or the "life-force" pressing itself to a proper estimate of the human sensibilities as they are and not as they are coloured by our prejudices, traditions, beliefs or ideals. The heart as it feels under the stimulus or the external, physical causes is sacred and more so than when it seems to be cross even under the pressure of maxims and laws which take no count of its real needs.

Rightly understood, Bernard Shaw is a great friend of humanity. The deeper or spiritual side of life may be real or may not be. But we should, according to him, cherish no belief therein till we have "set our own house in order" and attended to the reality of our feelings in relation to our physical needs, intellectual cravings or moral sentiments. The brain, the liver and the heart are realities which have been anatomised and dissected and they are same in essence in every human being. The laws of society,

state or church which overlook this fact of facts only to make room for traditions or ideals for their sake or to feed the pride of the privileged classes, must be re-written so that man's progress may proceed on right lines, unfettered by our ignorance, fallacies and iniquities.

I should like to wind up the above summary of what I have understood of the great writer by a very brief comment.

With all my homage to such a friend of the oppressed and the depressed, I should like respectfully to remind him that unless, in all that we feel and all that we do, we keep before us some inspiring ideal to help us, shall we not find ourselves shrivelled up into nothing in course of time ? The life force must be energised by the spirit force. The ideal must give shape to the real. If vice has masqueraded as virtue somewhere and sometimes, we should not make an end of virtue but should get the mask off vice's face and not destroy and uproot all that is fundamentally noble and good in human nature. To think of helping on human progress without the impelling force of the lofty ideals of Philosophy and Religion is to put the cart before the horse.

Should not Sociology be helped by the right sort of Ethics and Theology, interpreted and guided only by sincere and honest seekers of the Truth ?

DARJEELING AND ITS PROPOSED VERNACULAR

By CHITTARANJAN DAS-GUPTA, M.A.

Jalpaiguri

Ever since Col. Campbell's days, the district of Darjeeling has remained in isolation, with a small race of short and hardy hillmen, singing their shrill ballads, and fighting the inclement weather and the barren soil. The Missionaries ventured into these unexplored interiors and started 'Homes.' But the hillmen are a people who, it seems, by an upheaval of Nature, had been thrown back on this side the Himalayas, borne on the crest of a wave as it were, leaving behind their culture and tradition if any, on the other side the mountains. Cut off from their original home and from their ancient tradition, they were living a sort of nomadic life, scattered in the mountain fastnesses. Slowly they formed into two or three minor states like Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan.

The fabric of the state supplies the best cement to hold together within its jurisdiction the numerous disjointed tribes of a country. The three states that thus grew up in this hill-area were peopled wholly by these hill-tribes, steeped in a kind of blessed ignorance, wilfully shutting out all light from without, and fostering a kind of occultism very similar to the Tantrikism of the Hindus. Social relations were neither defined nor much cared for. A typical hillman is like that suitor of Portia, who bought his clothes in France, his hose in Germany and behaviour everywhere. The people used to live under feudal chiefs, governed and controlled by a military overlord. Thus the government, in course of time, developed into the logical end of a military oligarchy.

Caged in states like these, like chests under lock and key, the hillmen passed their humdrum days. The older population in the district consisted mainly of the Lepchas. The influx of the Paharis was a much later event. Both the peoples by their language and habit betray a Tibeto-Chinese origin, and naturally claim kinship with the peoples north of the Himalayas.

If speech were the sole criterion of judging the bounds of a political state, then Nepal would absorb into it all the Paharis, and Sikkim the Lepchas, leaving the district to the Bengalis. The problem before us is, how could these men leave their original home and come to settle outside the bounds of their states.

The site of the district as found by Col. Campbell is not only beautiful but also strategic. It marks the northern limit of the Province of Bengal and bounded on the west by Nepal it extends just below the other two states of Sikkim and Bhutan. Situated as it is, within the borders of these states, the district serves as a *terra media* within easy access of all of them. We shall just see that it serves as a sewer or asylum for the recalcitrants and refugees of those states. All the states are known for their severe penal measures. The authorities visit the guilty man with utmost penalties if the guilt is detected, for many go undetected. (1) This fear of punishment sometimes drives the man to find out a way of escape from the cruel hands of law. (2) Again, there the law of expulsion for the undesirables. (3) Then there is another

way of emigration, which serves as a very potent piece of excuse and that is—going out on pilgrimage; and then the pilgrims, caught by the glamour of our commercial civilisation or by that of the amount of personal liberty enjoyed by the people of these districts, prefer to settle in Bengal as British subjects. (4) Last, though not the least in point of importance, is the fact of recruitment of soldiers in British regiments. The retiring soldiers soon find India more congenial to their mode of living than their father-states. These facts give a definite clue to the history of hill tribes living in this district. Above all, there is the baneful effect of Feudalism—which, persistently followed, soon finds the state shorn of its population.

The claims of Tibetan and Lepcha to be the vernacular may be easily disposed of. Tibetan has an interest only for research students dealing with Buddhistic lore. The Lepchas are a dying race and are fast losing their original habit owing to the invasion of the Pahari element. So neither of these two languages can claim the backing of popular usage behind them. Moreover, both are far removed from Sanskrit and Indian dialects.

As regards the claim of Bengali and Hindi to be the possible vernacular of the district, it may be said, perhaps without any fear of contradiction, that Bengali philologically is more alien to Pahari, or for the matter of that, to any other hill dialect, than Hindi. Besides, to thrust Bengali on a people who hold no very high opinion about the Bengalis will, in the long run, breed more evil than good; the involutions of Bengali syntax, its analytic garb and romantic diction will be quite strange and therefore repulsive to the simplicity, straightforwardness and matter-of-fact attitude of the hill mind. The hill people are characterised by dash and glitter. So no useful purpose can be served by thrusting Bengali down a reluctant throat.

Of all the dialects of India, Hindi or Hindusthani has had the greatest charm for the hill people. This may be due to several causes: (1) Whenever they have to leave the bounds of their native areas, this language alone stands them in good stead in all matters of communication and transaction. (2) Hindi is highly flattering, as I have marked, to their sense of ego. Unlike Bengali which the hillmen almost always use in contempt or in joke, they may use Hindi in serious moments with a gasconading air, as though they were using the court language. In fact a hillman, while speaking this language to his own countrymen, seems to stand a few inches high on his heels and his tone is marked by triumph and superiority. It is the fashionable language with them like French in the England of Charles II. (3) Strangely enough, the hill-people in general can easily adapt their tongue to the utterance of Hindi.

With all these points, however, in favour of Hindi being a suitable vernacular, I regret to say that it has a peculiar tendency, at the present stage of the hillman's culture, to sink into a hybrid state. Even an educated hillman would not use Hindi beyond his necessities. He may pick up the spoken tongue without much difficulty, perhaps because it has a close etymological affinity with the Gorkhali tongue of the hill. But that is no reason why the district (the home of the Paharis as well as of many other minorities) should take up Hindi as its vernacular—a language which the hillman takes to as but a make-shift, and that only when he reaches his adolescence. Hindi is not the language of the hillman's blood and as such remains phonetically an exotic in the hills. No language in which the people do not feel at home should be made their vernacular. The vernaculars prescribed by the Universities for Indian boys are languages spoken and used by the candidates from their cradle. It is only in that language that the candidate delights to excel

and attempts to assimilate all that he learns. It is sheer injustice to make a vernacular of a language in which the child does not learn to talk to its mother or to read and write for the first time in its life. So long as the hills will remain in isolation cut off from the Indian world, so long as the district will remain a reserved area, Pahari—the mother tongue of the people (if we may call any)—having the greater affinity with Hindi (or, India), should be recognised as the vernacular of the Hill District.

I will now prove how Nepali or Gorkhali so admirably suits the hillman. The population of Darjeeling just exceeds three lakhs (319,635). Castes and creeds have run into a confusing medley in the district, resulting in a babel of tongues. India consists of a number of big provinces, each full of and torn by the conflict of castes, religions and languages. Darjeeling has epitomised in her small fold all this diversity. There are the Paharis, the Bhotias, the Lepchas the Bengali Christians, the Limbus, the Yakhas, the Muhammadans, the Newars and who not ?

The diversity is, however, much simplified when we see that in practice only three languages have obtained currency—the Pahari or Nepali or Gorkhali ; the Tibetan ; and the Lepcha tongue. Of these the Tibetan has, through the influence of Buddhist learning, attained a classical status with a distinctly superior literature of genuine interest. The Lepcha language links itself ethnologically to the Mongolian type—frosted as it were, on its way through the Himalayas, into a rough, rounded dialect. “ The language is a monosyllabic one (though not an altogether isolating one, as it possesses in a degree, as all languages however primitive do, an agglutinative structure), unquestionably far anterior to Hebrew or Sanskrit. It is pre-eminently an *Ursprache*, being probably, and I think I may, without fear of misrepresentation, state it to be, one of the oldest languages extant. It is most comprehensive and beautiful, and regarded alone, is a prolific source of the derivations and etyma of words; it is invaluable to the philological world. It however recommends itself on higher grounds; it possesses and plainly evinces the principle and motive on which all language is constructed.” Of course, this is a piece of sentimentalism to be taken with a grain of salt. The Pahari or Gorkhali language is yet in its nonage, but as a spoken tongue it is very potent and effective.

From the Census Report of 1921, the following statistics can be gathered of the population of the district as classified according to the spoken tongue :—

Gorkhali-speaking	135,151	47·7
Tibetan ,,	40,900	14·4
Bengali ,,	38,106	13·4

From the Census Report of 1921 the following statistics can be gathered of the population of the district, as classified according to the tongue spoken :—

Gorkhali-speaking	135,151	47·7
Tibetan ,,	40,900	14·4
Bengali	38,106	13·4
Hindi	21,236	7·51
Lepcha	11,184	3·9
English	4,080	1·4
Newari ,,	8,016	2·8
Miscellaneous numbering about	15,000	5·3

speaking a language but slightly differing from Gorkhali.

Evidently, from the above figures, it can be safely concluded that the Nepalese element preponderates and all other races are in a hopeless minority. Comparing with the figures of a decade ago we find that the Lepchas and all other minor classes are decaying in number. The probability is that, for want of any stable social discipline among the people, they are each mixing promiscuously with others and finally washing off all individual peculiarities in the process. In the state of social chaos in which the hillmen are wallowing, and which has a charm of its own, there is such a strong current of unscrupulous admixture rampant, that out of this helter-skelter, only one class of people is going to be welded—and that is the Paharis who are ever on the increase.

Of all dialects spoken in the district the Gorkhali or Pahari dialect is the most in use, and recommends itself to be the most convenient medium of expression, as also the most youthful dialect, deserving the status of the vernacular, on the following grounds:—

(a) It is in this language that the people of all denominations transact their daily business in the whole of the district; it is in this dialect that a Lepcha would greet a Tibetan, or a Tibetan a Bengali, or a Bengali any native of the district.

(b) All the races and sub-races that live in the district, are by birth bilingual—they speak the Pahari in addition to their mother tongue, even from the cradle.

(c) Philologically speaking, Pahari is more allied to Sanskrit and on this side of the Himalayas, than all the babel of other dialects. The only marked difference is that Pahari, having been welded out of a group of Tibeto-Burman dialects, still betrays its blood in its noun-verbal and at times non-pronominal bias. But whoever has carefully watched the trend and progress of the dialect must have noticed that as the people are getting more litigious, as their interests are growing more complex, they are shedding off this particular character of their dialect, and the pronoun and the verb are getting more persistent and pronounced. The vocabulary is wholly Indian—being a mixture of Hindi and old Maithili and Bengali; the syntax comes nearest to Hindi.

Because Hindusthani alone can bring about the much-talked-of and much-sought-for unity amidst the diversity prevailing in India, as it is going to be the Lingua Franca of future India, it is in and through the Pahari language only that the hillmen as a whole may (considering the close kinship between Hindi and Pahari) hope to be admitted into the light of the Indian world, and through India realise in themselves a Greater India.

The bogey of a political nightmare—viz., that of a crop of men having secret sympathies with the bordering states—soon dissipates into nothing when we consider that they being long cut off from the mother-governments, for which they cherish no innate sympathy nor any chronic love, will learn to grow a national feeling, the outcome of their contact, through this language, with the mighty culture of India. Sanskrit and Bengali being closely related to Pahari, the hill boys will not certainly sit counting the pebbles when the waves of Indian thought will sweep the Indian continent and dash against the rocky hills.

REJOINDER TO "A NOTE ON RAMMOHUN ROY : THE FIRST PHASE"

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

Calcutta

I am really glad that a scholar of Dr. A. P. Das-Gupta's attainments has chosen to appraise the historical value of my paper on Rammohun Roy. There is nothing a sincere student of history welcomes more cordially than independent criticism which might correct his own too exclusive pre-occupation with one set of ideas and data. Yet I cannot help confessing a feeling of disappointment. So far as I am concerned Dr. Das-Gupta's criticism has not been as helpful as I had certainly the right to expect, and if this is so it is perhaps due to Dr. Das-Gupta's complete and unavoidable ignorance of the contents of the documents on which my article is based. I do not think in such circumstances a mature student of history would have succumbed to the temptation of rushing into controversy at all. Dr. Das-Gupta, however, has, and the result is what may be described as a second-best performance—that is to say, not constructive discussion but a series of quibblings over the writing of an unacademical person who has just enough logic and knowledge of English to make himself intelligible to the common man, but not too much of either to foil the advocate.

I shall give only one example of Dr. Das-Gupta's determination not to understand my meaning. In his opening remarks he says :

"This new information has helped him to present Rammohun as he says, 'in a new light' and 'in a more correct perspective' (p. 256). Mr. Banerji has come to the conclusion that on occasions Rammohun deliberately made false declarations, that he was shrewd enough to safeguard his property when his father and brother were involved in financial disaster, and that he was an ungrateful son, unfair to his father at a moment of distress."

This, I would venture to point out, is Dr. Das-Gupta's interpretation—and a rather crude interpretation, if he will allow me to express an opinion—of my article, not my conclusion. Any one who reads my article with an open mind will surely concede that it is marked by understatement and too cautious reservations. Dr. Das-Gupta's reading of it, however, leaves on my mind the impression that either I have been more than ordinarily clumsy in expressing my meaning or he very surprisingly careless in getting at it. To take only the example of the passage just quoted. The juxtaposition in it of the words "new light" and "more correct perspective" with what follows is bound to be very misleading. The context in which I used the words could have left no reasonable doubt as to my meaning, for what I said was this :

"Last of all, these facts show Rammohun in a new light and, as I regard it, in a more correct perspective. All the existing biographies of Rammohun suffer from an excessive stress on the religious aspect of his career. They all assign a long and rigorous religious apprenticeship to him. The new information, however, proves beyond doubt that Rammohun was also occupied with the management of his father's and his own estates ...in short with making money and doing everything that went to make a successful and influential man of the world of his age. These facts show Rammohun in another aspect of his life, which is not perhaps less important for a correct understanding of his personality."

The point of the whole extract is to be found in the last sentence. How then does the story of the ungrateful son, false declarations, etc. come in?

It would serve no useful purpose, however, to take up Dr. Das-Gupta's points one by one and show where he is wrong. After all, false ideas, as Newman said, are combated not by arguments but by true ideas. Fortunately for me Dr. Das Gupta has confined his objections to a few specific issues. I shall state the full facts on them without concerning myself over much with what Dr Das-Gupta has to say and the order in which he says it, and leave the readers of the *Calcutta Review* to form their own conclusions.

Was Rammohun present at his father's death-bed ?

One of the questions raised by Dr. Das-Gupta is whether Rammohun was present at his father's death-bed. After examining all the available data on the point I had come to the conclusion that there could be no reasonable doubt that Rammohun was *not* present there, while Dr. Das-Gupta holds the opposite view. The point is worth looking into a little more closely.

The only evidence in support of the contention that Rammohun was present at his father's death-bed is the following statement of Adam :

" R. Roy, in conversation, mentioned to me with much feeling that he had stood by the deathbed of his father, who with his expiring breath continued to invoke his God—Ram ! Ram ! with a strength of faith and a fervour of pious devotion which it was impossible not to respect although the son had then ceased to cherish any religious veneration for the family deity."

This statement was made by Adam with the obvious motive of edification in a speech at Boston (U. S. A.) in 1845, that is to say, 12 years after Rammohun's death, nearly 24 years after Adam's first acquaintance with Rammohun, and 42 years after the event to which it refers. Assuming that Adam had heard something from Rammohun himself, we have no means of checking what Rammohun had actually said to Adam, when he had said it and whether Adam was repeating it correctly. Dr. Das-Gupta once or twice uses the word " hearsay " in connection with some of the testimonies I have relied on. But the statement of Adam on which he so literally pins his faith is a far more questionable kind of hearsay evidence than anything I have made use of.

Now for the proofs in favour of the supposition that Rammohun was not present at his father's death-bed. They are as follows :

1. Two statements of Radhakristo Banerjee Bhattacharya, dated August 21, 1819 to the effect that :

(a) "Ramkanta Roy died at Bardwan...Jagamohan Roy died at Langulpara...the said Rammohun Roy was at some foreign part from home at the time of their respective deaths."

and

(b) "At the time of the death of Ramkanta Roy Jagamohan Roy was at Midnapur and Rammohun Roy at some foreign place, but where he doth not know."

Radhakristo Bhattacharya was the Purohit Brahman of the family and went daily to Langulpara as an officiating Brahman and had unusual opportunities for knowing the affairs of the family intimately. His testimony is thus of infinitely greater historical value than that of Adam. And further, his statements are proved by independent and irrefragable

evidence to be literally true in respect of Jagamohan, and it is also seen on the strength of equally conclusive evidence that Rammohun was at Dacca-Jelalpur (present Faridpur) in the month in which his father died.

The argument by which the family priest's evidence is sought to be discounted is naive to the point of being ridiculous. Dr. Das-Gupta says: "The only evidence therefore is that of the plaintiff's witness, the orthodox family priest, sore with the heterodox Rammohun championing at the time of the suit the abolition of the age-honoured custom of sati; and even he does not remember where Rammohun was at that time." This line of reasoning can be answered by asking a very simple question—What harm could Radhakristo's statement do to Rammohun's case? So far as one can judge Radhakristo's deposition is damaging only to two things: the reputation of Adam for an infallible memory; and the critical faculty of people who believe him to have possessed one.

The all-important fact to remember in estimating the reliability of Radhakristo's deposition is that it was likely to benefit and not harm Rammohun and was made in reply to cross-interrogatories put on behalf of Rammohun. Rammohun's case was that he was all along separated from his family, and he might have sought to strengthen his case by proving that he was absent also at his father's death-bed. If, therefore, Radhakristo made a false statement he must have made it in favour of Rammohun and not against him. Even that is very unlikely because the same cross-interrogatories were prepared for Tarini Devi, Rammohun's mother. Rammohun could have reckoned upon a Purohit Brahman making a false statement but not upon his mother doing so. He would not have had the question put so boldly to his mother were he not sure that he could prove his absence by independent evidence.

2. The second proof in favour of Rammohun's absence is already referred to. It is the cross-interrogatory prepared for his mother to the following effect:

"Where was Rammohun Roy, as you know, have heard, or do believe at the time of the death of the said Ramkanta Roy?"

As everyone familiar with legal procedure knows well enough, a man puts his case in a cross-interrogatory. And besides, of the three sons of Ramkanta, the question of presence at the time of death is raised not in the case of Ramlochan who was to all appearance present at Bardwan, but in those of Jagamohan and Rammohun only. Jagamohan, we know to have been in Midnapur diwani jail at the time, and there would have been no point in asking such a question in regard to Rammohun, had he not been absent too. Dr. Das-Gupta calls this argument "queer." Queerness is generally supposed to be motiveless or inconsequential behaviour. Even the worst detractor of Rammohun would not dream of accusing him of being as pointless in his reasoning as some of his modern champions seem determined to be.

3. The third corroborative circumstance in favour of Rammohun's absence is to be found in the deposition of his devoted nephew (sister's son) Gurudas Mukherjee. In his deposition taken on April 30 and May 1, 1919, he says:

"Ramkanta Roy died at the town of Bardwan in the month of Jaistha of the Bengali year 1210 which he this deponent knows from having gone to that place the day after his death."

Now, if Rammohun wanted to prove that he was present at his father's death-bed, he could have had this accomplished through the testimony of his nephew—an eye-witness. But there is no mention in Gurudas's testimony of Rammohun's presence at Bardwan.

I think all this circumstantial evidence, in the absence of direct testimony, ought to set at rest any uncertainty on the question of Rammohun's presence at his father's death-bed.

Did Rammohun receive any property from his father ?

Dr. Das-Gupta raises this question but narrows down its scope to the purely legal aspect and confuses it with the question of discrimination against Rammohun. I have on the contrary treated it at its broadest, and tried to show the unsoundness of the current belief regarding the matter, namely, that Rammohun was deprived of, or did not come into his share of the ancestral property on account of his heresy. I have also tried to show that this conventional view derived strong support from the line of defence which Rammohun himself had taken up in the Bardwan case and which ran as follows :

".....so far from inheriting the property of his deceased father, [he] had during his lifetime separated from him and the rest of the family, in consequence of his altered habits of life and change of opinions, which did not permit their living together ; the plaintiff, therefore, on the plea of inheritance, could urge no claim against the defendant.....in case of a son separating himself from his father during his lifetime, and by his own exertion acquiring property unconnected with his father, and after his father's death inheriting no portion of his father's property, both the *Shastri* laws and the established usage and custom of the country do not hold him amenable for his father's debts."

This statement, much wider in its sweep than is admitted by Dr. Das-Gupta, implies that (1) Rammohun inherited no portion of his father's property after the latter's death ; (2) Rammohun was separated from his father in consequence of his altered habits of life and change of opinions ; and, to persons other than lawyers, that (3) Rammohun's properties were unconnected with those of his father and acquired by his own exertions ; while in reality he had, along with his two brothers, received a share of his father's properties and had himself written as follows in the document by which his father divided up his property :

"I Sri Rammohun Roy write I take the dwelling house and so forth which you have allotted to me according to the particulars on this sheet. I will enjoy and possess according to this allotment. Should I ever prefer any claim to any of the items specified against anybody, or if any one prefer it, it is false. Year 1203, date 19th Agrahayana."

This property which Rammohun received from his father on his own admission included one country house valued at about Rs 4,000—5,000, one Calcutta house valued at Rs. 3,000, and other lands of about the same value on condition that he would bear his share of expense for the family *Vigraha*.

Now as to the question of discrimination against Rammohun. There is not a shred of evidence proving any special discrimination against Rammohun by his father. This suggestion which is so stressed by some of his modern admirers had never been put forward by Rammohun himself either in his written statement in Govindaprasad's case, where the circumstances connected with the partition were fully stated, or in the cross-interrogatories prepared for Tarini Devi on behalf of Rammohun in the same case, where questions relating to the disputes in the family had been rather freely asked. Indeed, in both the above cases, there is not a single word which might lead one to believe that there were disputes between the father and the son which could induce the father to deprive the son of what otherwise he would have obtained as a matter of course. The only hypothetical instance that Dr. Das-Gupta is able to give is that of *taluk*

Harirampur in Chitwa Pargana. If there was any discrimination in this particular instance, it was as much against Ramlochan Roy as against Rammohun, for we find Ramkanta Roy writing in the partition deed :

"I give the entire *taluk* Harirampur in Chetooa Pargana to Jagamohan Roy. With this *taluk* Rammohun Roy and Ramlochan Roy have no concern."

Was Ramlochan Roy then a companion of Rammohun in his apostasy? Not possibly. The supposition that Rammohun was specially discriminated against by his father on account of his 'change of opinions' etc., is thus seen to be more or less imaginary. This preconceived notion has landed Dr. Das-Gupta in an absurdity. Alluding to the fact that three years after Ramkanta's death, Jagamohan, having discovered that Ramkanta had certain monies owing to him as also certain decrees in his favour, formally applied for these sums as his father's heir and, in the absence of other claimants, obtained them from the Courts, Dr. Das-Gupta remarks "Mr. Banerjee's documents have more references to provisions made by Ramkanta for Jagamohan than to provisions for Rammohun." He seems to have forgotten that it was impossible for a father even in those days to make a special discrimination in favour of one of his sons three years after his death.

Did Rammohun refrain from helping his father and brother in their distress while it was in his power to do so?

On this point Dr. Das-Gupta writes :

"Besides Mr. Banerji's description of Rammohun's activities about this period, though narrated without any connection with the question at issue, leaves upon the mind of the reader the impression that while Rammohun was in affluence and lent sums of money to civilians (p. 250) he did not come to the assistance of his father and brother.

On the other hand, the documents placed before us show Rammohun's affairs to have been at this time in equal mess."

Dr. Das-Gupta is certainly more anxious to prove Rammohun's incapacity to help his brother and father than he himself, for we find the following question among the special interrogatories prepared on behalf of Rammohun for his mother Tarini Devi :

"Was not the said Rammohun Roy at that period in rich and opulent circumstances and was he not actually employed in the service of the said Government as Dewan to the Collector of Dacca while the said Jagamohan Roy was so confined at Midnapore?"

I might give the real facts here. Jagamohan Roy was put in diwani jail in June 1801 and kept there till February 1805. During this time Rammohun was carrying on monetary transaction of various kinds in Calcutta and was keeping a *tahbildar* there (1801); had lent a sum of Rs. 5,000 to Thomas Woodforde, a civilian (1802); was serving as the Dewan of Woodforde (1803); and had bought the *taluk* of Langulpara (1803). Jagamohan wrote to his wealthy brother for some monetary help, but it was not till 1805, after Jagamohan had been in jail for four years, that Rammohun helped his brother with Rs. 1,000, and even that not till the latter had executed a bond to him and promised to pay the money back with interest.

Nor do we find any evidence of Rammohun's greater solicitude for his father. He was put in jail by the Government for a sum of Rs. 2,851-6-0, and could only raise a part of this sum himself and the rest had to be

realized by the sale of his eldest son's property. Yet Rammohun, on his own admission, was very well able to help his father at this time.

*What were the motives behind the benami transaction concerning
Rameshwarpur and Govindpur?*

In this matter too, Dr. Das-Gupta has misunderstood my meaning. He says:

"Nor are there sufficient reasons for us to conclude at once that the *benami* transaction was to safeguard his property from the general ruin."

As a matter of fact I did not conclude so *at once*. If Dr. Das-Gupta will read my article carefully he will find that this is only one of the three possible explanations offered by me. After stating that the more plausible explanation was that the transfer was made with the object of better and more convenient management of the property during Rammohun's absence, I went on to say that "there might have been another and no less important motive besides the plea of better management." Any one who knows anything about these matters will admit that both the possibilities are open. I have left the question at that. To have gone further in the present state of our knowledge, would, in my opinion, have shown dogmatism and not historical detachment.

Was Rammohun wholly separated from his father after the partition?

I shall deal with only one other point raised by Dr. Das-Gupta. From the way in which Dr. Das-Gupta puts this part of the case, it seems he believes I am supporting Govindprasad Roy's contention that "though Ramkanta had divided a part of his property among his three sons, they had subsequently reunited." This, however, is wrong, for what I am mainly interested in is not so much the truth behind Govindprasad Roy's plaint as the correctness of the traditional view that Rammohun had become estranged and separated from his father on account of his changed opinions and habits of living. What Govindprasad wanted to prove was that there was a subsequent reunion, while I have expressly stated that the separation was a legal fact. But I certainly wanted to go a step further and attempted to pierce the artificial barrier of legal appearance to find out the historical truth.

Now, what I stated on this point was this:

"However that might be, the separation became a legal fact. Whether it was also real is an interesting though difficult question. There is no doubt that so far as Ramlochan Roy and his mother were concerned, the separation was actual as well as legal. But the situation in regard to Ramkanta, Jagamohan and Rammohun is more complicated."

Then, after recapitulating the grounds of Govindprasad's case and Rammohun's defence, I said:

".....it is quite probable that Rammohun's and Jagamohan's families were, as a witness put it, 'united in food but divided in property.'"

On the other hand, there is no need to take a legal defence at its full face value, particularly when there is independent evidence to show that the affairs of Ramkanta, Jagamohan and Rammohun were not as distinct and self-contained as Rammohun tried to prove was the case."

It is unnecessary to repeat the arguments and facts with which I attempted to prove my conclusions. They are to be found in my article. All that I want to point out here is that a son who was estranged from his father because of changed opinions and habits of living, does not look after the father's or the family's property, even for the lure, as Dr. Das-Gupta says, of inheriting a part of it. By making this assertion, Dr. Das-Gupta displays a rather poor opinion of Rammohun and, what is perhaps more relevant, overlooks the fact that all the valuable landed properties enjoyed by Ramkanta at the time were *ijaras* or tax-farm, with a large arrear of rent, and due to expire in about a year's time from the date of the latest letter of Rammohun mentioned in my article wherein he was issuing instructions in respect of some of these properties.*

* This article was intended for our February issue, but could not be published for want of space. The controversy is now closed.

Ed, C.R.

ADMISSION AND RE-ADMISSION TO HINDUISM DURING THE MUSLIM PERIOD

A Supplementary Note

BY SRI RAM SARMA, M.A.,

Professor, Dyal Singh College, Lahore

After my article on the above had been sent to the press¹ two further facts have come to my notice which tend to confirm the opinion I have expressed therein.

A Muslim friend of mine, the learned editor of the Urdu Encyclopaedia, Lahore, was some years ago called in for the purpose of giving literary form to the history of an important Muslim family in the district of Rawalpindi in the Punjab. While there he examined the genealogical tree of another old and influential family, that of Raja Sultan Khan Dhond of Ghoragali. The tree goes considerably back to the beginning of the eighteenth century. My Muslim friend was surprised to find in that tree three Hindu names that were to be referred, according to the family tradition, to about the middle of the eighteenth century. There are Muslim names at first ; then about this time come Hindu names of two or three generations which are again followed by Muslim names. My friend was told that the probable explanation of these Hindu names in a Muslim genealogy was that those ancestors of the family served some Hindu chief who conferred on them these Hindu titles. I think the more reasonable explanation is that, as we saw in the article, these ancestors of Usigis were converted to Hinduism from Islam some time after the conquest of Sindh by Muhammad bin Qasim along with the remnants of Muslim garrisons.

Jahangir in the Tuzak mentions another interesting case in his account of the fifth year of his reign.² Kaukab, the son of Qumar Khan, went to a yogi who began to teach him the elements of Hindu religion and Yogic practices. This at last found a place in his mind and he accepted these un-Muslim instructions. He made two cousins of his, his partners in this error. For some time the thing was kept a secret, but they were found out at last and the case was reported to the emperor. Kaukab and one of the cousins were imprisoned, another was whipped in Jahangir's presence in accordance with the Divine Law. Their punishment was rendered necessary, according to Jahangir, because it was feared that their example may not prove catching and the contagion may not spread. Obviously the danger apprehended was their conversion to Hinduism which Jahangir thus tried to prevent !

¹ This article was published in the February issue of the *Calcutta Review*.

² *Tuzak*, p. 85. Cf. the account in the *Muzsir-i-Jahangiri* which supplements Jahangir's own version. MS., f. 65a and b.

Miscellany

[*Contemporary Problems in Social Economics*—B. K. SARKAR. *Principles of Land Mortgage Bank*—B. K. SARKAR. *Constitutional and International India through German Eyes*—B. K. SARKAR.]

CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS IN SOCIAL ECONOMICS.

The content of rationalisation has long been known in the U.S.A. as the "scientific management of labour." And since this kind of management was introduced in steel works by Frederick Taylor it has often been called the Taylor system or Taylorism.

The Great War served to hasten the application of the principles of "scientific management" on all fronts of industrial activity, nay, of commerce and agriculture as well. It is Germany that gave the greatest impetus to this new movement in post-war years, and a new term, *Rationalisierung* (i.e., rationalisation) was coined by the Germans to express the new technical and organisational features that have been introduced into economic life. Naturally, the new features belong to the most advanced business concerns of the few countries in Eur-America that happen to represent the "second industrial revolution." And so in India, as in China, the Balkan states and other semi-developed countries the processes of rationalisation are hardly to be found except perhaps as a rule only in traces. But among the industrial adults, for instance, in Germany, England, U. S. A., etc., it is just this rationalisation that sets the stamp on entire business organisation and is indeed integrally connected with the whole socio-economic complex of to-day. A great deal of the world-economic depression through which mankind has been passing is but an item in this huge reorganisation of economic life.

The subject was first dealt with by the present writer in 1927 in the pages of the *Calcutta Review* and has since then been discussed in detail with special preference to India in *Applied Economics*, Vol. I (1932). A fine introductory study is to be found in the *Social Aspects of Rationalisation* published by the International Labour Office (Geneva). The monograph deals with diverse aspects of the new movement and analyses the questions connected with standardization in output as well as the material conditions of manufacture on the one hand and the hours of work, productivity, wage-rates and piece-movements on the other. The topics bearing on industrial hygiene as well as prevention of accidents have likewise been discussed in a succinct manner.

Persons intimately connected with industrial organization, finance and technique cannot afford to approach their business problems of theoretical investigations without a previous familiarity with the kind of data furnished in the volume under consideration. And undoubtedly to the labour leaders and students of social economics the monograph should prove to be a valuable document of world-economy as influenced by the developments of technocracy.

BENAYKUMAR SARKAR

PRINCIPLES OF LAND MORTGAGE BANKS.

Co-operative credit societies offer short-period credits to cultivators. But in order that agricultural improvements may be taken in hand,—and specially such as involve a good few years—what the cultivators require in the line of finance is a long-period credit. It is time that the co-operative department expand its functions by taking up the problem of long credit.

In France the co-operative system comprises in addition to the short credit the following three categories: (1) intermediate credit (10 years), (2) long collective credit (25 years), and (3) long individual credit (25 years). It is on the strength of the Government grants made through the *Credit Agricole* that advances are made by the "regional" (district or provincial) banks to the "local" or primary banks and to the individual credit-seekers. It is interesting to observe that even a life-insurance contract may be used by the borrower as hypothec. Should, however, long credit continue to stay outside the Indian Co-operative Societies Act the Government ought to consider it advisable to proceed with it in and through a special department.

The institutions badly needed at the present moment in Bengal are hypothec or land mortgage banks. These institutions are to offer credit on the security of land mortgaged by the holders, owners or tenants. The loans ought to run as in France, Germany and Austria-Hungary and the U. S. A. for not less than ten years against the hypothecs offered by the credit-seekers.

The most important item in the arrangement is the value of the land to be hypothecated. Naturally, not more than a definitely fixed percentage of the value is to be rendered available to the credit-seekers. It is 80 to 50 per cent. according to the statutes of the *Credit Foncier* of France, and not more than 60% in the German system.

It should, besides, be obligatory for every credit-seeker to be a shareholder by buying a fixed number of shares. The amount of the credit ought to bear a fixed proportion to the capital subscribed.—not more than 20 times the subscribed capital,—as in the U. S. A.

In order to furnish themselves with money the land mortgage banks can mobilize the hypothecs or mortgages in the following manner. They are to issue bonds, debentures or obligations at fixed rates of interest but such as are not to mature in less than thirty years. In regard to these debentures the most important consideration is to the effect that their value must not exceed a definite number of times, say 20, of their share capital, as in the *Credit Foncier*, in the German legislation or the American Federal Farm Loan System.

In order to render the whole system of land-credit as mobile and elastic as possible these bonds ought to be negotiable on the Stock Exchange so that whenever necessary the bond-holders can dispose of their bonds and get back their capital without in any way affecting the persons who have taken the credit. That is, while the land-holders, owners or tenants who have obtained the credit are not compelled to repay the loan in the course of, say, ten years or so, the holder of the bonds is free enough to sell them at any time and get back his capital whenever he chooses. This system is very highly developed in the *Landschaften* and other *Realkreditanstalten* of Germany, most of which are either 100 per cent. state-banks or function under the control of the state in regard to every item of their transactions.

Very instructive should be the Hypothec Bank of Japan which offers loans on the mortgage of land such as are to be paid back in the course of fifty years. Joint-stock companies engaged in agriculture can also obtain "unsecured loans" from this institution.

BENAYKUMAR SARKAR

CONSTITUTIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INDIA THROUGH GERMAN EYES.

German scholarship in political science,—as accessible in books or articles of journals,—does not appear to have taken much interest in the constitutional and administrative growth of modern India. Dr. Kraus's work on British India's position in Constitutional and International Law is perhaps the first systematic work on the subject. He has scrupulously avoided all historical and political considerations of a general character. The approach is essentially and strictly that of a jurist. As a student of law the author analyzes the changes in the structure of British India from the days of the East India Company down to the publication of the Nehru Report and the Freedom resolution of the Indian National Congress in 1929-30. The existing Constitution is described in its essential details with an eye to the situation as created by the Acts of 1892 and 1909-12. He points out that "active citizenship,"—the right of election—is enjoyed by 3.15 per cent. of the population and reminds his readers that in this respect India to-day is where England was in 1832 with 3%. While some of the forms of democracy are noticeable in the present constitution their legal value is as yet very little, overpowered as they are by the essentially autocratic spirit and features in its make-up as well as by the presence of the bureaucratic executive.

About half the work is devoted to the legal relations of India (both British and States) with the British Empire as well as to the questions of international law involved in India's contacts with the League of Nations. In these chapters the author writes a thesis in the usual German style with quotations from Jellinek, Kelsen and other political philosophers and discovers that British India's position at the Imperial Conferences is legally,—even on the strength of conventions so important in British constitutional theory and practice,—difficult to define in a precise manner. The transitional character of the British Empire is apparent in the fact that while the relations between its different members are to a certain extent "international," the fundamentally "statal" character is embodied in the principle that "His Majesty's Government in Great Britain" continues still to be the Imperial Government. India's position has been compared not only with that of the Dominions but with that of the "territories" of the American Union. It is noted that while Porto Rico and the Philippines send "Commissioners" to the House of Representatives who take part in the debates but have no right to vote, the delegates from India to the Imperial Conference on the other hand possess the same right in discussions and votes as the representatives of the Dominions. And yet British India is a subordinate and autocratically governed entity while the Dominions are parliamentary democracies.

India was a signatory to the Convention of the Universal Postal Union in 1893. In recent times such functions of an international character have fallen to the lot of India in ever-increasing quantities. India is to-day a member of the League of Nations where even Indian Princes who are not supposed to belong to British India have a place. Ostensibly India looks

formally like being on a par with the Dominions in these activities associated with the League-complex and international "agreements"-making. The author believes that so far as the functions within the League are concerned India is almost on the way to attaining the Dominion Status in international law. But on the other hand, the law of the Indian constitution carefully excludes the League as well as all other foreign affairs from the purview of the Legislative Assembly. Besides, the Indian delegates at the League are factually subservient to the British delegation. India's Dominion Status at the League is, therefore, a fiction and in the strictest sense of the term she cannot be regarded as a "subject" of international law.

The author is rather cautious in his conception of state, sovereignty and so forth, but he possesses a firm grasp of the objective realities of constitutional and international law. Even those who are not specially interested in Indian problems as such will not fail to find in Kraus's work plenty of realistic material bearing on the relations between the pressure of facts and the theory of law and custom, such as characterize the actual administrative systems and international intercourse of to-day. And to Indian readers the subject will appear well placed in a perspective to which they are not generally used. The work is calculated to widen the sphere of research in comparative politics and intensify the world's interest in the Indian question.

BENAYKUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

[*India's Prosperity : the Rupee and the Reserve Bank Bill* (J. P. Nivonar)—*The Mystery of the Mahabharata* (H. C. R. G.)—*The Linguistic Speculation of the 'Hindus'* (SUKUMAR SEN)—*The Indian Theatre : Sangit Bhāva : Lead, Kindly Light : Makers of the Modern World* (PRIYABANJAN SEN.)]

India's Prosperity : the Rupee and the Reserve Bank Bill by Sir M. DeP. Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., pp. 12. The Daily Gazette Press, Ltd., Karachi. Price one Rupee.

This pamphlet contains the text of an address by Sir Montagu Webb of Karachi to a meeting of the East India Association, London. The author's main contention is that the rupee is overvalued in relation to sterling and that this overrating has tended to increase the fall of prices in India. He suggests that the anti-silver legislation of 1893 should be repealed and that India in company with silver-producing nations should re-open the mints once more to silver. India must encourage the recognition and use of both the precious metals, but preferably silver so long as the present gold monomania of the West persists. If this course is adopted the gold-starved universe would "enter upon another period of abounding prosperity." Pending the adoption of international agreement regarding silver, the "normal rate" of exchange of 1s. 4d. should be restored.

It is not quite clear whether Sir Montagu advocates full-fledged international bimetallism or any one of the numerous schemes recently propounded for the revalorisation of silver. Whatever may be the exact nature of the remedy, it is difficult to be enthusiastic over this panacea of silver remonetisation as a means of lifting the veil of depression. It is well-known that China's trade with the outside world forms only a small proportion of the total world trade. As Professor Gregory has pointed out, the dollar value of Chinese foreign trade was 2·05 per cent., 2·81 p. c. and 2·12 p. c. of the world trade as a whole in the years 1927, 1928 and 1929. Even if international argument succeeded in raising the price of silver, the stimulus given to Chinese trade was not likely to produce any impression on the present economic distress. So far as India is concerned, the only way, in which the fall in the value of silver has aggravated the depression is by reducing the purchasing power of India's teeming millions, in so far as their hoards are kept in the form of silver ornaments or bullion. *Prima-facie* stabilisation of silver might give a stimulus to Indian foreign trade by raising the value of silver hoards. But we have to remember in this connection that a substantial portion of India's imports of treasure has been in the form of gold bullion. The recent appreciation of gold has, therefore, counteracted to some extent the consequences of depreciation of silver, so far as the purchasing power of the people of India is concerned.

Sir Montagu's contention that the rupee is overvalued in relation to sterling is unsupported by any arguments either statistical or analytical. Even if we assume for the sake of argument that the rupee is in fact overvalued, we have to ask ourselves whether the world conditions are such as to justify the expectation of any substantial improvement from a policy of the devaluation of the rupee. In this connection India might profitably,

recall her experiences during 1871-77. The continuous fall of world prices during this period deprived India of even the temporary stimulus which a depreciating currency usually gives to foreign trade.

The price of the pamphlet has been fixed at one rupee. The reviewer feels tempted to remind the publishers that readers will have to pay this price not in the depreciated rupee which Sir Montagu advocates, but in an "overvalued" rupee which he strongly condemns.

J. P. Niyogy

The Mystery of the Mahabharata, Vols. I and II by N. V. Thadani. M.A., Bharat Publishing House, Karachi.

In these volumes Principal Thadani attempts a philosophical interpretation of the Mahābhārata. In his opinion the sacred books of the Hindus from the Vedas to the Mahābhārata deal with the Truth of life conceived in various ways. He finds little in the "story" of the Mahābhārata that can inspire the mind or elevate the soul. He, therefore, prefers to it allegorically as a conflict of different systems of thought. *Itihāsa*, according to him, means not history, but *Iti* (that is to say) *h* (Prakriti), a leading to *sa* (Purusha). It is his conviction that the Mahābhārata is not a treasure-house of beautiful stories of romance and love and adventure and war, set off by spiritual and moral discourses, allegories and parables, but rather a comprehensive philosophical treatise and commentary on the various systems of thought at the time of its composition.

The idea that the Mahābhārata is a unified treatise inspired by a dominant sentiment is not new and theories supporting such a view were advanced by scholars like J. Dahlmann and S. Lévi. Nor can it be denied that the epic in its present shape contains much didactic material and is accepted as a *mokshaśāstra*, pointing the way to deliverance from a world of change and pain. But the suggestion that it was *nothing but a philosophical treatise*, that the Pāṇḍus and Kurus are allegorical representations of systems of Hindu philosophy, that the battle of Kurukshetra is only a fight between Yoga and Vaiśeshika (p. xxiii) or a contest between Vedānta and Buddhism (p. lxi), is somewhat novel, and it is to be seen if it finds many supporters even in India. Meanwhile many will prefer to regard the Mahābhārata still as a *Kāvyaṃ parama pūjitaṃ*, an *itivṛttam narendrānām Rishināñcha mahātmanām* which seeks to describe, among other things, *Vistaram Kurunāśasya* and *anyeshām Kshatriyāññcha bhūtaravinātejasām*, i.e., an excellent poem containing tales about high-souled kings and seers and giving a detailed account of the race of Kuru and of other *Kshatriyas* famed for their immense prowess and heroic lustre.

H. C. R. C.

The Linguistic Speculation of the Hindus by Prabhatchandra Chakravarti Kāvya-tīrtha, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1933. Pp. 1-488.

The work under review is a revised and enlarged edition of the author's monograph on the subject published in the Calcutta University Journal of Letters, Vol. XII, 1925. It is a scholarly production and will be read with benefit by all serious students of Sanskrit Philology. In the body of the

book the author has made a very good collection of linguistic facts as observed by the ancient grammarians and philosophers of India, and as such it is valuable to Comparative Philologists as well. The author has adopted a very sane attitude in the interpretation and appraisal of the grammatical observations and speculations of the Sanskrit grammarians. He also has very ably shewn that some of these findings are still valuable for the scientific study of language. Dr. Chakravarti's exposition is lucid and illuminating, and he is to be sincerely congratulated on this achievement.

There are, however, a few points where the author's statement disagrees with the findings of Philology. A few such points are discussed below.

The roots *kr*, *bhū* and *as* when following the verbal form in *-ām* (i.e., in the periphrastic perfect) should not be considered "as secondary roots" [p. 227] but really as auxiliary roots or verbs. The forms *gacchati* and *icchati* are not derived from *gamati* and *iṣati* as the author supposes, following Yāska [p. 270], but they are distinct forms independently derived from the roots *gam* and *iṣ* respectively. The verb forms with *-ccha-* are known in other branches of the Indo-European family. Dr. Chakravarti is wrong when he calls the binding vowel *i* (in grammatical termination *i*) an "augment" [p. 280].

While enumerating some astronomical terms borrowed from a foreign language [p. 303, footnote] the author writes "*jyāmītra* (*diametron* = geometry)." The Greek original of *jyāmītra* or *jāmītra* is not *διαμετρον* but *διαμετρος* and the meaning is not 'geometry' but 'a diameter or diagonal line.' This word has been used by Kālidāsa in the *Kumārasambhava* (VII 1): *tithau ca jāmītraguṇānvitāyām*. Mallinātha explains *jāmītra* as *lagnāt saptaṇaṁ sthānam*.

Dr. Chakravarti accepts Yāska's derivation of the word *devara* as *dviliyo rarau* and therefore finds in it an ancient social custom. As a matter of fact *devara* (or its older form *devr'*) has nothing to do with the numeral *dvi* or any of its derivatives and cognates. The word *devara* (< *devr'*) can be traced back to the parent Indo-European speech as it has cognates in Greek, Latin, Old Slavic and Armenian.

The author supposes that the origin of the collective nouns ending in the affix *-tā* (viz., *grāmatā*, *janatā*, etc.) is to be sought in the operation of analogy [pp. 415f.]. This does not seem to be the case. In the primitive Indo-European language the collective and the abstract nouns were interrelated. It is possibly the other way about: the abstract idea was developed from the collective idea.

The derivation of the word *samudra* 'sea' as *sa-mudra* "bearing *mudrā* or seal" [p. 426, footnote 2] hardly gives any sense. The proper derivation is *sam-ud-ra*, *ud* meaning 'water.'

It is of course a bit irregular when the words *pramāṇa* and *pradhāna* do not agree in number and gender with the nouns they are put in apposition to [p. 435, footnote 2]. But very likely these two words are really (and originally) nouns and not adjectives.

These, however, are small and minor matters and they in no way detracts from the importance and value of this excellent work.

SUKUMAR SEN

The Indian Theatre by R. K. Yajnik, M.A., Ph.D. (London). Messrs. George, Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1933. Ten Shillings net.

The subject of Indian theatre has been receiving attention from scholars; it still remains a favourite subject with research workers.

In this volume Prof. Yajnik of Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, has tried to discuss its origins and its later developments under European influence with special reference to Western India. The second part of the book which is specially concerned with the western influence is a thesis, we are told, approved for the degree of Ph.D. of the University of London ; and both the Bhavnagar State and London University have helped its publication financially. The writer has travelled widely through India and "visited most of the important theatres in Bombay, Poona, Madras, Calcutta and Delhi" and we are further assured that the thesis had received "very valuable suggestions and excellent notes" as well as a careful revision from such eminent authorities as Mr. P. V. Kane and Dr. S. K. De. We had therefore looked forward to a brilliant treatment of the subject, specially such a fascinating subject as Indian theatre, and its development under western influence.

The first part deals with the early Indian stage, previous to the action of western influence, and dwells on the dramatic theory of the Hindus, their ancient stage, the theatre of the people, with the "complete background." It is difficult however to understand why the author calls Bharat's *Nāṭyashāstra* a recent publication, and speaks thus in reference to it: "as it saw light only recently" (p. 21). When he deals with the main characteristics of Hindu drama, he declares: "Grim realism was not to be practised, for this could not exalt the human mind" This has to be modified slightly, in view of the existence of *Mritchhakatika*, the *Clay Cart*. On p. 26, Dr. Yajnik writes:—"The women characters generally speak Prakrit. Other inferior characters hold their conversation in different dialects of their supposed provinces." Were not their speeches Prakrit also? And did they not vary according to their spheres of life, the occupations in which they were engaged? While dealing with the division of the plot according to Hindu dramatic theory, the writer has, most unfortunately, committed the egregious blunder of explaining *garbhāṅka* as 'scene-divisions within an act' (p. 29), the word properly meaning, in Sanskrit dramaturgy, "a play within a play." In his dissertation on the *Rasa* theory, unfortunately again, he ignores the splendid work, though brief, done by Subodh Chandra Mukherji, while works of much less importance are quoted again and again.

Another glaring example of the author's ignorance, an ignorance not corrected by his advisers, is that he explains *Gambhīrā* as the consort of Siva (p. 56) ; the festival which goes by that name indicates a *gabhīra* or deep stage of *sādhana*, or it may mean an inner sanctuary but there is no reference to *Pārvatī* or any other goddess.

Dr. Yajnik's special achievement is the treatment of the modern Indian stage under western influence. The Calcutta theatre is the first to receive his attention, but Lal Bazar (p. 83) is 'Tal Bazar' for him both in the body of the book and index, and therefore not an "obvious misprint." He specially mentions Lebedeff as having himself translated two English plays into Bengali (p. 84), but he ignores the help he got from *pandits* and his assistant, Golaknath Das. *Kulinakulasarvasva* was not the first original play, and the claims of Tara Charan Sikdar should not be lightly brushed aside. Madhusudan's *Ekei-ki-bale-gabhyatā*? has been wrongly spelt (p. 88), as also the name of the firm to which Girish Chandra had been a book-keeper in his early career (p. 89). It is difficult to realise in what respects the English chronicle plays (by which the writer refers perhaps to Shakespeare's dramas) acted as models to Bengali plays, or to appreciate the author's remarks that Tagore's plays seldom succeed on the stage. If his acquaintance with the Bengali stage had been quite up-to-date, he would not have made such a remark. While speaking of the Bombay theatre, he says: "The Marathi, Parsi and Gujarati companies, on account

of their business instinct and their free use of Hindustani, can travel from province to province and create a love of the theatre in the remotest places in India, and this the Bengali theatre cannot do" (p. 91). And yet, if history is to be credited, it was a Bengali theatrical company which toured through Northern India and disseminated a love and taste for the new kind of popular entertainment. The services of Ardhendu Sekhar Mustafi and Dharmadas Sur as missionaries in North India for propaganda in favour of the new theatre during the seventies deserved more than a passing notice. Colonel Tod of *Rajasthan* fame is named as Todd (p. 94). *Telugu* is uniformly and wrongly spelt as *Telegu*, and reference is made to a page number of an unpublished thesis (p. 105)!

Dr. Yajnik's remark that "the Parsis had no proper medium of expression" (p. 96) is difficult to swallow. He explains the backwardness of South Indian drama by referring it partly to "a deep-rooted lethargy in the race, due to centuries of servitude" (p. 102). Yet the average South Indian is credited with remarkable powers of toil and endurance, and if we count the years of servitude, is North India likely to fare better than the South? His tone is quite scornful when he speaks of the Madras theatres which, in his opinion, "are decades behind all the rest in India" (p. 123). Probably this statement is as true as his other remark that "*physical valour on the stage is at great discount in Bengal*" (p. 124)!

Chapters VII to IX are occupied with the stage-versions of European plays, and they contain some very useful information with regard to the character of modern Indian drama. There are three appendices, the first containing important extracts from the writings of Dr. S. K. De, Dr. S. K. Belvelkar and Mr. B. N. Banerji, the second containing a note on amateur experiments, and the third and last being a list of Shakespeare in translations and adaptations. Even though they have evidently been prepared with great care, mistakes have crept through. While writing of Dr. Tagore's plays, Dr. Yajnik says: "The poet writes a play; a friend sets his enchanting lyrics to music; a brother designs the simple but symbolic scenery, etc. The "brother" is perhaps a regrettable slip for Abanindra Nath, a nephew, and the "friend" is none but Dinendra Nath, a grand-nephew. The author again asserts in this connection: "Although Tagore's dramas have appealed widely to the reading public, his productions have so far aroused little enthusiasm among playgoers in general" (p. 268)—a very unfortunate statement, as any Bengali playgoer will testify, who has been to any performance staged by Tagore's troupe. Appendix C is most important, but errors are not altogether absent from it, e.g., there is a mention of one '*Anaṅga-Rāginī*' by 'Manada Prasada Vasu,' as a Bengali version of *As You Like It*; the names should be *Anaṅga-Ranginī* and *Annada Prasada Vasu*."

Though errors like the above are really deplorable in a book sponsored by the University of London and carefully revised by orientalists like Mr. P. V. Kane and Dr. S. K. De, some of the general observations are sound, and the value of the book lies in the information it contains of Indian drama in the several provinces. What is more, his attitude towards Shakespeare and western influence is thoroughly sane: "the Indian theatres will always maintain their reverence and affection for Shakespeare, and will yield to none in their love for the dramatist they consider as belonging to all nations. Thus, although the contact between the East and the West in the field of the theatre has already borne remarkable fruit, one believes that it is indeed yet capable of bearing even more and richer."

Sangit Bhāva, by Maharana Vijaydevji of Dharampur. Messrs J. B. Taraporewala Sons and Co., Bombay, 1933, Rs. 15 only.

The place of music in our educational curriculum is engaging the attention of our educationists and thinkers. It is being recognised more and more every day that instead of being an obstacle, as our grandfathers feared, it is really an asset for the teacher, and it is a great help towards a full, comprehensive scheme of education. The University of Calcutta has taken a right step in including it in its newly reconstructed Matriculation syllabus. While the indigenous culture is highly praised in other domains, in the department of music the claims of the Indian rāgs and rāginīs should not be allowed to be brushed aside. But Indian music is a sealed book to the western scholars except such of them as have attained a knowledge of its technique by special study.

His Highness the Maharana of Dharampur (Surat) has gracefully come forward to bridge, however partly, this gulf between the East and West. His Highness has retained his early love of music, and here the reader is offered the result of a ripe judgment, extensive travel in India and outside, and acquaintance with master musicians, Eastern and Western. The volume under notice is the first of a series which His Highness has planned, and it confines its attention to the Rāg Bhairava and its five rāginīs, "Bengāli," "Bhairavi," "Madhumādhavi," "Bairāri" and "Sindhavi." After discussing in brief the origin, history and characteristics of Indian music, it proceeds to a description of the melodies, their proper notations and representative songs, transliterated in Roman characters. The English original has a running French translation joined to it, to make it accessible to a wider circle of readers, and there are coloured illustrations, some being copies of old paintings and others wholly new, which admirably set off the volume. It is not possible to praise the get-up too highly, and the book should find its way to all lovers of art in general.

Lead, Kindly Light, by S. A. Das. Lillooah, Howrah, Calcutta. 1933. Rs. 2.

This is cast in the form of a play consisting of five scenes with an 'entracte' and a 'finale,' spread over a period of 21 years, and detailing the struggles of a life spent in Church surroundings and divided in its loyalty between the Church and the conscience. An Indian, converted to Christianity, feels strongly a national bias, and he thinks churchianity a worse slavery than the traditions of his own faith. Mr. Das puts it strongly as we find in the words of Richard: "Most of the British and American Mission agents are Britishers and Americans first, and Christians afterwards. Touch their national feelings and you will then see the depth of their religion." Tradition dies hard; and the author seems to ask, is it necessary that tradition should die? Is it not a better code to press forward an intelligent and sympathetic understanding of Christ and his precepts, than to try to make as many converts as possible? Is the Church justified in neglecting its members in order to push on the work of conversion with speed and zeal? And if some traditions are necessary, is it not prudent to utilise existing traditions rather than ignore them and to import foreign! The answers are obvious, and Mr. Das writes with feeling and discernment. The question, if Western influence has been good for India, crops up incidentally, and we are answered by Richard, the son of Samuel, the convert who suffers through all his life from the struggle referred to above and who escapes it at last by donning

the yellow robe of a monk; regarding the benefit of western influence he admits "it has incidentally spread (*sic*) places of education, scientific research and hospitals all over India; it has revived in us the thirst for knowledge, it has stimulated the creative powers of our poets and our artists. In short, it has unintentionally given birth to our Nationalism by awakening in us the consciousness of our race. But all these do not outweigh the evil it has done" (pp. 85-86).

A thoughtful book, presenting an idea of dangers looming large before the Church,—this is the impression the reader gathers as he closes it. In the midst of the encircling gloom, deepened by wrangling creeds, the cry is for 'Light, more light,' and every true heart will echo in tune with "Lead, Kindly Light."

Makers of the Modern World, by D. V. Searle, B.A. E. J. Arnold & Son, Ltd., Leeds, England. 2s. 9d. 1933.

This is the 7th book of the series known as the "A. L." Histories, in which history is told through story and biography. The world has changed a good deal during the last two hundred and fifty years and the book tells us of some of the men and women who have made these changes and who have helped the world to be what it is now. Engineers, medical men, philanthropists, inventors of the bicycle, the motor-car, the wireless and aircraft, besides pioneers in other lines find a place here and their stories are simply told with illustration to help the reader to understand their work. At the end of each biography there are suggestions for essays at the end, with a handy time chart of modern history and an index. It deserves a place in the curriculum of our schools, and it is sure to prove inspiring reading for growing youth, even if prescribed only for home study.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Gleanings

A CENTURY OF PROGRESS IN TEN YEARS !

With the above slogan, the Turkish Republic celebrated its tenth anniversary on October 29, 1938. In the *Current History* (New York) Mr. Robert L. Baker gives an account of the drastic reforms carried out in this short period by the government of Mustapha Kemal whose objective was 'to aim at the true happiness and prosperity of the nation, not to weary the people with distant aims,' for, in the words of Mustapha Kemal, "to bring all the Turks in the world into one state is an impossible aim. History shows no example of the success of a policy of Pan-Islamianism or Pan-Turanianism."

"Mustapha Kemal, it is now realized, was forced to uproot the old system of life in Turkey before he could create one more suited to the demands of the twentieth century. Political, social and religious reforms that discarded old traditions and customs were put into effect with vigor and apparently with complete success. The stifling grip which a corrupt and moribund religious system held on every activity of the people was thrown off. The Caliphate and the religious orders were suppressed, and though Turks remained Moslems, the clergy were restricted to their proper sphere. Western civil, penal and commercial codes replaced the outworn Moslem *Shariat*. Un-national Arabic influences were eliminated by the adoption of the Latin alphabet, the Western calendar, the compulsory use of Turkish in religious services and by the exclusion of Arabic words from the Turkish vocabulary. Turkish became a new language, a medium for simple but forceful expression. So proud of it were the Turks that its use was prescribed in commercial intercourse, even in cosmopolitan Istanbul. The fez, which Mustapha Kemal regarded as a symbol of Turkish backwardness, was banned. The veil disappeared, and more by encouragement than by official action Turkish women left the seclusion of the home to participate equally with men in the life of the nation. The right of wives to divorce their husbands and the ending of polygamy indicate how sharply the republic has broken with Moslem law.

'Less sensational than these changes, but no less important, is the program of economic reform that has occupied the Turkish people during the last ten years. The prospects of the newly created republic were truly dismal. Turkish man-power and resources had been drained to the point of exhaustion by twelve years of almost continuous warfare. In all these struggles except the final one with Greece for Western Anatolia the Crescent had gone down in defeat. The richest parts of Asia Minor were little better than a desert after the Greeks retired. Railways not destroyed were in disrepair and the roads were almost impassable. Trade was dead and in many districts the population was on the verge of starvation. Looking abroad, only Soviet Russia was friendly, and her motives in helping Turkey in the war of liberation were open to suspicion.

"Mustapha Kemal's chief concerns were the repair and construction of railways and the creation of an adequate army. The new lines, however, connect the capital with the principal cities of Anatolia, link the trunk lines to ports on the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and provide rail

communication with agricultural, coal, oil and copper areas. Their economic value, therefore, would appear to be indisputable. Since 1923 several hundred miles of existing line have been practically rebuilt, and more than 1,500 miles of new railways have been completed, with about 1,000 miles still under construction.

"Before the World War, the railways of Turkey were foreign-owned. After the war the British and French companies retained their lines, but the Anatolian and Baghdad Railways were taken over by the Turkish Government and operated for several years without the owners' consent. A settlement with the bondholders, however, was reached in 1928, when the government agreed to pay for the lines by annuities running until the year 2002. All the post-war railways are State property.

"In 1925 the Grand National Assembly enacted a law for the encouragement of industry. Manufacturers were offered State land, exemption from taxes and permission to import free of duty such raw materials as were not available in Turkey. Factories established under the law were made subject to minimum requirements in regard to motive power, value of installation and pay-rolls. Three new national banks were established under government auspices to finance industry on favorable terms. When the 1927 census was taken considerable progress had already been made, but only 300 of the establishments reported could really be called factories. In 1933, however, according to a reliable estimate, the number of genuine factories had increased tenfold since 1927. The government has directly aided more than 2,300 factories since the law of 1925 went into effect. Not until the old commercial treaties lapsed in 1929 was the government in a position to give adequate tariff protection to the infant industries. Since that year production in all lines has risen sharply and there has been a corresponding decline in imports.

"In 1934 Turkey is expected to produce and manufacture all she needs in sugar and silk and leather goods, all of which were formerly imported. Within a few years the manufacture of cotton and woolen fabrics will supply the domestic demand. Heavy industry lags, but even here the Turks are optimistic. The country possesses both coal and iron, and under the supervision of German technicians steel rails, ordnance and even airplanes have already been produced. The Ghazi's goal of a self-contained Turkey should be reached in another decade.

"According to the Ministry of Education, the percentage of illiteracy fell during the decade from 85 to 40. This has been largely the result of teaching several million adults to read and write through the facilities offered by the People's Houses (the social and cultural clubs of the People's party) and the army, which provides instruction for illiterate recruits. The enrolment in schools has doubled in the primary grades and grown sixfold in the upper schools. The education of girls has been specially encouraged. In the secondary schools, for example, the number of girls increased from 541 in 1923 to 7,511 in 1932. Instruction has been centralized under a special Ministry, which is advised by foreign experts, and the curricula have been secularized. Even small towns now have libraries, museums and reading rooms."

INDIANIZATION OF THE ARMY

The Indian Army, under the present system, is Indian in one sense only—in that its cost is borne by Indians; neither in function nor in structure may it be called Indian, dominated as it is by ideals of British Imperialism. In a paper published in the *Indian Review* (Madras),

Mr. Nirad C. Chaudhuri discusses the essential items of a programme of Indianization. He says :

"To my mind the most important of these is, that the army must be recruited from all over India and all classes of Indians. The practice of taking into the ranks only certain classes of Indians and the theory of the martial races with which it is closely dovetailed, are the two most formidable obstacles in the way of carrying out any reform on national lines in the army. Just as communal representation has become one of the key-stones of the political edifice, a hidebound caste system is coming more and more to be a feature of the army organization in India. The Indian Military College Committee of 1931, by providing for special quotas of cadets from the so-called martial castes, has introduced this pernicious doctrine even into the leadership and command of the army.

"The second essential item of Indianization is that Indians should be admitted to all the arms of the service freely. Ever since the Mutiny, it has remained one of the cardinal doctrines of British Military policy in India, that not only should Indians never be allowed to occupy positions of responsibility and power in the army, but also that they should never be taken into all its arms so that they might be able to constitute a self-contained fighting formation by themselves alone.

"Recently, however, a departure has been made in this respect from the established practice. By the scheme of Indianization of 1931, the military authorities have committed themselves to the creation of a purely Indian division of all arms. The most substantial item in this programme is the creation of new Indian artillery units.

"Next comes the question of substituting Indian for British officers in the Indian Army. This is one of the most important aspects of Indianization, because there can be no transfer of the army to Indian command without a sufficient number of trained Indian officers to lead it. At the same time it is one of the most difficult. Military opinion, with rare exceptions, has never looked with favour upon the proposal to give commissions to educated Indians. This attitude, as Lord Kitchener wrote long ago,

is due in part to a dislike of change and in part to a deep-seated racial repugnance to any steps which brings nearer the day when Englishmen in the Army may have to take orders from Indians. Chiefly, however, it is due to an honest belief—which is certainly not altogether unfounded—that any substitution of Indians for British officers must be detrimental to the efficiency of the Army.

"The words still hold true as an explanation of the reluctance of the Military authorities to permit any large influx of Indians into the army.

"Recently, however, Indian public opinion has gained a victory by the establishment of a military college in India. Yet the concession falls short in almost every respect of what we claimed and hoped for, and, what is perhaps more important, the scheme of Indianization now being tried would not lay the foundation on the soundest of lines.

"In the first place, the pace of Indianization still remains very unsatisfactory. The present scheme, if fully worked out, will affect, at the end of half a generation, only one of the four divisions constituting the Field Army in India, which in its turn comprises less than half of the total strength of the fighting services. Secondly, the scheme is frankly tentative and experimental. Thirdly, the principle of segregating the Indian officers in certain units and formations, which was one of the worst drawbacks of Lord Rawlinson's proposals, is still in operation. The device, as is well known, was hit upon to avoid the difficulty of making British officers

serve under Indians. Last of all, following the theory of the martial races, the classes at present not enlisted in the army have been put at a disadvantage in comparison with the classes that are enlisted.

"There is besides another aspect of the question which has not been sufficiently stressed by our spokesmen. It is this. The Indian cadets should be given a kind of training most suited to the country, and military education should be made reasonably inexpensive. The actual tendency on the contrary, is to confine recruiting to the wealthy classes and convert the cadets into imitation English subalterns, weaned away from their national habits and traditions and uprooted from their social environment. This will make them as ineffective as the majority of the Indian members of the services, and what is more the ideal of an imitation Englishman will never attract the best manhood of India.

RELIGION AND EDUCATION

Prabuddha Bharata (Calcutta) editorially pleads for introduction of a religious element in our educational system:

"We are not for introducing a theological element into the educational system in so far as there is an intellectual value of theology. But certainly there should be a deliberate and earnest attempt to make people a better type of human beings. And that is feasible only through the aid of religion—though not by any credal religion. Love for God, love for all, perfect unselfishness, a life of conquest of the flesh—are not these common to every religion? Every religion says that it is only through perfect self-control and selflessness that we can reach God. A man may not be caring for God, but let him satisfy these two conditions only on the consideration that these will make life happier, and society better, and he will be a religious man.

"It is a mistake to suppose that religion—we mean true religion—will make people unfit for action. It is true that almost all religions preach and talk of renunciation. But does that necessarily mean that one should take to caves and forests? It is a fact that to have love for God and worldly things at the same time is impossible. But does that mean that we should be dead as walls or turn into stocks and stones? Renunciation and desirelessness mean that we should altogether banish the personal element from our life. We should work—but not for ourselves; our work should be for God and His creation. We should crush our desire—but only in order that the Great Desire to realize Truth in life may be born.

"Yet we are not for placing education in the hands of those who trade in religion or pass as religious men. For there is a chance that the cause of education will be subordinated to the spread of religion by teachers who lack sympathy, imagination and foresight. That was the case in Europe in the Middle Ages. Nor should the educational policy be dictated by the State, for thereby education will be made a tool in the hands of the State to further its own cause. Education should be in the hands of expert educationists who will be not only veteran in their own lines, but also capable of supplying idealism to the minds of the boys. To inspire the learners to live for some definite ideals and not to employ their intellectual powers for a return in riches or name and fame should be the aim of education. In many cases intellectual idealism will be the way to reach God in the long run.

"A boy cannot be made into a religious man by drilling into his brain a Bible or a Gita, by compelling him to attend the Sunday-schools or

perform fits of genuflexion in a temple or a church. At best an atmosphere can be created where the boys will get inspiration from life embodying certain ideals. A teacher who devoutly lives a life of piety without talking a single word of religion will wake up in the heart of boys a longing for God. The boys who constantly see their parents live a life of self-denial and self-sacrifice will unconsciously catch the inspiration."

A SANATORIUM UNIVERSITY

Mr. A. K. Majumdar gives an account of the "Sanatorium Universitaire" at Leysin, Switzerland in the "Modern Review" (Calcutta).

"The Sanatorium Universitaire Suisse' as it is generally called is beautifully situated in the midst of fine forests at an altitude of 4,500 feet above the sea-level. It is primarily intended for such university students and teachers of both sexes as are suffering from tuberculosis. The idea of such a sanatorium originated with Dr. Vanthier...This young doctor's sympathetic nature discovered that two opposite evils surrounded the tubercular patients in those ordinary places of cure namely, helpless loneliness on the one hand and the deadening weight of unwanted society on the other." Therefore with a view to providing healthy surroundings, an educational atmosphere, facilities for quiet literary and scientific studies, a mixture of freedom and association of young men and women of about the same age, combined with up-to-date medical arrangements to ensure proper treatment, care and rest, Dr. and Mrs. Vanthier tried their best to popularise the scheme of a university sanatorium."

"The authorities of the institution do not aim at running a university for tubercular students on the top of a mountain; but within the limitations everything is done to introduce an academic atmosphere here. We call this institution a sanatorium, but nobody here talks of sickness. The students enjoy radio music; they laugh and play and study. Students pursuing the same course of studies help one another. Sometimes one of them lectures and those interested in the subject listen and afterwards discuss. While there are no "complete cycle of university faculties" and regular courses, the work of each student is supervised by a tutor chosen from among his professors. Distinguished Swiss, French and other professors give them guidance and advice in research work. A young man who is a medical student is collecting material for a thesis on 'Constitution and Tuberculosis,' and a girl student is writing a thesis on 'Teeth and Tuberculosis.'"

"And what is the attitude of the Universities? It is most sympathetic. All the Swiss Universities count the terms spent by their students at the Sanatorium and many of the inmates of this institution, who are able to continue their studies here, took their examinations in the plains and obtained university degrees...Students whose health has sufficiently improved, are introduced to light and interesting hand-work, such as book-binding, easy wood-work and metal-work."

“ KEEP TO YOUR OWN ART ”

Professor Henry Tonks, who taught artists like Sir William Orpen, Sir William Rothenstein, Augustus John and “ who is looked upon as the greatest professor of Fine Arts in the world,” writes, in a letter published in *Our Magazine* (Government School of Art, Calcutta):

“ I received lately an account of your school with reproductions of some of the work of your students. This put quite a definite idea again into my head, at least to me of importance, and that is that so long as you native inhabitants of India will keep to your own Art, I believe you will improve and do work worthy of your great past. I have always said the same thing to the Chinese and Japanese students I have had, and yet, for reasons I cannot understand, they come to Europe to pick up our ideas. We cannot pick up oriental art any more than you can ours. We might imitate but ‘ it would be poor stuff...If you want to see the work of Europe, have the best to put before your students, but very little.’ ”

CONVOCATION ADDRESS IN ANCIENT INDIA

Under the above caption Srimati Uma Devi, B.A., contributes a very interesting article in the current number of the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* (Calcutta, monthly). She writes:

“ We are all familiar with the address of distinguished educationists at the annual convocations of the different Universities. But none of them can bear comparison with the short and simple address of the preceptor in ancient India to the pupil at the conclusion of his Vedic studies. The address is given in the 11th anuvāka of the Śikṣādhyaṃya of the *Taittirīyopaniṣad* and is as follows:—

Sanskrit.

Vedaṃ anūcyācāryo'ntevāsinamanuṣāstī | Satyaṃ vada | Dharmam cara | Svādhyāyān mā pramadaḥ | Acāryāya priyaṃ dhanamāhṛtya prajāntu mā vyavacchetsiḥ | Satyānna pramaditavyam | Dharmānna pramaditavyam | Kuśālānna pramaditavyam | Bhūtyai na pramaditavyam | Devapitrāryābhyāṃ na pramaditavyam | Mātṛdevo bhava | Pitṛdevo bhava | Acāryadevo bhava | Atithidevo bhava | Yānyanavadyāni karmāṇi tūni sevītavyāni, no itarāṇi | Yānyasmākaṃ sucaritāni tūni tvayopāśyāni, no itarāṇi | Ye ke cāsmacchreyāṃso, brāhmaṇāsteṣāṃ trayāsanena praśvasitavyam | Śraddhayā deyam | Aśraddhayā deyam | Sṛiyā deyam | Hriyā deyam | Bhriyā deyam | Saṃvidā deyam | Atha yadi te karmavicikitsā vā vṛttavicikitsā vā syāt, ye tatra brāhmaṇāḥ saṃmarśinaḥ, yuktā āyuktāḥ, alūkṣa dharmakāmāḥ syuḥ, yathā te tatra varteran, tathā tatra vartethāḥ | Athābhyākhyāteṣu, ye tatra brāhmaṇāḥ saṃmarśinaḥ yuktā āyuktāḥ, alūkṣa dharmakāmāḥ syuḥ, yathā te teṣu varteran, tathā teṣu vartethāḥ | Eṣa ādeśaḥ, eṣa upadeśaḥ, eṣa vedopaniṣat, etadanuśāsanam, evamupāsītavyam, evamu caṭṭadupāśyam ||

Translation.

After having taught the Veda the Preceptor thus instructs the pupil: Speak the truth. Practise virtue. Neglect not thy daily recitation of the Vedas. Having brought the preceptor welcome wealth (take a wife and) cut not asunder the line of descendants. Thou must not be negligent of virtue. Thou must not be negligent of thy well-being. Thou must not be negligent of thy prosperity. Thou must not be negligent of thy daily recitation of the Vedas and of teaching. Thou must not be negligent in the performance of the rites to the gods and to the ancestors. Worship thy mother as thy God. Worship thy father as thy God. Worship thy preceptor as thy God. Those acts that are above reproach those shalt thou perform and none others. That conduct of ours which is good that shalt thou study with devotion and none else. Whatever Brahmans or holy men are superior to ourselves their fatigues shalt thou remove by offering them seats. Thou must give with faith. Thou must not give without faith (or thou must give even without faith). Thou must give according to thy means. Thou must give out of shame (*i.e.*, lest thou be outdone by others). Thou must give out of fear (lest thou incur the anger of the gods). Thou must give out of friendliness. Now should there arise in thy mind any doubt regarding any act or conduct, (follow) those that are Brahmans, that are given to wise deliberation or are of sober judgment, that are assiduous and intent, that are gentle (*i.e.*, that is not swayed by any violent passion) and desirous of performing their duties—as they act therein so shouldst thou act. Now as regards people who have been accused of some sin or crime, (follow those that are Brahmans, that are of sober judgment, that are assiduous and intent, that are not swayed by desires and passions—as these act towards them, so also shouldst thou act. This is the commandment: this is the advice: this is the hidden import of the Veda: this is the introduction and message. Thus should it be acted upon with faith and reverence, thus verily should it be acted upon with faith and reverence.

At Home and Abroad

[A Monthly Record of News relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities and other cultural and academic Institutions.]

Inter-University Conference

Mr. G. H. Langley, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, has been unanimously elected as President of the ensuing All-India Inter-University Conference, to be held in Delhi on the 6th, 7th and 8th March, 1934. His Excellency the Viceroy will formally open the Conference.

Gaekwar Library, Hindu University

His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda was pleased to accept the invitation of the Benares Hindu University to perform the opening ceremony of the Sayajirao Gaekwar Library which has been built with a handsome donation of Rs. 2 00,000. The ceremony took place on February 19 last. It may be recalled, the foundation stone of this library was laid in 1921. The building which is nearing completion is the finest building in the University and is already equipped with 80,000 books. The diameter of the central circular hall is 90 ft. and possesses accommodation for 500 students including the galleries.

All-Bengal Teachers' Conference

The 13th annual session of the All-Bengal Teachers' Conference will be held at Asansol under the presidentship of Sj. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Bar.-at-Law, by the last week of March. Prof. Radhakumud Mookerjee, Ph.D., of Lucknow University will act as Chairman of the Reception Committee. Vigorous preparations are in progress.

Donation for Medical Research

The Trustees of Sir Dorab Tata Trust have given a donation of Rs. 25,000 to the fund of the Indian Institute for Medical Research which is going to be started within a short time. It is expected the Institute will be able to begin various important works in connection with the problem of health and disease of this country.

Baroda Education Budget

The Budget figures for 1933-34, as sanctioned by the Gaekwar, show revenue of Rs. 249 lakhs and an expenditure of Rs. 215 lakhs. About 117 lakhs are expected from Land Revenue. On the expenditure side 37½ lakhs go to Education and 80 lakhs to Public Works Department.

Women eligible for Lectureship

At the last meeting of the Executive Council of the Dacca University a resolution was passed to the effect that ladies may be appointed to the posts of lecturers whenever suitable occasion arises.

Prayag Mahila Vidyapith

"Will you just drift and accept things as they are, however bad they may be. The purdah, that evil relic of a barbarous age which imprisons the body and mind of so many of our sisters, will you not tear it to bits and burn it into fragments. Untouchability and caste, which degrade humanity and help in the exploitation of one class by another, will you not fight them and end them. Our marriage laws and out-of-date customs which hold us back and especially crush the women-folk, will you not combat them and bring them in line with modern conditions," thus said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the course of the convocation address delivered by him at Prayag Mahila Vidyapith, Allahabad, which was formerly called the Women's University, Allahabad. In connection with the "Women's Week" celebrations conducted by the Women's University, Allahabad, a physical culture conference was held attended by both men and women, the latter alone participating in the deliberations. The conference then passed a number of resolutions urging the need for physical culture compulsory in women's schools and colleges and emphasising the need for medical examination of girl students.

U. P. Government and Harijan Students

The following communique was issued by the U. P. Government on February 6, last :

It is the policy of the Government that no student be excluded, simply on grounds of low caste or inferior social status, from any institution which receives support from public funds. Authorities and bodies which manage educational institutions maintained by funds to which the Government contribute, directly or indirectly, are required in practice to conform with the policy of the Government in this matter. It is therefore, not permissible for heads of such institutions to debar students simply on grounds of low caste or inferior social status, nor is it permissible for them to discriminate in any invidious manner between students by allotting to depressed class students places apart from other students.

Andhra University

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan being the only candidate nominated for Vice-Chancellorship of the Andhra University, he will be declared elected as Vice-Chancellor for a further period of three years at the Senate meeting called for the 24th instant.

Women's Education League

The seventh annual meeting of the Bengal Women's Education League was held on February 21 last, at the Y. W. C. A. hall following a

reception given by the President, Mrs. P. K. Ray, to the delegates. Miss Dipti Chatterji, Joint Secretary, in the course of her report on the League's work during the past year, dwelt on the measures taken to provide courses of lectures and demonstrations on various subjects to teachers desirous of improving their equipment. These courses, she said, had been well attended. A joint enterprise, she added, had been launched as an experiment in which the League and the Employment Bureau of the Y. W. C. A. would co-operate in the formation of a Teachers' Bureau. It was considered that this would supply a long-felt need by bringing into touch, through a recognized institution, college and school authorities who required staff and teachers seeking appointments.

The first session of the Eighth Bengal Women's Educational Conference was held on the day following. At the morning session Dr. Jenkins spoke on "The Problem of Primary Education for Girls in Bengal." The subject of training teachers for village schools and for community service was dealt with by Mrs. S. M. Maitra, Mrs. S. Gupta and Mrs. F. G. Williams, while Miss Usha Biswas spoke on "Planning for the Future in Primary Education." In the afternoon a special session was held for teachers of needlework, and there will also be an exhibition of school needlework.

Benares University's Decision

The Senate of the Benares Hindu University has resolved to introduce Hindi as the medium of instruction and examination in a few subjects in the Intermediate standard. As there was a paucity of books of college standard the University established a board of authors to prepare them. The work of this board was greatly facilitated by a donation of Rs. 50,000 by Seth Ghanshyam Das Birla and about a dozen books have already been published by the board. If this experiment succeeds, it is proposed to make Hindi as the medium of instruction in the remaining subjects also. At present it has been decided to make Hindi as the medium of instruction in history, logic, civics, economics and Sanskrit in the intermediate standard from next year.

Military School at Nagpur

It is understood that Dr. B. S. Moonje intends to start a military training school at Nagpur. He has collected Rs. 30,000 with promises of an equal amount. The estimated cost for starting the school will be more than a lakh of rupees. The school will be divided into two sections in accordance with academic and military regulations. Captain Modak of Poona who was a witness before the Joint Parliamentary Committee will in all probability be the Principal of the school.

Osmania University

The great success which the University had achieved by making Urdu the medium of instruction was stressed upon by Nawab Mahdi Yarjung Bahadur, Political Member, in delivering an address on the occasion of the last annual convocation of the Osmania University.

In the course of his convocation address Nawab Mahdi Yarjung Bahadur said: "Under the old system our language was relegated to an inferior position and it was accepted as axiomatic that no modern language could be acquired except through the medium of a foreign tongue. This

was largely responsible for the absence of original thought among us. Foreign languages were essential for the exchange of knowledge with other countries for the co-ordination of research but the acceptance of the supposition that our language is on an inferior plane and incapable of becoming either a store-house or a vehicle of knowledge, created a psychology which was fatal to original thought and action. This false doctrine of inferiority of our language which had gone unchallenged throughout the whole century, is now disproved and opponents and pessimists alike are compelled to admit the ease with which Hindustani has adapted itself to modern requirements and its great power of expressing, drawing as it does its vocabulary from four or five richest languages of the world. Arts, Sciences, Mathematics are all fitted into it with a naturalness that is amazing. In short, all gloomy predictions about the failure of the University will soon be falsified and the University to-day is not only capable of teaching all subjects, including modern sciences with ease, but has also earned the recognition from several Indian and British Universities, showing that the standard attained by it does not fall short of those of other similar institutions." Proceeding, Mahdi Yarjung emphasised the aim of university education. He said "To my mind, it is the bringing out of what is best in us, mental, moral and physical, so that, our duty in life may be performed in the best way possible, for better we are as men, the more efficient shall we be in vocations. Now, this process of refinement for humanisation is only possible through the knowledge which comes from truth and connotes action, not merely passive assimilation. Crooked paths do not lead to the lofty goal which one has set before oneself."

Dacca University Manuscript Committee's Work

The Manuscript Committee of the Dacca University for the collection of Sanskrit and Bengali manuscripts is doing very brisk work. Recently their travelling agent returned after collection tour in Noakhali with five maunds of important manuscripts, some of them 500 years old. In addition a document of sale of land written on 'Terit' or tree bark was secured. This latter purports to be a dated sale deed of the time of Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah, son of Allauddin Hussien Shah, the mightiest Sultan of Bengal (A.D. 1493 to 1513). It is very interesting to note that the form of the document exactly corresponds to the draft of the copper-plate charters by which land was given away by the pre-Mahomedan kings of Bengal. The Sultan is mentioned as Governor in that particular part of the country and the Vishaya and the Mandala, in modern terms the district and the Pargana, of the village in which the land was situated are also given.

Of the manuscripts the most curious is a Sanskrit dictionary called "Savda Ratnavali" by Mushakhan Masnadi Ali, son of the great 'Bhuiyan' Chief Ishakhan Masnadi Ali who ruled in Eastern Bengal practically like an independent sovereign during the reign of Akbar. It is well known that Ishakhan's father, Kalidas Gajdani, was a Bais Rajput of Oudh and the family was always on excellent terms with their Hindu subjects. So the spectacle of a Moslem Chief standing forth as a compiler of a Sanskrit dictionary need not astonish us. Moreover it appears from the opening lines of the compilation that it was really the work of a Pandit called Mathuresha who was probably the Court Pandit of Mushakhan. In the colophon however only the name of Mushakhan is mentioned as the author. His grandfather is named as Silamana Khan (Sulaiman Khan) which is the name that Kalidas took after his conversion.

Of the other manuscripts mention may be made of a particularly valuable one. This is a commentary on 'Shamveda' by 'Ubata' son of Bajrata, a Kashmirian Pandit. The discovery of this Kashmirian work and in remote Noakhali shows the amazing manner in which worthy works circulated from one corner of India to the other in those remote days. This manuscript is about 500 years old. It may be mentioned that 'Ubata' flourished during the reign of King Bhoja about 1000 A.D.

Madras School of Arts and Crafts

His Excellency the Governor and Lady Beatrix Stanley visited the Madras School of Arts and Crafts this morning and inspected the various articles displayed there in connexion with the School's Third Annual Exhibition, which was opened on January 23, last.

The exhibition of drawings, paintings and sculpture by the teachers and students of the Government School of Arts and Crafts shows a very large quantity of work, within a wide range of style and medium, among which are many works of an extremely high standard. Throughout the exhibition, the influence of Mr. D. P. Roy Chowdhury is very strongly felt, and he is to be congratulated on the evidently enthusiastic support of his staff and students.

Ourselves

[The late Sir P. C. Mitter—The late Mr. Madhusudan Das—The late Mr. Jnanendramohan Das Gupta—Rai Pramodchandra Datta Bahadur, C.I.E.—Overseas Scholarships—Training Class for Librarians—College and School Committees—Post-Graduate Teaching in Physiology and Geology—A New Scholarship—Indian Science Congress, 1935—University Rowing Club—International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences—New Doctors of Philosophy and Science—Affiliation of the Scottish Church College to B.T. Standard—Department of Indian Vernaculars—A trip to Nabadwip—Notifications.]

THE LATE SIR P. C. MITTER

It is our melancholy duty to record the sudden and untimely death of a distinguished son of Bengal, the Hon'ble Sir Provashchandra Mitter, K.T., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., which took place on the 8th of February last, at his Calcutta residence. The late Sir Provash was the first Minister of Education under the Reforms and *ex-officio* Fellow of our University from 1921 to 1924. He took a keen interest in the work of the University during the years he was associated with it. At their meeting held on the day of his death, the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate passed the following resolution in solemn silence, all the members present standing :

The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate mourn the sudden and untimely death of the Hon'ble Sir Provashchandra Mitter, K.T., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Member, Executive Council, Bengal, who was Minister of Education for this province and *ex-officio* Fellow of this University from 1921 to 1924 and place on record their appreciation of the distinguished services rendered by him to the Government and his country in various walks of life.

We associate ourselves with the resolution of the Syndicate and the sentiments expressed at their meeting, and mourn with the rest of the country the loss our province has suffered by the death of Sir Provash.

All University classes, the University Law College and the University offices were closed on the 13th of February in honour of his memory.

THE LATE MR. MADHUSUDHAN DAS

We join the rest of our country in expressing our sorrow at the loss that the country has suffered by the death of Mr. Madhusudan Das, the grand old man of Utkal at the age of 80. He was a student

of this University in his early youth and was its first Oriya graduate. For many a long year he devoted himself body and soul to the service of his motherland particularly to the advancement and development of Orissa. He was born in an age when Orissa was backward in education, industry and politics and it was largely through his inspiration and direction that the province rose to its present position. His burning patriotism, his dignity of manners, his resolute independence and his charming personality endeared him universally and made his name a household word in Orissa. He was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council many years ago and after the separation of Bihar from Bengal when Orissa was joined to the province of Bihar he was elected to the Bihar Legislative Council to represent Orissa. His manifold qualities were appreciated by Lord Sinha, the then Governor of Bihar, and Mr. Das was appointed the first Minister of Local Self-Government in that province. Mr. Das fully justified his appointment as a minister and has left behind him a brilliant record of public service.

Mr. Das's loss is mourned by many of his personal friends in Bengal where he spent the early years of his life as a student and as a teacher. Our readers will be interested to learn that the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was a pupil of Mr. Das.

THE LATE MR. JNANENDRAMOHAN DAS GUPTA

We lament the death at Edinburgh on the 4th of January last of a young Bengali scholar, Mr. Jnanendramohan Das Gupta at the age of 29. Mr. Das Gupta took the M.Sc. degree of this University with the first position in the First Class and proceeded to Edinburgh for higher studies in Medical Chemistry. Mr. Das Gupta was an Officer-in-charge of the research Laboratory of Dr. U. N. Brahmachari, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. His professors at Edinburgh held a very high opinion of his ability and industry and it is most unfortunate that a promising career should have come to such an untimely and melancholy end.

RAI PRAMODCHANDRA DATTA BAHADUR, C.I.E.

We note with pleasure that Rai Pramodchandra Datta Bahadur, C.I.E., a Member of the Senate of our University, has just been

appointed to be a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Assam in succession to Maulvi Saiyid Sir Muhammad Saadulla when the latter vacates office on March 31, next. It will be recalled that the Rai Bahadur was the first Minister of the Government of Assam in charge of the Department of Education under the new constitution. He has to his credit a brilliant record of service in the cause of educational progress of his province. He has long been associated with this University as a graduate and a Fellow and the Senate have often profited by his valued co-operation. We offer him our sincerest congratulations.

OVERSEAS SCHOLARSHIPS

The Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851 award annually eight scholarships of the value of Rs. 250 per annum together with certain additional allowances to selected students of overseas Universities who have already completed a full University course and given evidence of capacity for scientific investigations. But the Indian Universities are not entitled to nominate candidates for these scholarships which are allocated to Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and Ireland. The Syndicate at one of their recent meetings took up the matter and addressed the Secretary, Inter-University Board, to place the question on the agenda of the next meeting of the Board and take necessary action. They also addressed a letter to the Secretary, Education Department, Government of Bengal, requesting him to approach the Government of India in this connection.

TRAINING CLASS FOR LIBRARIANS

In our December issue we referred to a communication received by the University from the Government of Bengal on the subject of organising a training class for librarians in Calcutta. The Syndicate considered the letter and referred the question to a representative Committee for enquiry and report. The Committee have now submitted their report which has been adopted by the Syndicate and a reply has been addressed to Government on the lines of their recommendations.

The Committee think it eminently desirable to start classes under the University for the training of Librarians. They also think that the co-operation of important public institutions like the Imperial Library, the India Library Association, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat should be invited, and they should be represented on the Board which may be set up by the University to supervise such training. In case the Government of Bengal and the Government of India render financial assistance to the University for this purpose, they also should, in the opinion of the Committee, be asked to nominate representatives on the Board.

COLLEGE AND SCHOOL COMMITTEES, 1934-35.

The College Committee for the year 1934-35 has been constituted as follows :—

The Vice-Chancellor, *Chairman*.

Bhupatimohan Sen, Esq., M.A. (Cantab.), M.Sc.

Rai Jnanchandra Ghosh, Bahadur, M.A.

Prof. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.LITT., D.L., D.D.

Prof. Praphullachandra Mitter, M.A., PH.D.

Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.C.

Adityanath Mukherjee, Esq., M.A., PH.D.

Maulvi A. F. M. Abdul Kadir, M.A.

The University Inspector of Colleges.

The School Committee for the year 1934-35 has been constituted as follows :—

The Vice-Chancellor, *Chairman*.

Rai Jnanchandra Ghosh, Bahadur, M.A.

W. C. Wordsworth, Esq., M.A.

Manmathanath Ray, Esq., M.A., B.L.

Sir Abdulla-al-Mamun Suhrawardy, KT., M.A., D.LITT., PH.D., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A.

Ramaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L.

Rai Khagendranath Mitra, Bahadur, M.A.

Prof. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., D.SC., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

Surendranath Mallik, Esq., C.I.E., M.A., B.L.

Sivapada Bhattacharyya, Esq., M.D.

Srikumar Banerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., PH.D.

Satischandra Ghosh, Esq., M.A.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi Mahammad Maula Buksh, B.A.

Nibaranchandra Ray, Esq., M.A.

Jitendralal Banerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Jogeschandra Chakravorti, Esq., M.A., Registrar.

Shams-ul-Ulama Kamaluddin Ahmad, M.A. (Inspector of Schools, Presidency Division).

* * *

POST-GRADUATE TEACHING IN PHYSIOLOGY AND GEOLOGY

The Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education have agreed to the suggestion of the University that some representatives of the Government and of the University should meet with a view to formulating an agreed scheme regarding arrangements for post-graduate teaching in Physiology and Geology. The Government have accordingly nominated Mr. J. M. Bottomley, I.E.S., Dr. W. A. Jenkins, D.Sc., I.E.S., and Mr. B. M. Sen, I.E.S., as their representatives. The University representatives appointed by the Syndicate to consider the matter are :

The Vice-Chancellor.

President, Post-Graduate Council in Science.

President, Board of Accounts.

Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., BAR.-AT-LAW, M.L.C.

* * *

A NEW SCHOLARSHIP

Dr. Surendrakumar Maiti has addressed a letter to the Registrar forwarding 3 per cent. G. P. notes for Rs. 3,600 for the purpose of creating an endowment for the award of a scholarship to be called the Khetramohan-Panchumayee Scholarship in memory of his parents. A monthly scholarship of Rs. 5 (out of the income of the endowment) shall be awarded annually to the successful candidate in the Tamluk Subdivision of the Midnapur district at the Matriculation Examination for the year, who obtains the highest number of marks, but does not secure a Government scholarship. The scholarship is open to both boys and girls and is tenable for two years in any affiliated institution teaching Intermediate Arts or Science course of study of the University, or in any institution of engineering, medicine or any branch of applied science approved by the Syndicate.

* * *

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS, 1935.

At their meeting held in Bombay on 3rd January, 1934, the Executive Committee of the Indian Science Congress Association decided to accept the invitation of our University to hold the 22nd session of the Congress at Calcutta from the 2nd to the 8th January, 1935. The Committee have appointed Principal B. M. Sen of Presidency College and Dr. S. K. Mitra, Khaira Professor of Physics, Calcutta University, to act as Local Secretaries. The work regarding local arrangements has already been taken in hand. It may be recalled the Congress held its session in Calcutta last time in 1927-28.

UNIVERSITY ROWING CLUB

The news that the Senate at their meeting held on February 26 last have sanctioned a sum of Rs. 5,500 for the University Rowing Club will, we have no doubt, be received with gratification by all who are interested in the health and welfare of our students. The Club is at present situated near the Ultadingi Canal. The position was not however regarded as attractive and for some years past the University have been making attempts to secure a suitable plot of land near the Dhakuria Lake. Thanks to the sympathetic interest taken by the Calcutta Improvement Trust, a site for the Club at the Dhakuria Lake has been allocated temporarily and a permanent site will be provided later on. The grant now made available by the resolution of the Senate will enable the Club to erect a boat-house platform and other necessary paraphernalia. The Club has already got two old tub-fours and two fixed-seated clinker-fours to start with, and two racing-fours recently purchased from the Calcutta Rowing Club. Some of the Calcutta Colleges have promised donations which, when received, will enable the Club to purchase a fixed-up boat for training boys in rowing.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND
ETHNOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Sometime ago an invitation was received from the General Secretaries, British Organising Committee of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences to nominate

a delegate to represent our University in London during the first session of the Congress. The Syndicate at their meeting held on February 10, last, adopted a resolution requesting Mr. H. E. Stapleton, formerly Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, who is now in London, to represent this University at the function. The Syndicate also conveyed the good wishes of the University to the General Secretaries of the Congress which will hold its sittings from July 30 to August 4, 1934.

NEW DOCTORS OF PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE.

Two of our brilliant graduates have recently been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Mr. Subodh Chandra Sengupta, M.A. lately of the Department of English, Presidency College, Calcutta, now Professor of English at Chittagong, submitted a dissertation on "George Bernard Shaw—a critical examination of his Art" which was unanimously approved by a Board consisting of Prof. J. R. Allardyce Nicoll, M.A., Prof J. W. Cunliffe, and Mr. L. R. F. Oldershaw, M.A., J.P. It may be recalled that Mr. Sengupta won the Premchand Roychand studentship in 1928.

Mr. Jadunath Sinha Professor of Philosophy, Meerut College, won his Doctorate by his original investigation in "Psychology of Perception in Indian Thought." His thesis was examined by Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.LITT., Prof. F. W. Thomas, M.A., PH.D., and Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj, M.A., Mr. Sinha is also one of our Premchand Roychand scholars.

Mr. Debiprasad Roychowdhury has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science. His main thesis on "Researches on the Gyromagnetic Effect on some Ferromagnetic Compounds" was supported by six subsidiary papers on the problem of the relation between dia-magnetism and chemical constitution. His examiners were Prof. P. Weiss, Prof. Petern Kapitza and Prof. Sommerfeld. Mr. Roy Choudhury obtained his M.Sc. in Physics in 1926 and subsequently won the Griffith Memorial Prize and Jubilee Research Prize and Gold medal. He is at present a Research Fellow in the Department of Physics.

We offer our congratulations to the new doctors on their well-earned distinction.

AFFILIATION OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH COLLEGE
TO B. T. STANDARD.

On the recommendation of the Syndicate the Senate of the University have sanctioned the affiliation of the Scottish Church College to the B. T. standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1934-35. The Senatus of the Scottish Church College have decided to open B. T. classes for women students in the Dundas Hostel at 79-1, Cornwallis Street, which they propose to convert into a residential College. Our readers are no doubt aware that the B. T. Classes of the Diocesan College are to be closed from the beginning of the next session and a new Training College for women students was urgently needed. We understand arrangements will be made for training 35 to 40 women.

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN VERNACULARS : A TRIP TO NABADWIP

Perhaps for the first time in the history of this department, the Executive Committee was pleased to sanction a small sum of money for an educational tour for the students of this department and they promptly availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded to pay a visit to Nabadwip, for a long time the seat of Vaisnava culture and scholarship.

The party visited the newly-built town of Mayapur on the other bank of the Ganges and saw many spots of interest. Mayapur now stands as the rival of old Nabadwip as a claimant for the honour of being the birthplace of Chaitanya. At Mayapur the following places of interest were visited: (1) The temple of Radha-Krishna; (2) The grave of Chand Kazi with a slab of stone in the neighbourhood containing two deities, Vishnu and Lakshmi. (3) The house of Srivas (a follower of Chaitanya); (4) The birthplace of Chaitanyadev, with the celebrated Nim tree; (5) The "Ballal Dhipi" or a mound containing many old bricks (strewn here and there) with pictorial representations on many of them. The place is said to be the site of the palace of the famous Hindu Raja Ballal Sen of the Sen Dynasty.

On the western side of the river, i.e., in the old Nabadwip town, there is the shrine of Chaitanya Dev reputed to contain the oldest image in this locality. The image, a wonderfully artistic statue of Chaitanyadev made of Nim wood, is popularly believed to have

•
been caved for Vishnupriya (Chaitanya's wife). Besides this temple the party visited other places associated with the names of Nityananda, Adwaita, Srivas, Jagai and Madhai. On the 10th December they paid a visit to the house of a celebrated Vaisnava devotee named 'Lalita Sakhi' who has adopted the habit of a woman—a *gopi*,—in pursuance of a peculiar Vaisnava theory. The party, on their way back, visited two other places of interest, Triveni and Saptagram, which are so frequently mentioned in the *Mangalakavyas*. Two of the photographs taken by the party are reproduced on the page opposite.

NOTIFICATIONS

(i) *Ghose Travelling Fellowship.*

Applications are invited for the three Ghose Travelling Fellowships, each of the value of Rs. 4,400 to be awarded by the University during the current year. The Fellowships are tenable abroad (*i.e.*, outside India) and are to be held according to the terms and conditions laid down in the will of the late Sir Rashbehary Ghose (*vide* pp. 209 of the Calcutta University Calendar for 1933). Each candidate shall be required to submit a general scheme of the work he proposes to undertake during the tenure of his Fellowship.

The Fellowships, which are tenable for one year are open only to persons who have been at any time admitted to a degree in the Calcutta University.

Applications for the Fellowships should reach the Registrar not later than the 29th March, 1934.

The application must be accompanied by a statement form (which may be obtained from the Registrar's Office), duly filled in.

(ii) *The Indians School of Mines.*

(Government of India.)

1. The Indian School of Mines provides high grade instruction in Mining Engineering and in Geology.

2. The school is situated at Dhanbad in Bihar and Orissa on the East Indian Railway (Grand Chord Line).

3. The ninth session commences on the 1st November, 1934.

4. Application forms for admission may be obtained from the Principal, Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad, E. I. Ry.

5. Applications must be submitted on the prescribed form so as to reach the Principal, complete in all respects, not later than the 15th July.

6. The Entrance Examination will be held in August at various centres convenient to applicants. The minimum qualification for permission to sit at the examination is a pass in the Intermediate Examination in Arts or Science with English, Mathematics and either Physics or Chemistry, or its equivalent examination.

7. Full particulars of qualifications, etc., are given in the prospectus of the school which is stocked for sale in the office of the Principal, Indian School of Mines, or the Manager of Publications, Civil Lines, Delhi, and costs Re. 1 by V. P. P.

8. Two scholarships of the monthly value of Rs. 50 and Rs. 40 are awarded by the Government of India each year on the results of the Entrance Examination.

9. Scholarships tenable at the school are awarded by local Governments. Particulars of these scholarships may be obtained from the Director of Industries of the Province in which the applicant is domiciled.

(iii) *India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie offers Scholarships to Indian Scholars for the Academic Year of 1934-1935.*

On behalf of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, we wish to announce that the following scholarships in institutions of higher learning in Germany will be available for Indian scholars (male or female) of outstanding ability, for the academic year of 1934-1935 :

1. Dresden : One scholarship at the *Technical University of Dresden*, consisting of free tuition and pocket-money of RM 30 (thirty marks) per month.

2. Hamburg : One scholarship at the *University of Hamburg*, consisting of free tuition and a pocket-money of RM 30 (thirty marks) per month. The candidate will be given free private coaching in the German language.

3. Hohenheim (Württemberg) : One scholarship at the *Agricultural University of Hohenheim*, consisting of free tuition and free lodging.

4 and 5. Jena : Two scholarships at the *University of Jena*, consisting of free tuition and a pocket-money of RM 30 (thirty marks) per month for each scholarship.

6. München: One scholarship at the *University of München* consisting of free tuition and lodging.

7. Stuttgart: One scholarship at the *Technical University of Stuttgart*, consisting of free tuition and lodging.

8. Tübingen: One scholarship at the *University of Tübingen*, consisting of free tuition and lodging.

9. One scholarship of RM 500 (five hundred marks), the choice of the University being left to the candidate. This scholarship was placed at the disposal of India Institute of the *Deutsche Akademie* by the *Allianz und Stuttgarter Lebensversicherungsbank A. G.*, Berlin.

These scholarships are tenable provisionally for two academic semesters only. The first semester begins early in November, 1934, and the second semester ends in July, 1935.

Applicants for these stipends must be graduates of recognised Indian Universities, preferably scholars possessing research experience. Applications from non-graduates will be given consideration, only if they have recognised literary or scientific achievements to their credit. Every applicant must possess good health and supply at least two recommendations from professors or Indian public men, about his scholarship and character. *It is desired that the applicant should have fair knowledge of the German language, as all academic work in Germany is carried on through the medium of German.*

No application will be given consideration unless it is guaranteed for by some prominent professor or an otherwise well known Indian public man that the applicant is really earnest about his application and will certainly come to Germany before the 1st of September 1934, if a scholarship is offered to him.

It is imperative that a stipend-holder should arrive at Munich by the 1st of September and stay in the city *at his own cost* till the academic year begins in November, *devoting those weeks to intensive study of German language* in the German language courses foreigners at the University of Munich, where he will be exempted from tuition-fees. It is however presupposed, that an applicant for a scholarship possesses working knowledge of German. We are forced to take this measure, because a student not having adequate knowledge of German, before beginning his academic work fails to get the benefit of his attending the University and often loses six months' time.

We want to make it clear that apart from the scholarship the stipend-holder must be prepared to spend at least RM 100 per month for the necessary expenses not included in the different scholarships.

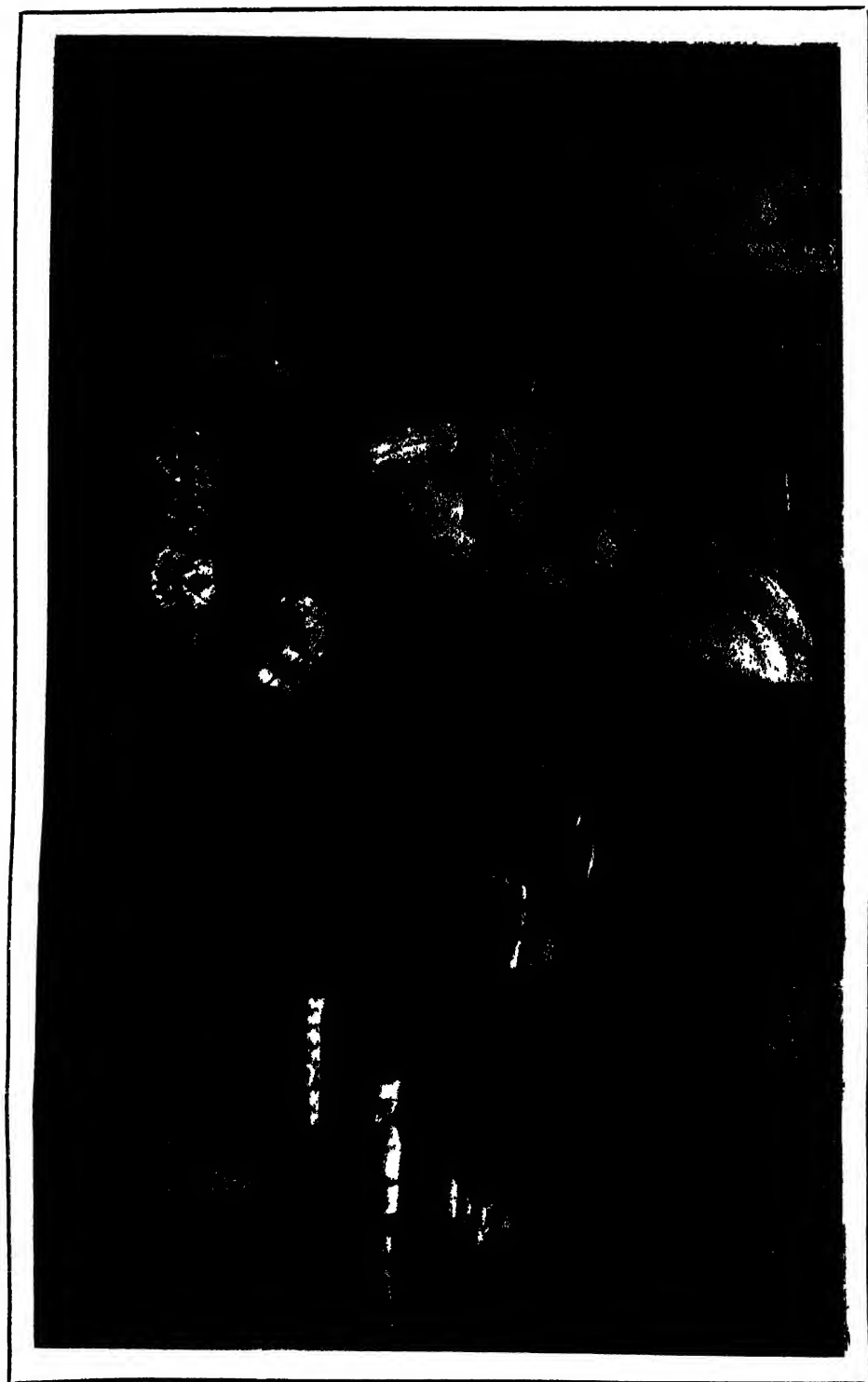
All applications should reach India Institute of Die Deutsche

Akademie before the 10th of April, 1934. A special committee of experts will select the successful candidates, who will be promptly notified of the decision. Selection of successful candidates will be determined solely by the academic qualifications of applicants. Certificates and testimonials of applicants *will not be returned*.

All applications should be *directly* sent to the following address:

Dr. Franz Thierfelder,
Hon. Secretary,
India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie
" Maximilianeum "
Munich, Germany.

North German Lloyd Company offers a reduction of 10 per cent. on the fare for single trip in cabin class or second class for the Indian students of the Deutsche Akademie coming to Germany or returning to India from Germany, provided they travel during the " off-season," i.e., from Europe during April to July and from Colombo from July to January. Detailed information on this subject can be secured from the representative of North German Lloyd at Colombo, C/o the office of Hanseatic Trading Company, Colombo, Ceylon.



AN INDIAN MINERAL CORNER

By Ram. ndranath Chakravarti

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

PUBLISHED BY CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY



THE SANCTIONS IN THE COVENANT

By M. K. NAMBYAR, LL.M. (LOND.),
Barrister-at-Law

EVER since its adventures with Japan over the Manchurian conflict, the League of Nations has lost its terrors and its charms. It is no longer the hope of humanity. It has ceased to be the dread of militant Imperialism. A notice of withdrawal from the League is apparently of greater potency than all 'the organized major force of mankind.' There are however many who think that the Council of the League blundered in handling the Sino-Japanese dispute in the way it did. Responsible journals and publicists of repute have expressed the view that if the Council had but resorted to the coercive machinery of the League early enough, the events in Manchuria and Jehol could have been avoided, and the League saved its present humiliation. In sparing the rod, the Council spoiled Japan, and sapped the vitals of the League. Germany has followed Japan; Italy is threatening to follow suit. It is interesting therefore to investigate into the potentialities of the sanctions in the Covenant, and inquire how far they are capable of enforcement.

I

The framers of the Covenant were quite aware that the obligations under the Covenant could not be enforced merely by pacific means. The familiar Article X which guarantees the territorial integrity of the members against external aggression directs : ' In the case of any such aggression, or in case of any threat or danger of aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.' Again, Article XI: ' Any war or threat of war..... is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.' Further Article XVI: 'Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its Covenants under Articles XII, XIII or XV, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations.....' In certain circumstances envisaged by Article XVII the provisions of Article XVI become applicable to non-member states as well.

It is important to notice that the jurisdiction of the League to operate the penalties is dependent on the happening of certain contingencies. These contingencies cannot obviously be enlarged or extended by any process of interpretation. Punitive statutes should be strictly construed. To invoke the sanctions therefore it is absolutely essential that the facts postulated in the Covenant should be present.

These conditions are three and no other : 'aggression or threat of aggression' by Article X, 'war or threat of war' under Article XI, 'resort to war by a member in disregard of its Covenants under Articles XII, XIII or XV,' under Article XVI.

The Covenant has no interpretative clauses. In reducing international relations into a statute, it did not apparently occur to the framers of the attendant evils of legalism, of the insistence on the word more than on the intention, or of the importance of an agreed construction. What is 'aggression?' What is the test or criterion by which a particular act should be adjudged to amount to an act of aggression? The Covenant is silent. The Draft Treaty for Mutual Assistance did not purport to define the word either, though by Article XV of that treaty it recognised the jurisdiction of the permanent Court of International Justice with regard to the interpretation of that treaty. During the negotiations on the Geneva protocol, an agreed

definition was thought necessary ; Article X of the protocol therefore recited : ‘ Every State which resorts to war in violation of the undertakings in the Covenant or in the present protocol is an aggressor’¹—which is neither an explanation nor a helpful definition, since one is merely directed to the larger questions as to when a state may be said to resort to war, and when such war may be said to be in violation of the undertakings contained in the Covenant. That protocol was of course abandoned. But still the quest for a correct definition remained. Soviet Russia has of late concluded a number of non-aggression pacts with neighbouring states, in which care has been taken to enumerate what constitutes aggression. Presence of armed forces of a state in the territory of another is laid down as one such test of aggression. But judged by that test France would be the aggressor in the Franco Prussian War of 1870, and Great Britain and the United States would equally be aggressors in the last Great War. Mere fact of entry by the troops of a foreign state can certainly be no index of aggression.

Speaking before the Eighth Assembly of the League, the veteran jurist, the late M. Scialoja of Italy, a ‘co-parent’ of the Covenant as he justly called himself, said : “ When we speak of aggression we are perfectly aware of what it means. *We know that it means nothing at all.*”² We realise the difficulty of formulating a definition of aggression, and the joint efforts of jurists, diplomats and politicians have so far failed to arrive at any acceptable definition of the term. Furthermore a state which is resolved to coerce its neighbours by armed force will never be the apparent aggressor, for however unskilled in diplomacy it will always manage to make its neighbour begin the attack. Therefore, in our attempt to fix the responsibility for the aggression we must not dwell too much on appearances.”³ In this analysis, it may not be the invader but the invaded that is the true aggressor.

Sir Austen Chamberlain adverting to the difficulty in defining aggression stated in the House of Commons on the 26th November, 1927 : “ I think if you lay down tests by which you must be bound, you will find the aggressor will carefully conform to your particular test, and will escape the liability which ought to follow upon his actions, just because of the precision of your definition. I therefore remain opposed to this attempt to define the aggressor because I believe

¹ Cmnd. 2279/24.

² Italics are mine.

³ Records of the Eighth Assembly, p. 84.

it will be a trap for the innocent and a signpost for the guilty." This conclusion was accepted by Mr. Kellogg in his address to the Council of Foreign Relations on 15th March, 1928, on the Paris Pact that was then in the process of negotiation, on the ground that any agreed definition of aggression would be open to abuse.

That is undoubtedly true ; but does the difficulty of definition diminish the difficulty of adjudication of the aggressor, which is fundamental for the operation of sanctions under Article X ? To enunciate an exhaustive juristic conception of aggression is as hard as that of 'self-defence.' Methods of modern warfare have only increased the complexity of the problem. There may be cases of 'aggression' within the meaning of Article X without the firing of a single shot or the entry of a single soldier into a neighbouring state ; conversely, there may be no case of aggression in spite of the presence of all these factors. If acute differences still remain on the question after exhausting all legal ingenuity and exploring all alleys of thought for the last ten years and more, the impossibility of agreeing on the aggressor in any given case in the absence of an accepted sense of the terms is obvious. When law formulated in a statute is sought to be substituted for diplomacy in the settlement of international disputes, the term of the statute ought to be capable of an agreed meaning, or of submission to an agreed tribunal for elucidation in cases of conflict of interpretation, and the lack of such stipulations in the Covenant is a standing invitation to a recalcitrant state to mould an interpretation to suit the facts of an individual case.

II

Not less is the difficulty encountered in dealing with the terms 'war' or 'resort to war' in Articles XI and XVI. They have been the subject-matter of investigation from ancient times. Is war an act of war or a state of war, a contention, or a condition ? Grotius in his famous book wrote : "Cicero defined war as a contending by force. A usage has gained currency however which designates by the word not a contest but a condition; thus war is the condition of those contending by force, viewed simply as such." ¹ Vattel also accepts this position in effect. He says, " War is that state in which we prosecute our right by force. We also understand, by this term, the act

¹ Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis Libri*, Carnegie Endowment Translation, Vol. II, p. 88.

itself, or the manner of prosecuting our right by force: but it is more conformable to general usage, and more proper in a treatise on the law of war, to understand this term in the sense we have annexed to it.' ¹

The distinction between an act of war and state of war has long been recognised. A state of war imports thereby definite legal rights and duties between the belligerents, and as between the belligerents and neutrals, an act of war does not *per se* create such legal rights or duties; or in other words resort to force does not by itself condition a relation of war. Coercive measures by way of retorsion or reprisals, even seizure of ships or occupation of territory though *prima facie* acts of war, are not necessarily inconsistent with the maintenance of peace. Dr. McNair in Grotius Society Transactions (Vol. XI, p. 29) analyses the issue thus: "A state of war arises in International law (a) at the moment, if any, specified in a declaration of war, or (b) if none is specified, then immediately upon the communication of a declaration of war, or (c) upon the commission of an act of force, under the authority of a State, which is done *animo belligerendi*, or which being done *sine animo belligerendi* but by way of reprisals or intervention the other State elects to regard as creating a state of war."

This vital difference between an act of war and a state of war was clearly present to the eyes of the framers of the Covenant. The original draft of Article XVI of President Wilson stated that on the breach of the Covenant by a contracting power "it shall *ipso facto* become at war with all the Members....." Dr. D. H. Miller's book on "The Drafting of the Covenant" ² discloses how on objection raised by him that 'a war automatically arising upon a condition subsequent pursuant to a treaty provision is not a war declared by Congress' and as such contrary to the Constitution of the United States, the President substituted the words 'it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the members.....'

What then is the meaning of 'war' or 'resort to war' in the Covenant? Does it refer to an act of war or a state of war? The fact that Article XVI has deliberately used the words 'resort to war' and not 'resort to act of war' especially when later on in the same sentence such resort to war is to be deemed 'an act of war' against other members of the League as the result of President Wilson's

¹ Vattel's 'Law of Nations' by Chitty, p. 291.

² 'The Drafting of the Covenant' by D. H. Miller, Vol. II, 80.

alteration, raises a very strong presumption that 'resort to war' in Article XVI, and 'war' in Article XI necessarily refer to war in the legal sense of the term, that is to say, a state or condition as defined by Grotius and Vattel.

The distinction is therefore fundamental in deciding the question as to when the League has jurisdiction to operate the sanction prescribed. If war is a negation of peace, and forcible acts may be resorted to by one state against another without impairing the peaceful intercourse between the two, there is no 'resort to war' within the meaning of Article XVI to found the jurisdiction for the enforcement of sanctions by a mere act of war. Whether such resort to force is or is not a violation of the Covenant is a different matter. The committee of jurists consulted by the Council of the League gave its helpful advice that "Coercive measures which are not intended to constitute acts of war may or may not be consistent with the provisions of Articles XII to XV of the Covenant; and it is for the Council, when the dispute has been submitted to it, to decide immediately, having due regard to all circumstances of the case and the measures adopted, whether it should recommend the maintenance or the withdrawal of such measures."¹ The fact of the breach of the Covenant does not by itself attract the sanctions prescribed: what is imperative is a resort to war.

Where therefore, as in the conflict between China and Japan, the maintenance of peaceful relations continued and diplomatic intercourse was unsevered, and the incidents of belligerency were not assumed either by Japan or by China, it is impossible to postulate that there was 'war' or 'resort to war' within the provision of the Covenant. If Japan adopts hostilities without declaration of war, and China does not elect to treat them as acts of war, abandon peaceful relations and assume the status of belligerency, she could hardly expect the League to find there has been a 'resort to war,' which she herself has impliedly declined to recognise. That this is a hard case admits of no doubt. But hard cases cannot alter the Covenant. Therefore, we find in the later efforts to promote disarmament and ensure security the prohibition stipulated is not 'resort to war' but 'resort to force' an expression which finds place also in the British draft declaration proposed to be signed by the Governments of Europe that 'they will not resort to force for the purpose of resolving any present or future differences between them.'²

¹ League of Nations' Monthly summary : 1924, p. 63.

² *The Times*, 16th February, 1922.

While Article XI merely refers to war or threat of war for the Council to take action, Article XVI presupposes not merely a 'resort to war' but 'a resort to war in disregard of its Covenants under Articles XII, XIII or XV' for moving the coercive machinery of the League. What therefore is the significance of 'any action' that the League is enjoined to adopt in case of 'war' or 'threat of war;' does it include the penal means prescribed in Article XVI? Though the terms 'any war' and 'any action' in Article XI are undoubtedly wide enough to comprise any and every sort of war, and any kind of action including coercive action, it should be remembered that the Covenant does not interdict every kind of war. A war in self-defence is the inherent and inalienable right of all states, and is implicit in the Covenant, and even in the Pact of Paris which seeks to outlaw war as an instrument of national policy. A war to enforce the Covenant is obviously outside the scope of Article XI. Further, a war against a member who fails to comply with an award or judicial decision, under Article XIII, or a war between members, neither of whom complies with such award or judicial decision, or a war by a member as the result of a failure by the Council to reach a unanimous report under Article XV, or again a war between non-members, both of whom refuse when invited, to accept the obligations of membership of the League for the purpose of Article XVII, is not unlawful under the terms of the Covenant. The specific provision for sanctions in Article XVI is only in case of specific wars, namely wars in contravention of Articles XII, XIII or XV. *Expressio unius est exclusio alterius*. It would therefore seem to follow that "any action" contemplated by Art. XI is action other than that provided for by Art. XVI. M. Rutgers in his memorandum to the Preparatory Committee on Disarmament, referring to the scope of Art. XI, observed: 'It does not impose upon Members of the League any obligations which can be rigidly specified; the Council's action under this article is political rather than judicial.'¹ Such action however, in the view stated above, may include good offices, intervention, and other friendly means but apparently not the coercive measures stipulated in Article XVI. The sanctions therefore are capable of application only by virtue of Articles X and XVI: namely in case of aggression or threat of aggression, and secondly in case of resort to war without submitting the matter for settlement either to the Council, or to arbitration or to the Permanent Court.

¹ League Publication, C. 165 M. 50, 1928, IX, p. 147.

III

Assuming, however, that there has been a resort to war by a member in defiance of its Covenants, one has to investigate into the effects that follow. Article XVI proceeds to define that by such resort to war, the defaulter shall be deemed *ipso facto* to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League which undertake to subject it to the penalties. It is said that as a result of this provision and other kindred sections, particularly Article X, a war by a member in disregard of its Covenants is *ipso facto* a war against all, that this unilateral action of the delinquent state impresses the rest of the states with the stamp of belligerency, or in other words as His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom stated in the Memorandum on its adherence to the optional clause: "As between the Members of the League there can be no neutral rights, because there can be no neutrals."¹

Despite the significant alteration made in the Wilson draft as the result of Dr. Miller's objection, referred to above, this view no doubt was widely held at the time of the framing of the Covenant. It may be remembered that the United States Senate had proposed reservation to Articles X and XVI which largely ate away their substance. The utterances of the statesmen concerned in the framing of the Covenant bear ample testimony that what they contemplated was that on such violation of the Covenant the rest of the member states would be at war with the Covenant-breaking state.

The correlative doctrine that neutrality is unlawful and impossible under the Covenant has been reinforced lately by Mr. Stimson in his address to the Council of Foreign Relations on 8th August, 1932, in these words: "War," he said, "is no longer to be the source and subject of rights. It is no longer to be the principle around which the duties, the conduct and the rights of nations revolve. It is an illegal thing. Hereafter when two nations engage in armed conflict either one or both of them must be wrong-doers, violaters of the general treaty law. We no longer draw a circle about them and treat them with the punctiliousness of the duellists' code. Instead we denounce them as law-breakers. By that very act we have made obsolete many legal precedents....."² Nevertheless, this thesis has been disputed and opinion is still ventured that despite the Covenant and the Pact of Paris, the old law of neutrality still stands.

¹ Cmd. 3452, 1929.

² *The Times*, 9th August, 1932.

In a war between two states, the third state can either be a belligerent or a neutral: there is no position betwixt or between. If a third state is not a belligerent it is neutral; if not neutral it is a belligerent. This is a proposition that is indeed axiomatic.

If, as a result of the Covenant, neutrality is impossible, then it follows that on outbreak of a war every state is a belligerent. But a state cannot be at war without the active expression of its will to be at war, without the necessary indicia of being at war. The right to declare war or peace is the inherent prerogative of each state to be regulated by the municipal law of the individual country. A state cannot be at war unless it chooses to be at war. If A declares war against B in violation of the Covenant, C cannot be deemed to be at war, whatever her engagements under the Covenant are unless C declares war against A. It may be that if C remains neutral she does so in violation of her treaties; but it is open to a state to refuse to implement her obligations under a treaty, however blameworthy her conduct be. It is not what C ought to do, but what she does in such event that is material to fix her status. Neutrality like belligerency is not a legal fiction, or import of law; it is a hard fact.

The assumption in the British White Paper¹ is that there are only two conditions in which the British Government could be involved in war. (1) Where a state has attacked them in violation of the Covenant or the Pact of Paris, or (2) if they are engaged in belligerent action in fulfilment of Article XVI of the Covenant, against a Covenant-breaking state. Mr. Henderson, the then Foreign Secretary, apparently brushes aside other contingencies in which a state might go to war with another without violation of the Covenant as 'most unlikely to arise in practice!' But His Majesty's Government in Great Britain had insisted in the correspondence on the Kellogg Pact that a war in self-defence would be no infraction of the Pact, and that any interference in "certain regions of the world, the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest" to Great Britain could be resisted by war by Great Britain in self-defence. Further, as pointed out above there are at least four other cases where war could be waged without breach of the Covenant; and to postulate them as impossible is to hazard a highly risky prophecy.

Mr. Stimson explained in his statement that though under the former concepts of international law a conflict was deemed the

¹ Cmd. 3452, 1929.

² Cmd. 8109, 1929.

concern only of the injured party, and "others could only exercise and express a strict neutrality alike towards the injured and the aggressor now under the Covenant and the Briand-Kellogg Pact, such a conflict becomes of concern to everybody concerned with the pact."¹ War is illegal: *ergo* neutrality is illegal.

Grotius expressed the same conception in different words. Theological discussions had raged round the question of just and unjust wars. The logical implications of the 'just war' led Grotius to formulate his idea of neutrality. "It is the duty of those," he writes, "who keep out of a war to do nothing whereby he who supports a wicked cause may be rendered more powerful, or whereby the movements of him who wages a just war may be hampered, according to what we have said above. In a doubtful matter, however, those at peace should show themselves impartial in permitting transit, in furnishing supplies to troops, and in not assisting those under siege."²

But experience has abandoned the Grotian conception of neutrality. No state can play the judge between two belligerents without being drawn into the struggle, nor can it render passive aid to a belligerent without imperilling its existence. Neutrality has therefore necessarily evolved into absolute impartiality.

The few years that have passed since the inception of the Covenant and the Pact of Paris do not seem to have produced any difference in the practice of nations. Whenever hostilities have broken out the League might have tried to intervene through its organs. Europe is certainly familiar with such action by the concert of Powers. But no state has individually affected to be anything but a neutral in its intercourse with the parties to the hostilities. The question has further been simplified by the contending states refusing to recognise a state of war.

Whether Japan had resorted to war or not within the meaning of the Covenant, she certainly did not adopt pacific means in settling her differences in Manchuria with China. Was it held an infraction of the Pact of Paris? Mr. Stimson did not affirm it in so many words, but he stated in the famous note of 7th January 1932 sent to both the states: "With the recent military operations about Chinchow, the last remaining administrative authority of the Government of the Chinese Republic in Southern Manchuria as it existed prior to September 18th, 1931, has been destroyed."³ Nevertheless the United

¹ *The Times*, 9th August 1932.

² Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis Libri*, p. 786.

³ *Records of the Special Assembly*, p. 154.

States did not assume any status other than that of neutrality, however much she might have been concerned over the conflict. The only action she did take, was sending the note she was perfectly entitled to, under her treaty rights irrespective of her rights under the Peace Pact of Paris.

Mr. Stimson's concluding words are important. After stating that consultation among the nations was implicit in the Pact, he formulated his country's policy. The American policy, he said, 'combines the readiness to co-operate for peace and justice in the world which Americans have always manifested, *while at the same time it preserves the independence of judgment and flexibility of action upon which our people have always insisted.*'¹

These are significant reservations. Independence of judgment and flexibility of action are not reconcilable with the doctrine that neutrality is obsolete after the Covenant and the Peace Pact. Mr. Stimson has made explicit what was but implicit in the conduct of other nations. They too claim nothing more than independence of judgment and flexibility of action in the event of war, a claim which Mr. Stimson assuredly cannot deny.

Grant this freedom of action to a state in spite of the Covenant, and the Pact of Paris, and you grant her the freedom to remain neutral in a conflict in violation thereof. The old objection of Dr. D. H. Miller that 'a war automatically arising out of a condition subsequent' pursuant to the Covenant is not a war declared by the Constitutional authorities of each nation, is still valid and relevant in the construction of the Pact of Paris. Mr. Stimson would hardly contend that on a war between two states in violation of the Pact, the United States automatically would be at war with the Pact-breaking state without a declaration of war by the Congress. If this declaration is essential in law, what is her status till such declaration of war, except that of a neutral? There can be no degrees of neutrality, or of belligerency. A state is either a neutral or a belligerent, and that is a question of fact on which her answer is conclusive.

IV

In the Covenant the doctrine of independence is implicitly embodied. All the Great Powers in the League have permanent seats in the Council; and Article V which is too often ignored, expressly directs: "Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant

¹ *The Times*, 9th August, 1932. Italics are mine.

or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting..... Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League." By Article XVII in the event of a dispute between a member and a non-member, or between non-members, the states shall be invited to accept the obligation of the membership of the League for the purposes of such dispute, and on such acceptance the provisions of Article V would no doubt automatically apply. But no exceptions to the rule of unanimity are provided for in Article X or in the relevant paragraphs in Article XVI.

The operation of the coercive machinery in Article X, or in Article XVI, it may be recalled, is contingent on aggression, or resort to war as defined therein. Where, therefore, a dispute arises in any given case, whether a member has been guilty or not of 'aggression' or 'resort to war,' it is for the Council to decide under Article X or Article XVI, and advise the means to enforce the law. But does the validity of both the decision and the advice depend on the unanimous vote of the Council under Article V, including the votes of the parties to the conflict?

The Institute of International Law has no doubt held the view that the Council's decision under Article X need be only by a majority vote. Sir John Fischer Williams in a lengthy investigation on the 'League of Nations and Unanimity'¹ concludes that "unanimity is not needed for the expression of opinions, wishes and recommendations (vote) of the collectivity, nor for its action in a semi-judicial capacity" apparently referring to the Council's functions under Articles X and XVI. Sir John Fischer bases his arguments on the fact that both under Article XV, and the last paragraph of Article XVI regarding the expulsion of a Covenant-breaking member, the votes of the parties are not to be counted. The Covenant therefore recognises the principle that no one is a judge in his own cause. "The fact of the express recognitions is thus an argument for its application wherever the reason applies...Unanimity has to give way when either of these two principles, that of the vote and that of the judicial capacity, is applicable."

¹ *American Journal of International Law*, 1925, p. 475.

The matter came in 1925 before the Permanent Court in the Mosul case. The advisory opinion of the Court was sought on the question whether the decision of the Council in a dispute referred to it under Article III (a) of the Treaty of Lausanne should be unanimous, or whether it could be taken by a majority, and whether the representatives of the parties might take part in the vote. The Court referred to Article V of the Covenant, and held that the rule of unanimity applied in regard to the question before the Council. The Court, however, held that Article V does not contemplate "an actual dispute which has been laid before the Council," but that "this contingency is dealt with in Article XV, paragraphs 6 and 7 which... implicitly state that the Council's unanimous report need only be agreed to by the Members thereof other than the representatives of the parties."¹ In the opinion of the Court, therefore, the votes of the parties could not be counted to affect the rule of unanimity.

The advisory opinion read as a whole makes it clear that the Court rested its decision on the ground that Article XV applied in substance to the dispute. Article XV expressly excludes the votes of the parties. The provision in this article and the similar provision in the final paragraph of Article XVI instead of supporting Sir John Fischer's conclusion, seem to be precisely the reasons for reaching the opposite. Article V expressly stipulates the agreement of *all* the members present at the meeting to validate a decision of the Council except where otherwise provided. Such exceptions have been made only in Article XV, and the last paragraph of Article XVI. It would be a gross violation of the text to read into it exceptions which have not been contracted for by the signatories to the Covenant. If the Covenant intended to exclude from the Council the votes of the parties in arriving at a unanimous decision in exercising its functions under Article X or the sanctions clauses of Article XVI, the framers should have made the same reservations in their articles which they had made in Article XV and the end of Article XVI. The absence of such provisions, it is plain, renders Sir John Fischer's conclusions untenable.

The rule of unanimity in the Councils of Nations is a venerable principle enshrined by practice. That it was not intended to be departed from is made clear by the history of the preliminary Conferences held at Paris in enacting the Covenant. The present Article V was at one stage Article IV. It has a long history. But it is enough

¹ Advisory opinion No. 12.

to mention that the rule of unanimity was deliberately introduced as a result of pressure from various sources. Dr. Miller writes: "Article IV was changed only by the insertion of the unanimity paragraph as agreed to by Wilson and Cecil on March 18th.....Cecil's statement is of some importance in connection with the interpretation of that Article, for he spoke of the amendment as 'merely a specific statement of a fundamental principle of the League.' There was no dissent from this view.....; but it seems clear that it was agreed that the ordinary international rule is generally as applicable to the Council and to the Assembly as to other International Conferences." ¹

If any doubt remains that the votes of the parties could be ignored in operating the sanctions under Article XVI, that is dispelled by the subsequent history. In the early stages of the League, a committee was set up by the League to investigate into the sanctions under Article XVI. That Committee of which Lord Finlay, among others, was a member, arrived at the same conclusion, that the rule of unanimity rendered resort to sanctions highly difficult. The Committee reported: "A highly important question of procedure was considered by the Committee, namely what would be the position of the defaulting State or rather of a State accused of breaking the Covenant? If this State is not a member of the Council, it will undoubtedly have the right of being represented at the meeting of the Council, in accordance with paragraph 5 of Article VI of the Covenant. In either case it would be inadmissible that this State should be able to obstruct the action of the League by its veto; but in view of the precise terms of Article V in regard to unanimity it will not be possible to apply by analogy the rule prescribed by Article XV (paragraphs 6 and 10).....There may also be some doubt whether it would be possible to rely on the last paragraph of Article XVI which refers to the exclusion of a member convicted of violating the Covenant. The Committee therefore proposed the insertion in Article XVI of a clause which might be worded as follows: 'In decisions of the Council as to whether the Covenant has been violated, the votes of the States which are parties to the conflict shall not be counted.'"

This amendment to Article XVI was adopted by the Second Assembly; but it has been nullified for want of the requisite number of ratifications. More than twenty-two months have elapsed since its passage in the Second Assembly, and in virtue of Article XXVI

¹ D. H. *The Drafting of the Covenant*, Vol. I, p. 315.

² League of Nations Publication, A. 16, 1927, V.P. 18.

the amendment has lapsed, and is incapable of future ratification. The necessity of the amendment, and the failure to ratify the same render the conclusion inevitable that the votes of the parties are essential for the validity of any action under Article XVI. And what is true of Article XVI is true of Article X.

V

It is well known that the refusal of the United States to ratify the Covenant led to no little reflection and alarm on the part of the signatories to the Covenant. The Commitments under Articles X and XVI in virtue of the rule of unanimity were shadowy and of little substance. But still the shadow was there. Article X was sought to be deleted, though in vain. Later on, an interpretative resolution was moved, which, though recorded as neither adopted nor rejected, has been assured to be the true guide when both Germany and Turkey were admitted to the League. The resolution runs *inter alia*: ".....It is for the Constitutional authorities for each State to decide, in reference to the obligation of preserving the independence and the integrity of the territory of members in what degree the member is bound to assure the executions of this obligation by employment of its military forces." The text of Article X imposes the duty of advising on the means to fulfil the obligation on the Council. But the interpretative resolution says that even in such a remote and impossible contingency a member state has perfect liberty of action.

The interpretative resolutions to Article XVI are equally significant. The Second Assembly adopted them with this soothing advice: "The resolutions and amendments to Article XVI, which have been adopted by the Assembly, shall so long as the amendments have not been put in force in the form required by the Covenant, constitute rules for guidance which the Assembly recommends as a provisional measure to the Council and to the Members of the League in connection with the application of Art. XVI." Resolution 3 clears up all ambiguities as to the effect of resort to war by a member state in disregard of its covenants. It says: "The unilateral action of the defaulting State cannot create a state of war: it merely entitles the other members of the League to resort to acts of war, or to declare themselves in a state of war with the Covenant-breaking State....."

The doctrine of automatic belligerency is explicitly given its *quietus*. If a state should "resort to war" it does not create a state of war, and the resolution gives them the right to elect to declare themselves in a state of war. Until they so elect they are obviously neutrals; and under this resolution the freedom of neutrality is expressly granted. Neutrality under the Covenant is once again confirmed as legal.

It may be remembered that under Article XVI a decision by the Council that there has been a resort to war in disregard of the Covenant under Arts. XII, XIII, XV is imperative to the application of sanctions. Assume here again that the aggressor state is charitable enough to assist the Council with its vote to operate, the penalties against itself, and that all the other members of the Council are equally willing, the *imprimatur* of the Council would tend in such circumstances to draw into the fray those members of the League who are not members of the Council, even against their will. Interpretative Resolution 4 is therefore passed: "It is the duty of each Member of the League to decide for itself whether a breach of the Covenant has been committed."¹

It is open to a member hence to dissent from the unanimous judgment of the Council, and hold that in its view there has been no breach of the Covenant, and therefore to decline to co-operate with the League to apply the sanctions. In other words neutrality in such event is perfectly legitimate.

It is said however that the Pact of Paris has made a difference. But as Sir Austen Chamberlain stated in his note to Mr. Kellogg in the negotiations on that treaty, "For the Government of this country respect for the obligations arising out of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and out of the Locarno treaties, is fundamental."² And this is true of all the signatory states. The Pact of Paris is signed subject to the Covenant; it cannot therefore override the Covenant as far as the members of the League are concerned. In so far as it is claimed to have varied or altered the Covenant, it would be *ultra-vires* and of no effect as contrary to Article XX by which the members 'solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.' If neutrality is rendered lawful by the Covenant it cannot be rendered unlawful by the Pact of Paris.

¹ Records of the Second Assembly.

² Commd. 8153/1928.

Doctor H. A. Smith in a learned article in *The Contemporary Review*¹ discusses 'The Future of Neutrality' in the light of present practice, and after examining some of the recent treaties, he affirms the view that the old law of neutrality still stands. There is one treaty which throws additional light. The German-Soviet Treaty intended to be an extension of the Treaty of Rapallo was concluded on 24th April, 1926. Article II stipulates: "Should one of the contracting parties despite its peaceful attitude be attacked by one or more third powers, the other contracting party shall observe neutrality for the whole duration of the conflict."²

More significant is the accompanying note of Herr Stresemann of even date to the Soviet Ambassador, which is to be considered as party of the Treaty. Paragraph 3 recites: "The German Government also proceeds upon the assumption that this fundamental attitude of German policy towards the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics cannot be adversely influenced by the loyal observance of the obligations arising out of Articles XVI and XVII of the Covenant of the League and relating to the application of Sanctions, which would devolve upon Germany as a consequence of her entry into the League of Nations. By the terms of these articles, the application of Sanctions against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics would come into consideration, in the absence of other clauses, only if the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics entered upon a war of aggression against a third State. It is to be borne in mind that the question whether the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is the aggressor in the event of conflict with a third State could only be determined with binding force for Germany with her own consent, and that therefore an accusation in this sense settled by other powers against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and regarded by Germany as unjustified, would not oblige Germany to take part in measures of any kind instituted on the authority of Article XVI. With regard to the question whether in a concrete case Germany would be in a position to take part in the application of Sanctions at all, and to what extent, the German Government refers to the Note of December 1st, 1925, as the interpretation of Article XVI addressed to the German Delegation on the occasion of the signing of the Treaties of Locarno."³

It is hardly necessary to recall that the aforesaid note is signed among others by Great Britain, France and Italy. The relevant

¹ *Contemporary Review*, March, 1933.

² League of Nations Treaty Series, Vol. 53, p. 398.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 394, 395

portion of the note is important. "..... In accordance with that interpretation, the obligations resulting from the said Article (Art. XVI) on the members of the League, must be understood to mean that each state member of the League is bound to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant, *and in resistance to any act of aggression to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account.*"¹ As to who is the judge of the measure that is compatible with the military situation, there is no doubt it is the state concerned. In this event the extent of that co-operation might diminish to a vanishing point.

VI

One further question emerges from the interpretation of Article XVI. The Second Assembly declared "the duty of each Member of the League to decide for itself whether a breach of the Covenant has been committed."² If therefore a member should adjudge a state guilty of aggression or 'resort to war' in disregard of the covenants under Articles XII, XIII and XV, could it apply the sanctions of its own accord irrespective of the Council? In other words, if a state has the freedom of neutrality in a conflict, does it not follow that it has the freedom to adopt coercive means under Article XVI against a Covenant-breaking state? By Article X it is for the Council to advise the means to fulfil the obligations thereunder; by the Article XVI it is the duty of the Council to recommend to the several Governments the military contribution to protect the League Covenant. The coercive measure no doubt the members undertake to apply. But when a treaty creates new obligations, and prescribes new remedies for the enforcement thereof, and invests a tribunal with jurisdiction to advise the means and the method of enforcement, such jurisdiction is exclusive; and if the tribunal for whatever reason should feel unable to recommend the adoption of any measure, in any concrete case, the judgment of the tribunal is conclusive and cannot be disregarded without infringement of the treaty. Under the Covenant as explained above, a state may decline to co-operate with the decision of the Council to apply the coercive machinery of the League; it may remain neutral in a conflict. But the right to resort to the sanctions springs from and is dependent on the conditions and limitation in Articles X and XVI. A state may

¹ Comnd. 2525/25 : italics are mine.

² Records of the Second Assembly.

or may not execute the judgment of the Council decreeing the sanctions. But a state has no right to execute what the Council does not decree.

Nor is this all. Any attempt to enforce the sanctions by an individual state on its own motion, apart from and irrespective of the action of the Council, would be a violation of Articles X and XVI, and an infraction of the Covenant. The Covenant does not countenance a state taking the law in its own hands, any more than a state permits a citizen punitive action. A member of the League that then applies the sanctions of its own accord, does so at its own peril. Between such state and the original aggressor there is little difference. Both are Covenant-breakers. Charity, then, instead of stopping a conflict might start a conflagration in which the edifice of the League might not be the last to crash.

VII

It is futile to ignore facts. The League, one cannot forget, is neither a state nor a super-state. Its authority rests on voluntary acceptance, its force on free consent. The relations of human beings are governed in the last analysis by force, either of the individual or of the community. Behind the fulfilment of every obligation in organised society is the invisible arm of the state. Force is therefore incapable of elimination in the interests of order; nor can its exercise be made contingent on the consent of the individual. The framework of the League disregards these fundamental hypotheses. What is more, in attempting to reconcile national independence with international control, the Covenant creates a state the judge of its crimes, a fact which renders its obligations illusory.

The conclusions that emerge from this analysis are clear. The jurisdiction of the League to operate the sanctions is dependent on aggression or threat or danger of aggression under Article X, or resort to war by a state in disregard of the Covenants under Arts. XII, XIII, and XV. Whether in any given case there has been aggression or resort to war is by no means easy to determine. No sanctions may be enforced until and unless the Council enters its finding in a concrete case that there has been 'aggression or threat or danger of aggression' or resort to war in violation of the obligations under Arts. XII, XIV and XVI. Further no finding of the Council is legal and valid unless unanimously concurred in by every member of the Council including parties to the conflict. On such finding the sanctions may be directed

to be enforced to the extent advised by a similar unanimous vote of the Council. In the event of such a contingency, it is still lawful for a member to refuse to participate in enforcing the sanctions when in its judgment the conflict discloses no breach of the Covenant. The extent of the co-operation a member is bound to give to the Council to enforce the sanctions is limited by its military situation of which that state is the judge. But no state can be at war with a Covenant-breaking state unless the constitutional authorities of that state so declare. In a war in breach of the Covenant or otherwise it is legally competent to a third state, whether member of the League or not, to remain neutral. A state that applies the sanctions save in conformity with the advice of the Council, is guilty of infringing the Covenant.

Certainly the insistence of Italy to reform the League is intelligible.

London.

REGIONAL PLANNING

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THE term "regional planning" originated in England and the thing itself grew out of the system of "town planning," as established in the first place by an Act of 1909, which has been considerably amended and extended by subsequent legislation.

"Town-planning" was a somewhat unfortunate term from that which it was intended to effect and has led to many misunderstandings. It naturally gave the impression that any land subjected to the process was intended to be urbanised, whereas one of its principal aims has been to protect rural areas from inappropriate urbanisation.

The first English Town Planning Act gave power to the borough and urban or rural district councils to prepare "town-planning schemes" for such part or parts of their area as were not yet developed, but were likely to be used for building purposes. A subsequent Act made this power a duty in the case of urban areas (boroughs or urban districts) with a population not less than 20,000. (Not until 1932 was power given to make town-planning schemes for land already covered with buildings.)

In view of the type of land to which town-planning schemes were to apply, it will be obvious that the intention was to guide future development, and the main matters with which such schemes dealt were the laying down of the lines of the principal new roads likely to be needed, the "zoning" (as it was called) of land for industries (light or heavy), business or residence as the case may be, the fixing of the number of houses to the acre which might be erected in different parts of the area, the reservation of land for public open spaces for health and recreation, the reservation of land for other public purposes, the protection of sites of historic interest or antiquarian value or scenic beauty, with other provisions of various kinds calculated to protect the amenities of the district and to promote its convenience for both industry and residence.

It must be clearly understood that in making a town-planning scheme the local authority does not necessarily undertake to carry out

any of the improvements indicated in it. The scheme merely ensures that, if and when any development takes place in the area in question, it must follow the lines laid down by the scheme.

Now, it soon became apparent that to make town-planning schemes for areas so limited in size as those of the boroughs and urban and rural districts, without taking into consideration the adjoining areas, was of little avail, especially in these days of long-distance road traffic, and that it was necessary that the matter should be dealt with on a larger scale.

It was, however, considered to be out of the question to deprive the borough and urban and rural district councils (known for this purpose as the "town-planning authorities") of any of their town-planning powers for their own areas. The course was therefore adopted of persuading groups of these authorities to form representative joint committees for "regions," which seemed suitable for such treatment on account of their economic and geographical homogeneity.

No absolute rule could be laid down for the definition of such a region. The most obvious, and most usual, has consisted of a large city together with the area around it which is economically dependent upon it, but it is quite possible for a region to be entirely rural in character or, on the other hand, to consist of several large cities together with the intervening areas.

Until recently regional joint committees had as a rule merely advisory powers, the various constituent authorities being recommended to introduce the proposals made by the regional committee into their own town-planning schemes. It was, however, possible for regional committees to be formed on such a basis that the constituent authorities delegate to them their town-planning powers and thus the committee becomes the town-planning authority for the whole of the joint area, at any rate so far as the preparation of the scheme is concerned, but even in such cases it is usual for the actual enforcement of the provisions of the scheme to be left to the individual local authorities. The "Town and Country Planning Act" of 1932, enabled the county councils to take a more active part than before in town-planning, and this, together with an increasing understanding of the value of regional planning, has led to a great development of committees of this description mainly organised on a county basis. There are now in England and Wales over 60 executive regional committees in operation. To mention only one or two instances to show how this works—the whole of Warwickshire is covered by executive joint committees, the county council paying the whole cost of preparation of the schemes and setting up a

staff for the purpose at county headquarters. In Berkshire and Cheshire also the whole county is covered by executive joint committees, the county councils paying half the cost.

In a number of counties in which executive joint committees have not yet been formed, committees have been set up with advisory powers which may later be made executive.

Prior to this development of regional planning on county lines with the assistance and, indeed, under the leadership of the county councils, there were already over 100 joint committees in England and Wales. Forty-eight of these (at the end of the year 1931-32) were executive, having been given powers by the constituent authorities to prepare operative plans. Of the remainder, which were advisory only 42 had already issued reports.

The procedure in each of these cases—after the establishment of the committee by the appointment of representatives by each of the constituent authorities is to appoint an expert to prepare a report with recommendations which are eventually submitted to the committee for their adoption.

Such a report always commences with a survey of the general characteristics of the area, dealing with it from the point of view of geography, geology, climate, political and industrial history, trends of population, etc.

It will, I think, be illustrative not only of the procedure, but also of the kind of matters with which regional planning deals, if I give a brief account of the contents of one of these reports and I will choose that of South Essex for the purpose.

The South Essex Region covers the area north of the Thames Estuary between the Lea valley on the west and the sea on the east and bounded on the north roughly by the River Crouch. It comprises 18 local authorities, but the Borough of Southend is excluded—an unfortunate fact, due presumably to some local differences. As in the case of all regional committees, the county council was represented upon it although not recognised as a member since it had no town-planning powers.

The existing residential development in the area is said to fall into two main classes—the housing of the London worker who makes the daily journey to London and that of the worker engaged in industries of one sort or another on the river side. Much of the former class of development has taken place largely in a haphazard manner, which has made it extremely difficult for the several local authorities to carry out proper works of sewerage and road construction—a

difficulty which it is one of the chief objects of town-planning to prevent in the future. The needs of the local workers have been largely provided for in many districts by the housing schemes of local authorities.

The coastal strip on the bank of the river is already largely industrialised, oil, cement, gas and electricity works being among those already established, while there are many other miscellaneous lighter industries, most of which have been attracted by the recent extensions of shipping facilities in the district. The report envisages further industrialisation of the coastal strip and proposes that most of the whole strip shall be zoned for industrial purposes.

In this connection two alternative policies were possible. Either the whole strip might be zoned as industrial to a more or less uniform depth, or selected points on the river bank might be made the bases from which industrial areas might peak inland, each area being dependent on its base on the river where the best shipping facilities are available, the industrial area along the remainder of the river frontage being more confined.

The report prefers the latter alternative as being more in conformity with the natural trend of development and probably also more economical and convenient. This is accordingly made the basis of the plan for the whole industrial zone, and proposals are made for the provision of a road system and housing areas to meet the fresh need which the development will entail.

Practically no recommendations are made for railway extensions (although I should personally have thought that the congestion of railway traffic in this region into and out of London for the daily workers made this very desirable). The main problem in connection with the road system is that of supplementing the north and south routes, with the object particularly of providing for the transport of goods from the docks and riverside factories into London or the provinces, and road improvements are suggested for this purpose.

Housing is one of the most serious problems in the region in view of the increase of industries. A large proportion of the workers in these new industries live in London and travel to their work daily by train (while, as already stated, large numbers do the contrary). The report considers it highly desirable that a policy should be adopted which would house the workers at a reasonable distance from their work.

It is considered an open question whether the residential areas should take the form of two or more entirely new towns or whether

they should be distributed in smaller townships. The report confines itself to indicating the approximate position of possible sites and laying down certain general principles. These relate to the grouping of housing schemes conveniently for road and rail communication and to the importance of choosing sites on high ground wherever possible.

The provision of open spaces is considered to be in the main a question of local reservation for playing fields and so forth, but the preservation of the Laindon Hills is described as a project of regional importance.

Suggestions are also made for the reservation of a number of small areas at suitable points on the Thames, so as to provide stretches of foreshore accessible to the public from which views of the river can be obtained.

Now, it will be observed that, apart from the facts recorded in the survey, the report consists of proposals, suggestions and recommendations, and that it remains for each of the 18 constituent authorities to adopt and carry out these proposals, so far as it affects their areas. This is the case with regard to all the advisory committees and even the so-called "statutory" committees with executive powers in many instances do not go further than this. The South Essex Report is therefore typical of all the others, although of course the differences in detail are infinite.

I have, however, chosen the South Essex Region for an illustration for one reason because it forms part of Greater London, as to which there are special characteristics, owing to its exceptional size and special importance.

Seeing that London and the surrounding area (however that may be defined) obviously form one great economic region, an attempt was made early in town-planning history to form a voluntary organisation for a regional scheme, but this did not prove successful. Consequently, about 14 separate joint committees, of which South Essex was one, were formed within the region. The necessity, however, of treating the region as a whole for many purposes, became gradually more fully recognised, and in 1927 it was found possible to form an advisory joint committee, called the Greater London Regional Planning Committee, which represented an area of about 1,800 square miles (roughly, 25 miles radius from Charing Cross) in which were included the London County Council, the County Councils of Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Essex, Herts and Bucks, and 135 other local authorities, who were represented on the committee by groups. It is worthy of notice that although the London County Council is the town-planning authority

for the whole of the county of London, and is the only county council which has town-planning powers, this was the first time that it was included in any regional committee or in any way represented upon one.

This Greater London Regional Planning Committee, from its first establishment, found that the 14 joint committees which I have mentioned and which covered almost the whole of the Greater London Region, had already done important work in preparing schemes for roads, open spaces and zoning for their respective areas, and it only remained to co-ordinate these in the interests of the region as a whole. There were, however, some questions of a larger nature with which even these joint committees had been unable to deal.

One of these was that of open spaces of a regional character that is to say, on such scale as to serve the region as a whole. The committee endeavoured to find a means of reserving one or more rings of land around London to serve as "green belts," upon which little or no building would be allowed and which would check the uninterrupted expansion of bricks and mortar.

The spread of London has been such that no complete and continuous belt of this nature could be found within many miles of the centre, but the committee noted unbuilt on areas which formed a more or less connected belt just outside the county boundaries and sites for two other possible belts at greater distances.

It was not the intention that the whole of these belts should be open spaces available to the public. Some parts would have that character, but others would be let to clubs and societies for cricket-grounds and so forth. Some would be used for burial grounds, while others would be what are termed "private open spaces," that is, they would be retained as the private property of the owners under an agreement that they should never be built upon, but should always be used as private parks or for agriculture.

Unfortunately, building in the neighbourhood of London proceeds so fast that many of the pieces of land so marked out disappeared as possible open spaces while the committee was sitting. Moreover, although the committee had practically arrived at an agreement which could have brought one of these green belts into being in 1932, the financial depression took place at the critical moment and nullified their action.

One thing, however, was made clear, namely, that if anything was to be done in this direction, it was necessary to have a committee representative mainly of the larger authorities, i.e., the counties—and

that this should have greater power to put some of its proposal into execution. The first of these two objects was attained and a committee on the lines suggested was brought into being early in 1933, but as yet it has not had any executive powers conferred upon it. Apart from the question of regional open spaces, the Greater London Regional Planning Committee laid down, by resolution, lines of policy which they thought desirable and the following conclusions which, among others, were included in their Second Report (published in 1933) are illustrative of the principles which they desire to establish:—

- (a) that the further expansion of London by the continued accretion of building round the fringe of the central built-up area is undesirable, and if continued threatens to create insoluble problems of traffic and other congestion ;
- (b) that the existing tendency towards sporadic development should be controlled by all available powers ;
- (c) that the future growth of London should be guided by planning and induced by the timely provision of services, to take the form of defined units of development as self-contained as possible.

This suggestion of “ defined units of development as self-contained as possible ” means the establishment of “ satellite towns,” which are a development of the idea of “ garden cities,” originated by Ebenezer Howard some thirty years ago, which—with its first practical outcome, the foundation of Letchworth Garden City,—was in reality the stimulus to our town-planning legislation.

In the opinion of the Greater London Committee, the only way of preventing, in the Greater London Region, the haphazard development of the past—uneconomic and ruinous to the amenities of any district—is to fix definite sites for building development and to prevent such development elsewhere.

A specific suggestion which somewhat elaborates this proposal was made in the Committee's first report and is further dwelt upon in the second. That is that it is not satisfactory that land should be reserved for open spaces and that building should be permitted on all lands not so reserved. The process should be the contrary and the land which may be built upon should be planned on a background of open space.

This means that some authority should have the power to prohibit any building on certain lands. Now, if the whole of the land in question were in one person's hands, there would be no hardship in this.

There would be no loss of building value, for the whole area could never be covered with buildings. Building development would merely be guided in the best direction. But if, as is usually the case, the land is in the hands of many owners, those who are forbidden to use their land for building purposes have a claim for compensation. The suggestion of the committee was that this compensation should be payable out of a fund contributed to by those owners who are allowed to build—in other words, that the gainers should compensate the losers, an eminently fair solution of the problem.

This solution is not possible under the present law, but much was done by the Town and Country Planning Act, 1932, to bring it nearer. The name of this Act should be noted. It is the first time that the phrase "country planning" has been used in British legislation.

The Act of 1932, indeed, made possible a great advance and the result already appears in the county joint committees which I have already mentioned. Apart from that, it remains with the local authorities to further the objects of regional planning by making full use of the new powers given them—direct powers to control distribution or to reserve land from building, the use of zoning provisions, and indirect influence on distribution, which may be exercised by planning, the reservation of open spaces, etc., but this must be done in accordance with a scheme drawn up for the region as a whole.

Of course it would have been more satisfactory if these regional schemes had been made first and the local authorities required to use them as outlines, filling in the details for each of their respective areas. Unfortunately, this was not thought of in time and the regional committees have now, to a large extent, to co-ordinate a number of schemes already completed, but this is better than nothing.

Although perhaps not directly relating to regional planning, there are two new provisions in the 1932 Act which are of great importance. One is that no compensation is to be payable to land-owners for restrictions in a scheme as to the distance between side roads opening into a main road. The second is that for the first time local authorities are empowered to make schemes for built-on areas—in other words, for the replanning of existing towns.

Curiously enough, in America the town-planning idea developed on contrary lines to the development in Great Britain. In the latter it was imposed by legislation on the local authorities and began with the undeveloped areas. In the former it was taken up in the first place on the initiative of groups of private citizens, who, struck by the chaotic condition of existing cities, devised zoning plans

for the built-up areas, which they put forward to the local authorities to carry into effect.

As England has now extended her town-planning legislation to the built-on areas, so now America has taken up the idea of dealing with the undeveloped areas and has arrived at regional planning, perhaps in time for the proper sequence to be followed, regional planning on the large scale to precede the working out of the details in individual schemes.

Up to the present, American regional planning goes no farther than the advisory joint committees in England, no executive powers having been conferred on any regional committees. Encouragement to the movement has been given by the Federal Standard City Planning Enabling Act, 1927. A note to that Act, by the Advisory Committee on City Planning and Zoning of the Department of Commerce, puts the matter very clearly:—

“ The actual territory of urban development seldom corresponds, in its location or extent, with the legal and political boundaries of any single municipalityThe consequence is that..... sewer systems, highway systems, transportation systems, park systems, all need to be planned from the point of view of the whole urban district, and the ultimate intelligent development will be dependent either upon the co-operative action of many municipalities or upon the creation of regional or metropolitan governmental organs... . Provision for regional planning forms to-day an integral part of a city planning legislation.”

Before the passing of the Enabling Act action had been taken in several instances. The great New York survey is well known. This was a work which occupied seven years, cost a million dollars and the results were published in seven large volumes. It dealt with 5,528 square miles in the States of New York, Connecticut and New Jersey, and made proposals for new railways, regional highways for motor traffic, parkways and boulevards and airports. It showed what was, in the opinion of the Commission, the best and most economic method of development and forecasted a new location for 11,000,000 more people in the next 50 years. It pointed the way to adjusting local laws and bond issues for the necessary improvements. A Regional Plan Association was established to help to make the plan effective, but whether or not anything will be done depends upon the local authorities.

The Regional Planning Federation of the Philadelphia Tri-State District (Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey) covers an area of 4,555 square miles. Its regional plan is the joint product of 200 technicians. It deals with transportation, communication, power, sanitation and water supply, and parks, and forms "the broad framework of these facilities to which all future detailed plans of the various localities of the region can be made to conform." It took three years to prepare the plan and the Federation was then continued in existence as an advisory organisation on a substantially modified basis.

A few other similar organisations have done similar work and it is probable that the Federal Enabling Act will lead to further developments in this direction. The most interesting result of that Act up to the present is to be found in Acts passed by the States of California and Colorado, which are largely based upon it.

The Californian Act of 1929, which amended a previous Act of 1927, requires every county to have a planning commission, the members of which must serve without pay. The commission has advisory powers only and must depend on the board of supervisors of the county for financial support and execution. It has power to employ technical advisers and staff. Up to June, 1933, 25 out of the 58 counties had established commissions. That this is really a movement towards the regional planning of undeveloped areas and that this is fully recognised by the law, is emphasised by a dictum of the Supreme Court of California: "zoning in its best sense looks not only backward to protect districts already established, but forward to aid in the formation of new districts according to a comprehensive plan."

Colorado has not gone so far as California. There is here no attempt at compulsion of county or other authorities to form planning commissions, but merely an enabling power to form regions for the purpose of making a "master regional plan," to be based on a comprehensive study, "with the general purpose of guiding and accomplishing a co-ordinated, adjusted and harmonious development." Up to the present, little or nothing has been actually done under this Act, but examples of Colorado and California may be followed by other states and they certainly indicate a step forward in regional planning which may have very far-reaching effects.

To return to Europe, the only countries in which regional planning in our sense of the term, has been carried out to any noticeable extent are Holland and Germany. It is true that the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has been planning on a very large—one may say national—scale, but this is an affair of the central Government, carried out through

a State Institute for Town Planning, known as the Giprogor, at Moscow. This Institution has 1,160 employees, including 259 engineers and architects. In the year 1931 the Moscow centre and the Leningrad Branch dealt with about 100 towns and settlements. The actual technique of the matter may be satisfactory—I know very little about it—but there is no participation of local authorities in the work. I understand that towns are planned wherever the central Government considers it desirable to have industrial centres and that temporary building are created in accordance with these plans, on the assumption that these will eventually be replaced by permanent ones.

In Germany there has been very great activity in regional planning—the name and the idea having been in the first place borrowed from England, but since developed in several different ways under the name of “Landes-planning.”

In 1920 an Act was passed establishing a regional planning organisation for the great industrial area of the Ruhr, of which Essen forms the centre. This organisation is known as the “Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk.” It deals with an area of over 1,800 square miles, having a population of about 4,200,000. The only members are the Stadt and Landkreise—as we should say the county boroughs and counties of which there were, in 1920, eighteen of the former and nine of the latter. There are 180 representatives on the main committee including representatives of industrial associations, of whom half must be employers and half employees, but the executive power is practically concentrated in the “Verbandspräsident” and the Director. In 1929 the organisation employed 40 higher officials and 65 other employees.

It is to be observed that this organisation, so far as its sphere of action goes, is definitely a new authority, with the whole hierarchy of state officials customary in Germany. It is therefore within its sphere, independent of any other authority except the central Government, but that sphere relates to planning only.

It is concerned mainly with the prescription of “traffic routes” and “regional open spaces,” but also advises on all matters relating to building development, prepares planning schemes for individual authorities, takes action with a view to smoke prevention (in which it is strikingly successful) and the protection of birds, and prepares and publishes maps and plans of the area on different scales. It has already reserved vast areas of land from building by the method of purchase and would extend this system much farther if funds were available. The actual building plans are not prepared by the Verband, but require its approval and are subject to the general provisions of the regional

plan which must be revised every three years. The regional plan is here definitely an established outline or skeleton with which the individual plans of communes and other authorities are obliged to conform.

There is no other regional planning organisation in Germany on the same footing as this (a representative body, with statutory powers) the committee for Hamburg and District, while exercising very extensive powers, being a creation of the State and consisting of appointed officials. It is certainly effective in its action and this is especially due to the requirement that it shall plan the region "as though no political frontiers existed." A very similar arrangement has been made between the Prussian State and the City of Bremen. In the agreement which establishes this committee it is expressly stated that the object is a strengthening of the idea of common interest and an extension of practical co-operation.

Apart from these instances, the regional planning organisations in Germany, of which there are many and on a large scale, are very similar to the joint committees in England, in that they act in an advisory capacity only and depend for the execution of their proposals on the acquiescence and activity of the individual local authorities.

There is, however, a marked difference of opinion between two schools of thought in Germany on the subject of regional planning. One view is that regional planning needs to be applied only to large industrial districts or at any rate to districts which are definitely developing on industrial lines. The other view is that agricultural land is equally in need of planning and that therefore every part of the country, without exception, should be subjected to the process. The German committees, however, are in a stronger position than the English, in that the chairman is as a rule the *Regierungs-präsident*—the state official who is the head of the *Government Bezirk* or District and who possesses "police powers," which relate among other things to the laying out of roads and the granting of building permits. He can therefore himself exercise direct influence on the lines recommended by the committee, in addition to the indirect influence which the committee itself can exert on the local authorities.

The German regional committees go farther than the English in making recommendations with a view to the alteration of political boundaries and to influencing development, whether industrial or agricultural, in new directions. The English committees definitely avoid any suggestions of the former kind. Composed as they are of representatives of all local authorities in the region, small and large, organised on the basis of co-operation between them, it would seriously

endanger that basis if any attempt were to be made to use the committee for the purpose of political changes. As regards the other point—the influencing of development in new directions—it must be admitted that the English committees have not as yet taken a large enough view of their functions to follow that course. The attempt to foresee the probable natural development and to guide this, so far as they can, in the manner which will be most advantageous to their community as a whole, but the idea of suggesting entirely new developments has not yet been taken up by them, though there is no reason in the nature of things why it should not.

As an instance of the kind of creative proposals which may be made in a regional scheme for a purely agricultural area, I will mention some of the recommendations made for the “circle” or county of Isenhagen, which is a very sparsely populated district with extensive moors, damp meadow valleys and dry heathlands. Here it is suggested that the damp portions must be drained and the water used for the irrigation of the dry districts. Artificial manures must be provided for the unfertile land. Cheap country roads must be laid out, suitable for the needs of agricultural transport. At a central spot must be erected factories for agricultural produce—dairy, jam factory, slaughterhouse, etc. The peat beds must be fully utilised, this being a cheaper combustible than coal and fitted for the production of electricity as well as for other uses. All this should go hand in hand with an intensification of the industry of agriculture itself by the use of more machines, for the supply of which co-operative societies must be set up. A county machinery depot might be established with a county mechanical engineer at its head. A redistribution of the land might in many villages lead to a better road system and hence to a saving of expense. A complete system of vocational education on lines suitable to the circumstances of the district is also required.

This is something very much more than regional planning in the English sense of the term, and it would certainly seem that some German planners, at any rate, have got a greater idea of what may be achieved by regional planning than those in any other country. At the same time it must not be forgotten that all this is merely aspiration—there are no powers to carry it into effect.

For in the matter of town-planning legislation Germany is distinctly behind England. For years past attempts have been made to get both a Prussian and a Federal Bill passed, but without success.

No country other than England has as yet what is really the crucial provision which makes the success of a town-planning scheme

possible—namely, the provision that, from the moment that a local authority passes a resolution to prepare a scheme, the land which is to be included in the proposed scheme becomes subject to the scheme as finally approved, although at the moment it is impossible to foresee what provisions the scheme will contain. To put it in another way, any buildings or works undertaken after the date of the resolution without the permission of the local authority (or of the Minister on appeal) may be pulled down, removed or altered without compensation, if they contravene the scheme as finally approved.

Without such a provision as this, any scheme which may be prepared will be stultified by development which takes place during its preparation. It was of course contended at the outset that this would be seriously injurious to landowners, who would appear to be restricted in the use and development of their land by a scheme which did not yet exist and of which they therefore could not know the provisions. But the system of "Interim Development Orders" relieves the position in most cases where application is made for them and the system has certainly worked well on the whole, though it cannot be denied that there may have been inconveniences in individual cases.

But such inconveniences are no argument against a system which is for the good of the community as a whole. The old cry that a man may do what he likes with his own is completely out of date when the ownership and what the man does with it affects others than himself. And surely to no form of ownership does this apply more clearly than to ownership of land.

All law is a restriction on the liberty of the individual. In the interests of the whole the liberties of each must be restricted, but those who are responsible for administering these restrictions—in the matter of town or regional planning as of everything else—must do so in such a manner that no man suffers oppression or is deprived of his property without compensation provided that he complies with the law, that no private interests are fostered at the expense of the public good, that no administrator gains any pecuniary advantage from his position other than a salary, if such is voted to him. If the administrators—whether paid or unpaid, elected or appointed—exercise their functions in this spirit, and capable and experienced technicians are employed to prepare the plans, then regional planning will undoubtedly prove a boon to posterity, but if corruption creeps in, or favouritism is showed in appointments, if the good of the community and justice to the individual are not pursued without fear or favour, then regional planning will prove a curse rather than a blessing.

London

NEW ITALY AND THE ORIENT

By TARAKNATH DAS, PH.D.

HISTORY of civilization is a record of contributions towards human progress, made by various peoples in diverse lands. Whenever one tries to analyse impartially the contents of individual contributions of nations, it becomes clear beyond doubt that every nation has been consciously or unconsciously influenced by contact with others. No nation has a special monopoly over "civilising influences." Just as an individual's life is shaped through influences of association, imitation as well as assimilation, similarly national life of a people is moulded and often enriched by contacts with other civilising forces. Therefore the history of civilization is in one sense the history of contacts and their effects on various nations. In a particular era, the nation that establishes extended and intimate contacts with the rest of the world and thus exerts its influences upon others or enriches itself through these contacts, becomes the most important factor in the history of civilization, in that particular era. A nation, however great, which follows the policy of "*cultural isolation*," not only fails to perform its duty towards other nations, but invariably becomes degraded, just as water in a stagnant pool becomes polluted. From this standpoint the Italian people can justly be proud of their rôle as a pre-eminent civilising influence during the last four thousand years.

In ancient times the Italian people were far less civilised than the peoples who inhabited India, Persia, Babylonia, Egypt and Greece. This is the conclusion arrived at by modern researches of eminent archeologists. However it is also to the credit of the ancient Italians that they assimilated the best of Asian, African and Greek culture and made it distinctively Italian. Later on Italy spread her civilising influence over vast regions of Europe, Africa and Asia which she conquered or colonised. It was the influence of the Italian and other Mediterranean people which civilised "the northern barbarians of Europe," some of whose descendants now claim special superiority as "Nordics" or special brand of "Aryans" and look down upon the peoples of Asia, Africa and those who inhabit the shores of the Mediterranean. All that we know to be as "western

civilization " has its roots in the contributions of the Mediterranean people.

Modern Europe owes considerably to Italy for its present-day cultural life as well as material progress. The part played by the Italians during the Crusades and the discovery of the sea-routes to the Orient and North America are permanent factors in the evolution of modern civilization. During the Middle Ages when Asia was more prosperous and progressive than the West, Italian merchants acted as carriers of commerce between the East and the West ; and Italian scholars and travellers like Marco Polo and others spread ideas about the Orient which indirectly revolutionised the current of western thought and enterprise. New Italy—Italy of Fascism—during the last decade has influenced the political thought of various peoples tremendously. There is every reason to think that New Italy will play a very prominent part in removing racial, political and other prejudices against the peoples of the Orient, which will pave the way for better understanding between the East and the West.

Fascist Italy, conscious of the glorious past of her people, is determined to carry on such activities as will result in territorial, political, commercial, economic as well as cultural expansion in all parts of the world—Europe, Africa, Asia and America—Italian leaders of all political parties agree with the formula of "*sacro egoismo*" which was enunciated by Salandra during the World War. Italy has a mission to fulfil ; and they carry on their activities to make Italy one of the greatest nations in the world.

Italian territorial expansion in Africa and Europe is progressing slowly but surely. In Europe it is not possible for Italy to get new territories without reshaping the map of Europe ; and therefore Signor Mussolini is content at present with the expansion of political influence in Europe. Italian economic and commercial expansion is progressing in those regions of the world which might be termed as "undeveloped countries." Italian commerce with Russia, Asiatic countries, South Africa and South American countries are being augmented through unabated zeal of the leaders of the nation, particularly Signor Mussolini.

It is a very well known fact that Italy cherished territorial ambition in the Near East. As the condition of world politics stands to-day, Italy cannot oust France or Great Britain from that region nor can she conquer any part of territory belonging to Turkey or the Arab States without bringing about a world war, which Italy does

not want. Therefore far-sighted Italian statesmen have deliberately decided to expand commercially and culturally between the region of the Suez and Japan which provides vast markets comprising no less than 900,000,000 people.

Signor Mussolini's interest in Italian cultural expansion in the Orient has a deep root. As a young man and a school teacher he was a student of comparative religion and philosophy and drank deep from the fountains of Oriental cultural history, especially Buddhism. He, as well as his late brother Arnaldo Mussolini, long ago realised that spread of Italian influence in the Orient would be one of the most valuable national assets. Therefore during the last decade Signor Mussolini took personal interest in such activities as would increase Italian influence in the Orient.

To carry on systematic endeavours for promoting cultural and economic co-operation between Italy and the Oriental countries of the Middle East and the Far East, by Royal command, *Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Orientale* was established in Rome on February 16, 1933. On December 22, 1933, the institute was formally inaugurated in Rome with a very interesting and impressive ceremony, in which leaders of Italian public life and several hundred Oriental students and others participated. The officials of the institute are as follows:—President: His Excellency Senator Gentile; Vice-President for the Cultural Section: His Excellency Prof. Dr. Tucci; Vice-President for the Economic Section: Count Volpi di Misurata; Executive Secretaries: Hon. Barone Ricciardi and Hon. Tassinari. During the inauguration ceremony, among other things, two interesting speeches were delivered by Prince Boncompagni and Senator Gentile. The former as the Governor of Rome extended "the salute of the Government of Rome": whereas Senator Gentile gave a discourse on the possibilities of cultural co-operation between the East and the West and the part that may be played by Rome for better understanding between the East and the West.

One of the objects of this institute is to encourage Oriental students to carry on their studies in Italy. Therefore it was arranged through the initiative of Oriental students in Rome, supported by the Italian authorities and the National organization of Fascist students, that the First Congress of Oriental Students in Europe should be held in Rome. On the 23rd of December this Congress was opened by Signor Mussolini himself. About 500 students representing the following nations took part in the congress: China 155, India 113, Japan 40 and many students from Persia, Afghanistan, Syria,

Libanun, Iraq, Palestine, Siam and Hedjaz. These students came to Rome from various European countries.

The most important feature of the congress was the speech of Signor Mussolini and the visit of the delegates to His Holiness the Pope. The latter ceremony was arranged by Barone Ricciardi. The authorities of Rome and the University of Rome extended every form of courtesy to these students and Fascist students extended generous hospitality. About 100 Oriental students, after the Congress, passed through Milan where they were received by the local authorities and visited the university and chief industrial establishments of the city. Signor Mussolini's inaugural speech to the congress will remain as a historic document of first class importance; and the following is the English translation of the same:—

“ I am indeed happy to welcome this first gathering of students of every country in Asia to Rome, upon this hill which has played so great a part in the history of civilisation

Your arrival is by no means without significance. A man once said and many others since thought and repeated that ‘ East is East and West is West; that the two can never meet.’

Historically such a statement is a nonsense. Twenty centuries ago Rome achieved a union in the Mediterranean between the East and the West which has been of tremendous importance in the world's history. Rome colonised the West, but in the East, in Egypt, in Syria and in Persia, the relationship was one of reciprocal and creative understanding.

This union was the corner stone of our entire history and it gave rise to European civilization. This must now become universal once more or else perish.

The unity of Mediterranean civilization, which was East and West, welded into one by Rome, lasted well over a thousand years.

But the new currents of traffic, the increasing flow of gold, and the exploitation of rich and distant countries gave rise to capitalism as the basis of a new civilization of a materialistic and exclusive character, with its seats far from the Mediterranean.

It was then that all intercourse between the East and West came to be exclusively placed on a footing of mere subordination and was restricted to a purely material sphere. Every spiritual link tending to a creative collaboration came to cease and the belief became consistent that Europe and Asia must be antagonists. And the cause of all this was merely a type of mentality existing in some parts of Europe which was incapable or unwilling to understand Asia, which considered Asia as a market for produce and a fountain-head for raw materials.

This civilization based upon capitalism and liberalism spread its sway throughout the world in the past and its failure is therefore being felt in each single continent. And therefore also it is a matter of deep concern for all the continents to follow the reaction against the degeneration of the liberal and capitalistic system. This reaction has found its expression in the revolutionary faith of the Italian Fascism which has fought against the lack of soul and ideals of this civilization that in the last centuries has prevailed throughout the world.

In the evils under which Asia suffers in its resentments we see the reflection of '*our own self*.' The differences are in the details; the foundation is the same.

Today Rome and the Mediterranean, through this Fascist renewal, look again towards resuming their historical function of unification. That is why this new Italy has invited you here.

More than once in the past in periods of fearful crisis, the world's civilization has been saved by the co-operation of the Orient and Rome.

In today's crisis of a whole system of institutions and ideas which are soulless, paralysed and lie heavy on mankind, *we hope to resume the old tradition of our constructive co-operation.*"

Campidoglio

Rome. 22. xii. 33.

MUSSOLINI.

Let us hope fervently that the call for constructive co-operation between the East and West through the medium of Rome sounded by Signor Mussolini will find ready and enthusiastic response from the youth of New Asia, seeking to assert their right on the basis of equality.

Oriental students carrying on their studies in Italy will find themselves in the most congenial climate and atmosphere which is not vitiated with race prejudice. They will be able to further the interests of their native lands—culturally, economically and politically—by applying the knowledge acquired in Italy which will serve as their second cultural home. On the other hand, by encouraging students from Oriental countries to come to Italy to carry on their studies, Italian statesmen are pursuing on a very far-sighted policy. These students will become the most effective instruments for promoting co-operation between their native lands and Italy, and spreading Italian influence—cultural, economic as well political—in the Orient. Therefore, it is a foregone conclusion, that from the standpoint of enlightened self-interest, efforts for co-operation between the Orient and New Italy will meet with hearty support from responsible quarters.

It is an undisputed fact that Fascist Italy is in cordial terms with Turkey, Persia as well as Afghanistan. Although Italian foreign policy is based upon Anglo-Italian co-operation, Fascist Italy is not lacking in genuine sympathy towards the people of India and their national aspirations. It is not generally known that Signor Mussolini was the first European statesman to aid the Siamese Government to free Siam from the bondage of Extra-territoriality. Italy's sympathy towards Chinese nationalism is manifested by the recent active co-operation of the Italian government to extend its support and financial aid to the Chinese Government struggling under great difficulties. In the past there was very close collaboration between Japan and Italy ; because they had similar national problems—increasing population demanding territorial expansion and the need of raw materials for expanding industries. To be sure Fascist Italy has great admiration for "the Samurai spirit" and "the spirit of Bushido" as exhibited by the Japanese nation. But recently, since M. Litvinoff's recent visit to Rome after the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, and since the visit of Sir John Simon to Rome during the last week of December 1933, there have been several indications in the Italian press that Italian policy and public opinion has become suspicious of Japan. They are apparently apprehensive that Japan with her increasing military and naval power and industrial expansion may not only effectively enforce her "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine," but promote the creed of Asian Independence which may not be palatable to some of the great Western Powers. It is interesting to note that responsible Italian leaders are calling upon western nations to settle their differences and have a common policy to save themselves from a supposed Japanese menace. *The Times* (London) of January 8, 1934, wrote that the report on Italian naval estimates for 1934 presented to the Chamber of Deputies which was signed by Signor Medici del Vascello, contain the following statement regarding Japan :—

" While Europe is torn by questions of Continental interest and while discussions on European problems are being stultified by the short-sighted policy of responsible persons, events are maturing which threaten danger for the future of all the rest. The present phase of the skirmish, which certainly foreshadows great developments between the United States and Japan has its centre of gravity in the Manchurian enterprise and in the adoption by Japan of a sort of Monroe Doctrine, threatening American economic interests in China and the safety of the Philippines and other American possessions.

" On the other hand, Japan evidently fearful that the situation in North-East Asia may turn to her disadvantage, is intensifying her military and economic penetration (in Manchuria) and is further compelled to increase her fighting forces owing to the concentration of the Soviet air forces within striking distance of her coasts."

According to the *Manchester Guardian* of January 8th, 1934, the same report contains the following remarkable passage:—

" The Japanese does not consider war from the same point of view as the white man. His mentality revolves around his historic mission, the triumph and domination of his race. Therein lies the tragedy of to-morrow. This people is advancing with the strength of its arms, and still more of its thought, based upon its presumed historic mission. To-day it is invading and organising China ; to-morrow, urged onward by racial hatred, it will fight the white race."

This statement coming from a responsible Italian official is more remarkable than the bogey of " Yellow Peril " once preached by the ex-Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany.

To those who are initiated into the intricacies of international relations, it is quite clear that Italy will possibly support Great Britain against Japan in case of an Anglo-Japanese conflict. It is also clear that Italian sympathy is with Soviet Russia with whom a non-aggression pact has been signed by Italy, and possibly there exists very close relations between the Fascist State and the Communist Republic. It is certain that in case of an American-Japanese conflict, Italian interest will be for supporting the United States. It is also evident that to-day Italian sympathy is more with China than with Japan.

To be sure Japanese expansion in the Asiatic continent is an imperialistic enterprise, *but it is absurd to regard it as Japanese preparation to fight the white race.* The real reason for Japanese expansion in Asia is nothing but a reflex of European expansion in Asia, especially in India and China. Japan is the only Asian country which has been able to put a check to western aggression in Asia and therefore is constantly menaced by a possibility of " isolation in world politics." Unless there is a double standard of international morality, why should the Japanese military and naval programme be more odious than British military and naval programme all over the world ?

We are advocates of co-operation between the East and the West. For this very reason we regard it our duty to draw the attention of

those in the West who are genuinely interested in promoting the cause of co-operation between the East and West which is a prime requisite for world peace, to the fact that the *West should pay heed to the aspirations of the awakened East, demanding for "Asian Independence" without which there cannot be real political equality, between the East and the West.*

We whole-heartedly support the doctrine of "creative co-operation between the East and West" as enunciated by Signor Mussolini; and at the same time emphasise the point that there cannot be any creative co-operation between the Orient and the Occident if the Western Powers continue to impose political domination over the Eastern peoples.

Switzerland.

THE EARTH'S CONSTITUTION AND SEISMIC AND VOLCANIC PHENOMENA

By A. K. DAS, M.A., D.SC.

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THE earth's surface as we see it to-day is only one of an infinite series of kinematographic pictures which form the history of the evolution of our planet. We are not absolutely certain about how and when the earth was born and we have only plausible conjectures about its end. But of this much we are certain that ever since the first block of solid stone emerged out of the boundless primeval ocean there has been an unceasing war for supremacy between the ocean and the solid land. This eternal fight has so often altered the face of the earth and recorded its own history in a language which is intelligible only through the application of the knowledge derived from such widely differing sciences as geology, geophysics, paleoclimatology, chemistry and others. Large continents have from time to time risen out of the water and disappeared again, mountains of enormous sizes have appeared and have again sunk into the depths of the ocean. This cycle of events will go on till a universal equilibrium is established and the earth is dead from the mechanical point of view.

To-day, as it has also been in the past, the earth's surface is a mosaic of eminences and depressions. The deep and wide basins filled with oceanic water form 71% of the surface of the earth, the remaining 29% being dry land. The ratio of ocean surface to land surface is therefore as 2.42 : 1. The islands constitute about $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ of dry land. If we pulled out the land-masses from their socles and filled up with them the ocean basins so as to bring the whole surface of the earth to a common level, then the level of the stony surface would be 2,450 metres below sea level. The average level of solid land is 700 metres (taking account of the Antarctic whose level is + 825m) above sea-level, so that the continents are on the average $4\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres higher than the oceans. But compared to the size of the earth this difference of level between the two fundamental divisions of the earth's surface is extremely small. On a globe of about 2 metres diameter the difference

in level between the peak of the highest mountain and the bottom of the deepest ocean would be about 2 mm.; and the average height of the land-masses would be $\frac{1}{10}$ mm. and the average depth of the ocean only $\frac{1}{2}$ mm.

The land formations, the varyingly contrasted landscapes consisting of mountains, hills and valleys, the relief of the sea-bed are the results of the action of constructive and destructive geological forces working according to an inexorable law of evolution. The original structure of the earth's surface has been best preserved in those regions where the process of mountain formation has been active only in recent times, that is, from the tertiary period up to our days. These comprise two narrow belts round the earth: one is the *circumpacific zone* which forms the boundary of the Pacific Ocean and the other is the *mediterranean zone* running perpendicularly to the first across the European, Australasiatic and American seas. The variations in the shape of the earth's surface are due to the variations of elevations and depressions which are principally controlled by climatic conditions; in a moist climate flowing water plays the most important part, in a dry climate, as in desert regions, the winds are the controlling factors and in the icy regions it is the glacier that guides the mode of evolution of the earth's surface structure.

The starting point in the evolution of the earth's surface since the formation of the solid crust is the bending and crumpling of the crust through thermal contraction. From physico-mathematical theories as developed by Sir George Darwin, H. Jeffreys and others, thermal contraction appears to explain to a great extent the conspicuous superficial phenomena such as the formation of mountains, the difference between continents and ocean basins, and the various kinds of igneous activity. When the earth was born out of the sun, it was, we can safely assume, mostly—if not entirely—composed of gaseous matter which gradually condensed into constituents having lower and lower boiling points as the result of progressive cooling. In the molten mass resulting from this, as V. M. Goldschmidt pointed out in 1921, the course of chemical events must have been similar to what happens in an iron furnace: the material of the earth separated out into three major components, namely, metallic iron, slag consisting of siliceous matter and sulphide stones denser than the slag. These formed respectively the metallic nucleus, the outer silicate mantle and the intermediate layer which roughly represent the internal structure of the earth. Due to the large differences in the specific gravities of the three constituents no mixing was possible as the cooling progressed. In a body of the size of the

earth the process of cooling must be very slow in the absence of convective mixing, so that the earth's nucleus must be even to-day at practically the same temperature as it had at the time of its formation. The process of crystallisation can therefore have taken place at the most in the two outer layers.

The different parts of the interior of the earth have cooled since solidification by different amounts and must therefore have contracted in different ratios. As a matter of fact according to geophysical theories "throughout the region from the centre of the earth to within about 700 kilometres of the surface, no appreciable change of temperature takes place and therefore no change of volume. Between this level and the layer where cooling is most rapid, each layer cools more than the layer below it, and would therefore contract more if it were not obstructed by the matter below. The latter fixes the inner radius of this region, and therefore the requisite reduction in volume can be achieved only by reducing the outer radius. Thus the adjustment requires a thinning of this region without a corresponding reduction in its inner radius. Since this region is necessarily in the region of low strength, the matter in it will adjust itself to the stresses involved and assume a hydrostatic state." This is the plastic *isostatic layer* (or level of no strain), the existence of which explains the fact of approximate uniformity of mass over the earth within vertical columns of the same cross section extending down to a standard equipotential surface. But the outer surface of the earth undergoes no further cooling and contraction and is therefore too large to fit the contracted region underneath and must therefore be under a horizontal stress tending to fracture and bend it up irregularly starting at the weakest spot. This would produce a system of folds and ridges and cracks in the solid crust of the earth giving rise to mountain ranges and gigantic fissures. Starting from the above considerations Jeffreys has theoretically calculated the amount of crumpling that must have occurred on the earth in order to form the Alps, the Rockies and the Himalayas all of which had been formed in the tertiary period. The agreement between theory and observation has been found to be as good as could be expected considering the uncertainties involved in such calculations.

The theory of thermal contraction thus gives a satisfactory explanation of the genesis of mountain ranges; the later stages in the transformation of the mountains as well as of the ordinary land-masses depends on climatic conditions, sedimentation, denudation, erosion, abrasion and other causes. But the theory of thermal contraction has not yet been able to give a very satisfactory explanation of the origin of

the continents and the oceans. On this question there are several rival theories. According to one of them, due to Osmond Fisher, which is based on the resonance theory of the origin of the moon, a large part of the earth's crust (which was thin and mainly granitic) was carried off by the moon at the time of its birth. The resulting hole was quickly filled by the inflow of heavy magma, leaving large granitic slabs floating on a heavy fluid. These slabs, according to this theory, became the continents and the exposed denser material the ocean floor ; the Pacific Ocean is thus regarded as the scar left when the moon was formed. Although the theory is not entirely free from difficulties, it gives a fairly plausible explanation of the origin of the ocean basins. When the basins were formed, the water necessary to fill them was supplied by the atmosphere ; for, with the progress of the cooling process when the temperature fell to about 360°C , the critical temperature of water, the water vapour of the atmosphere could condense into the liquid state.

It has been known for a long time that parts of the continents or other land-masses have disappeared under the sea and others have emerged during comparatively recent times. But are the continents permanent as regards their geographical positions? According to Prof. Alfred Wegener they are not. His famous *Theory of Continental Drift* tells us that millions of years ago the continental blocks now separated by the Atlantic and the Indian oceans formed one mass, but later they drifted away from each other. South America and Africa formed one continent, North America was united with Europe through Greenland and Newfoundland, and the Antarctic, Australia and India were joined up together with Africa to form one gigantic continent covered in parts by epicontinental seas. In the course of the jurassic, the cretaceous and the tertiary periods this continental mass was broken up into different blocks by a system of gigantic fissures. The case of India was slightly different because it was originally connected with the Asiatic continent through a slightly submerged land bridge. Being separated from Australia in the late jurassic and from Madagascar in the transition period between the cretaceous and the tertiary, India drifted towards Asia crumpling and folding the connecting land-mass. The result was the formation of the largest mountain ranges of the earth, namely, the Himalayas and the numerous ranges of Central Asia. On Wegener's theory of continental drift, which is supported by many geological, geophysical, geodetical and paleoclimatological arguments, the formation of mountain ranges in general is due to similar causes. Recently, however, Jeffreys and others have raised several

objections against this theory. But whether we accept any particular theory or not we know that certain regions of the earth's crust are in a varying state of strain particularly those in the neighbourhood of mountain ranges of comparatively recent origin.

If we compare a map showing the distribution of regions susceptible to earthquakes with one showing the distribution of volcanoes, we notice the striking parallelism between the two natural phenomena. The regions susceptible to earthquakes and the volcanoes lie mainly in two belts, the circumpacific and the mediterranean zones which I have already mentioned. The coasts of the Pacific Ocean mark a particularly weak region of the earth's crust and therefore comparatively small strains can give rise to displacements of the parts of the crust in this region. Also the differences in level between the high mountains and the deep seas in this region are favourable for the occurrence of earthquakes. And since this is the part of the earth's crust where the greatest departures from isostatic compensation occur, earthquakes should be most frequent in the circumpacific zone. The mediterranean zone as well as the east coast of Africa beside the Red Sea is another geologically weak part of the earth's crust characterised by notable departures from isostasy and is therefore particularly susceptible to earthquake phenomena. According to a detailed investigation of Sieberg at least 85% of all felt shocks occur in the land areas comprised by the circumpacific and mediterranean zones which are also known to be regions of recent mountain formations. Geologically old masses and mountains are practically free from earthquakes; in any case, no severe shocks have ever occurred in them during historical times.

The majority of earthquakes (about 90%) are of tectonic or dislocation origin. The *focus* or *hypocentre* of these earthquakes, that is, the point from which the enormous energy released during the dislocation spreads out in all directions lies in the uppermost layers of the crust, rarely below 50 kilometres from the surface, because this is the part of the crust in which strains can appear and cannot be relieved by outflow of matter. (The point of the earth's surface vertically above the hypocentre is called the *epicentre*.) The strain in the crust, therefore, leads to fractures which are often visible on the surface. Large fissures frequently appear in the epicentral region and huge quantities of water, sand or mud are ejected through the fissures. When the strain in a region of the earth's crust is highly developed it is released through certain exogenous phenomena (such as variations in atmospheric pressure, tidal actions, etc.) which are of course secondary but which nevertheless act as the spark which fires the powder. The

energy of the earthquake which follows is derived from the endogenous geological phenomena. The energy released during earthquakes is immense ; an idea of the enormity of the energy of earthquakes can be made from the following table, which gives the order of magnitude of a few well-known earthquakes :

Place of origin and date of earthquake.	Energy.	
	In ergs.	In horse power.
Hekla (Iceland) 6-5-1912	1.5×10^{22}	2 billions
Sukurashima (Japan) 12-1-1914	5.5×10^{22}	8 „
Messina (Sicily) 28-12-1910	5.7×10^{22}	80 „
San Francisco (California) 18-4-1908	1.75×10^{24}	250 „
Mino-Owari (Japan) 28-10-1891	2.2×10^{24}	300 „
Assam (India) 12-6-1897	1.1×10^{25}	1600 „
Charleston (America) 31-8-1886	1.4×10^{25}	2000 „
Lisbon (Portugal) 1-11-1775	1.9×10^{25}	2700 „

There are yet no definite data available permitting of a dependable calculation of the energy of the North Bihar earthquake of 15th January, 1934, but making some plausible assumptions the energy would be of the order of 2000 billion horse power.

From the theory of elasticity we know that whenever a sudden movement through fracture or other causes takes place in an elastic solid it gives rise to vibrations which propagate in all directions in the form of waves. Earthquakes are nothing but the manifestations of the same kind of wave propagation of sudden and more or less violent movements which occur in the solid crust of the earth. The exact mode of propagation of earthquake waves through the body of the earth can be studied in great detail with the help of seismographs. In principle a seismograph is nothing but a suitably arranged pendulum. The earliest seismographs consisted of a weight suspended by means of a suitable wire or string from a rigid support fixed on the ground. When the ground was agitated by a brusque seismic movement the weight tried to maintain its position unchanged due to its inertia, so that the pendulum appeared to move approximately in a direction opposite to that of the movement of the ground ; this apparent motion of the pendulum-bob could be magnified by a lever arrangement and

registered on a revolving drum which had a smoked paper wrapped round it. But in practice the movement of the ground during an earthquake does not consist of a simple sudden shock. It consists rather of a series of irregular and prolonged oscillations. A seismograph must therefore be constructed in such a way that the complex movement of the ground is faithfully recorded by it and with sufficient magnification. But this is a matter of considerable difficulty, because a simple vertical pendulum as described above will execute a movement which is the resultant of two motions: one having the period of the pendulum itself and the other having the period of the ground. The first has to be suppressed as far as possible in order that the seismogram may be a true record of the oscillations of the ground. The pendulum is therefore damped so that its proper motion stops as quickly as possible, but this damping reduces the sensitivity of the instrument. In modern seismographs various devices are resorted to for achieving a faithful record of the earth movement. In some, the pendulum is suspended horizontally as in the Omori-Ewing seismograph. In others, such as the astatic seismographs constructed by Wiechert, the bob of the pendulum is vertically above the point of support, the support and the bob forming a rigid conically-shaped body. In some seismographs the trace is made mechanically as by means of a needle pressing very lightly on a piece of smoked paper wrapped round a drum rotated with great precision by a clockwork. In others, the friction between the writing needle and the paper is avoided by recording the vibrations photographically by means of an optical lever arrangement. Some types of instruments make the records electrically as in some of the seismographs constructed by the Russian seismologist Galitzin. Each type has its advantages; the good seismological stations of the world find it necessary to have instruments of different types continuously in action.

It has long been known that the motion of the ground during an earthquake is a complex motion which can be broken up into three different components, two in the horizontal plane and one in the vertical direction. In some earthquakes, as in the great Assam earthquake of 1897, rotatory motions of the ground are also observed. The effect on buildings and other structures of all these components acting simultaneously can well be imagined. Seismographs have been designed to record the different motions independently of each other. The directions usually chosen for the horizontal components are the E-W and N-S. Seismographs for recording rotary motion have not yet been designed. Accordingly the modern seismological stations maintain more than

one seismograph to record each of the two horizontal components (horizontal seismographs) and the vertical component (vertical seismographs) of earth motion. By compounding these motions and from a knowledge of the magnifying power and other constants of the seismographs the true motion of the ground can be calculated. The mechanical effect of earthquakes depends on the acceleration of the movement of the ground; the human power of perception also depends on the acceleration and not on the amplitude of the motion. The acceleration is, in the epicentral region, often less than 1 cm./sec.² in slight shocks and generally from 10 to 20 cm./sec. for strong shocks and above this limit the earthquake is violent. During the great earthquake of Mino-Owari (Japan) in 1891 the Japanese seismologist Omori observed an acceleration of 430 cm./sec.

The records of seismographs show the same types of waves as would be expected from the theory of elasticity. In the seismograms of distant shocks one can clearly see three different kinds of principal waves which arrive at the place of observation at different times. These are the Primary, Secondary and the Long waves denoted by P, S and L respectively. The primary waves arrive first, then the secondary waves and last of all the long waves, although they were all produced at the same time at the origin of the earthquake. This is quite consistent with the theory of elasticity, according to which a sudden movement produced inside an elastic solid body gives rise to three main kinds of waves (compressional, distortional and surface waves) spreading out with different velocities. The quickest of these is the longitudinal type of wave in which the vibrating particles participating in the wave motion move in the same direction in which the wave propagates. The next quickest is the transverse wave in which the particles affected by the wave motion oscillate in a direction at right angles to the direction of propagation of the wave. The slowest is the wave which travels along the surface of the solid body and shows dispersion; it is a complicated wave in which the particles at the surface of the body execute an approximately elliptical motion. This is the largest wave-train which causes the most damage and is often called "Rayleigh waves" because it was the late Lord Rayleigh who developed the theory of these waves. (The Rayleigh waves are again complicated by the proper vibrations of whole strata near the surface.) The P, S and L waves in a seismogram correspond to these three types of waves. The average velocities of these different types of waves through the earth's crust have been determined from long series of observations and laboratory experiments and therefore if the P, S

and L can be recognised on the seismogram the time difference between the moments of arrival of the P and S or P and L permits of a calculation of the distance of the epicentre from the place of observation. The automatic recording of time on the moving chart of a seismograph therefore demands considerable accuracy. From the epicentral distances of a given earthquake determined at at least three different stations generally the epicentre can be located. But it is possible also to determine with fair accuracy the position of the epicentre from the seismograms obtained at a single station with the help of two horizontal seismographs and one vertical seismograph. But a seismogram is often complicated by the presence of other waves which result from the reflection and refraction of the principal waves at surfaces of discontinuity in the interior of the earth or at the surface of the earth, and also waves (in the case of very severe earthquakes) which arrive at the place of observation after travelling once or more than once round the earth. Sometimes there are several nuclei of strain in a given region so that several points act as epicentres almost simultaneously. Also on occasions the activity of one focus induces the activity of other more or less distant focuses by a kind of relay action. A complete analysis of seismograms enables us to determine the structure of the earth when geological methods are of no use. Seismological methods are now being extensively employed by the German and American geophysicists for exploring mineral and oil-beds ; unfortunately these extremely fruitful methods of prospecting have yet gained little or no popularity in India.

The development of seismology has reacted considerably on the development of the geology of the deep interior of the earth. The seismograph has been to the geologist what the telescope is to the astronomer. The structure of the earth as it has been discovered by seismology and geology is broadly as follows: the uppermost layer of the earth's crust down to a depth of 50-60 kilometres is composed of comparatively light rocks arranged in the order of increasing density with increasing depth, the specific gravity of these rocks being on the average 2.6. Below this layer extending to a depth of about 120 kilometres there is a zone consisting of heavier rocks (Sima stones) of average specific gravity 3.0 rich in iron and magnesia which has a remarkable plasticity under the enormous pressure and fairly high temperature to which it is subjected. This layer is therefore often called the *Zone of Flow or plastic zone* which perhaps supplies most of the fluid lava ejected by volcanoes. The lower limit (100 to 120 km. below the surface) of this layer is the level of isostatic compensation. The third

zone underneath the plastic layer extends perhaps down to a depth of about 1,200 kilometres and is composed of stones extremely rich in iron and magnesia of specific gravity reaching up to 3.5. Under the conditions of pressure and temperature existing in this region this zone possesses a considerable degree of rigidity. Below all these three layers the earth possesses an approximately spherical nucleus of 3,470 km. radius or $\frac{2}{3}$ of its own radius. This nucleus probably has shells composed of heavy iron and silicate rocks of specific gravity of the order of 7.4 and below these shells is an inner core of radius of about 2,900 kilometres. This inner core is composed of nickel-iron whose rigidity is much higher than that of steel and whose density is of the order of 9.6.

The velocities of the different types of seismic waves are, as one would expect from the constitution of the earth just summarised, different at different depths. The following table gives the velocities of the longitudinal (P) and transversal (S) waves at different depths as determined from seismological investigations:—

Depth.		Velocity in km/second.	
Kilometre.	Name of Layer.	Longitudinal (P).	Transversal (S).
0	Earth's surface	5.6	3½ ?
Less than 60		5.9	3½ ?
More than 60		8.0	4.3
1200	Intermediate zone	12½	6½
1700		12½	7½
2450		13½	7½
Less than 2900	Limit of nuclear shells	13	7½
More than 2900		8½	5 ?
3370	Centre of earth	11	6½?

It will be noticed that the velocity increases as the depth increases up to a certain limit, but as the inner core is reached the velocity decreases. This has been explained by some seismologists by attributing to the inner core of the earth the properties of a liquid. C. G. Knott believed that this conclusion is supported by the fact that at a distance of over 140° (15,600 km.) from the epicentre the longitudinal wave, which has passed through the inner core, is considerably delayed

and that at this distance no transversal wave is detectable. But the investigations of Gutenberg and others seem to indicate that transversal waves are sometimes observed under these circumstances. The question whether the earth's inner core is solid or liquid is still an open one and needs further careful investigation. It is not unthinkable that matter subjected to the enormous pressure (of probably more than one million atmospheres) which exists near the centre of the earth should remain solid even at temperatures well above the critical temperature. According to Wiechert and Gutenberg the temperature at the earth's centre is certainly less than 9000°C and is probably not even as high as 5000°C . Little is, however, known with certainty about the temperature of the outer shells of the earth. But this much is fairly certain that the temperature does not increase at a constant rate, nor exponentially, as we go down from the surface towards the centre of the earth: as a matter of fact from a comparatively small depth below the surface right up to the centre the temperature appears to remain practically constant. The theory of the earth's internal constitution advocated by Ritter, Arrhenius and others which at one time enjoyed a considerable popularity is untenable in the light of modern geophysical studies.

The study of volcanic activities also has contributed to a considerable extent to our knowledge of the earth's constitution. The fluid lava which is ejected by volcanoes must come mainly from the zone of flow where alone we can expect to find plastic magma. If the magma of the plastic zone can somehow be made fluid and if suitable openings be available, then the emission of lava from volcanoes becomes easily understandable. Incidentally the examination of the volcanic lava reveals the nature of the matter which constitutes the plastic layer in the interior of the earth. Large openings can easily appear in the weak zones of the earth's surface, that is, in the two belts, the circumpacific and the mediterranean, which I have already mentioned. The occurrence of volcanoes mainly in these two narrow belts therefore supports the view that a volcanic eruption is only the process of exudation of fluid magma from the plastic layer through cracks or fissures which are more or less permanently present or appear periodically in the weak parts of earth's crust. These cracks or fissures need not necessarily be visible on the surface of the earth when there is actually no eruption and may exist or form well below the depth up to which geological methods can probe directly, *i.e.*, about 2 or 3 kilometres below the surface. It was A. von Humboldt who held that volcanic eruptions required the pre-existence of fissures or

other kinds of openings in the earth's crust. But in 1886 Löwl contended that the fluid magma in trying to rush up could force an opening, so that the fissures or openings were to be regarded as phenomena accompanying volcanic activities rather than a previous condition essential for the occurrence of volcanic eruptions. Against this contention one can however say, as Felix and Lenk rightly pointed out, that fissures do exist in the earth's crust well below the surface and that in the uppermost parts of the crust they are completely masked by effects of dislocation. In any case there is no vital contradiction between the two views and I think it is quite safe to say that the weak circumpacific and mediterranean belts contain potential cracks which may reach as far as the upper limit of the zone of flow. When the pressure of liquid magma forces an opening in the crust there is a volcanic eruption; while if the pressure is not sufficient to break the roof, then we have at least an earthquake. But such earthquakes should not generally, for obvious reasons, be violent. The most violent earthquakes are actually found to originate in the uppermost layers of the earth's crust. As a matter of fact the majority of earthquakes start from focuses in the crust anywhere from the surface down to the upper limit of the zone of flow and are of tectonic or dislocation origin. The few Japan earthquakes of deep focus, the focal depth being of the order of 100 km., which have occurred during the last ten years, appear to have originated in the zone of flow; they are perhaps due to convulsions of the magmatic layer. The rigid layer below the plastic zone is generally believed to have settled down completely so that no dislocations are expected in it. But the investigations of some of the Japanese seismologists, such as Wadati, Oki and Arakawa, which have appeared in the Japanese Geophysical Magazine during the last few months suggest that in Japan earthquakes of extraordinarily deep focus also occur occasionally. Some of the earthquakes studied by these seismologists originated 400 to 500 kilometres below the surface of the earth. This would suggest that even the rigid layer below the zone of flow is not free from dislocation which seems to be the most likely mechanism of the genesis of earthquakes in this layer. Theoretically, of course, earthquakes may originate in any part of the earth's body. But at the present state of development of the method of determining focal depths, which depends on finding points of inflexion in the so-called travel-time curve (*i.e.*, the curve obtained by plotting the epicentral distances against the times required by a wave to cover these distances) much reliance cannot be placed on focal depth determinations.

We have seen that under the existing conditions of pressure and temperature the matter in the zone of flow is in a plastic, not really fluid state. How does this plastic magma melt and become liquid? For this various explanations have been suggested, some of which attribute the liquefaction of the magma to purely thermodynamical causes while the others regard it as the result of chemical reactions. Some geologists and geophysicists claim that the plastic magma of the zone of flow becomes liquefied due to the heat generated by chemical reaction with water which penetrates into this zone mainly from the surface through openings in the crust or through capillary pores; this would explain those eruptions which occur in the immediate neighbourhood of seas. While others think that due to dislocations in the earth's crust the pressure on the magmatic zone is locally reduced and therefore the magma can become fluid and rush up through existing openings or force an opening in the crust; on this view also chemical reactions between the uprushing magma and the materials of the crust can take place causing evolution of gases and give rise to the many local peculiarities of volcanic lava. Probably both these points of view are right, but each is not applicable to all classes of volcanic eruptions which differ considerably from each other according to local or regional peculiarities.

At present we know about 1000 volcanoes which have been dead since the post-tertiary period and about 450 active ones. Of these more than $\frac{2}{3}$ ths are on land areas including islands and the rest lie under the sea. But the submarine volcanoes, in spite of their relatively small number, play a more important part than the land volcanoes. The number of island volcanoes is about double that of continental ones; and there are also isolated volcanoes like the Etna in non-volcanic surroundings, but they fall in a series rather than in a group. The most active volcanoes occur in the western, insular, boundary regions and the eastern coastal regions of the Pacific Ocean. Australia appears to be completely free from active volcanoes. Asia also is at present extremely poor in volcanic activities. No active volcano is definitely known in India; but it is doubtful if one is justified in thinking that the Indian Ocean is very poor in living volcanoes. The numerous islands, Sumatra, Java, Borneo and others and the Sunda Strait, where the Krakatoa had a fearful eruption in 1883, are full of active volcanoes. There is also an active volcano in the sea not very far from Pegu in Burma, which appears to have had an eruption in 1930. The regions where the circumpacific and the mediterranean belts intersect are most marked by volcanic activities as

appears from a detailed investigation by the German geologist K. Sapper. This is quite what one would expect, for those are the doubly weak spots of the earth's crust where two lines of weakness or probably potential fissures meet. Near the two belts of weakness the earth's crust must be in a particularly mobile state and therefore volcanic as well as seismic activities would be confined principally to these zones. Wegener's theory of continental drift also leads to the same conclusion, for in these zones three important forces must be in action, namely the force arising out of the precession of the earth's axis which causes a westward drift of the continents and which attains its maximum value at the equator and is minimum at $\pm 36^\circ$, the "Polflucht" force which tends to displace the continental masses towards that region of the earth's surface where the gravitational force is least, i.e., towards the equator, and the force which tends to establish a hydrostatic equilibrium by distributing the matter uniformly over the whole earth. Forces brought into play due to tidal actions probably also play a part in seismic and volcanic phenomena. According to observational data the distance between Europe and America seems to be varying at the rate of about ± 1 metre per year. Modern geophysical theories therefore explain fairly satisfactorily the distribution of matter in the earth's interior and on its surface including the formation of mountain ranges; they also provide an adequate explanation of the fact that certain restricted regions of the earth are particularly susceptible to seismic as well as volcanic activities. The magnetic, electrical, optical and acoustic phenomena which often accompany earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are also easily understandable in the light of modern geophysical theories.

Alipore Observatory.

Calcutta

ART, UTILITY AND WORSHIP, IN THE MOST ANCIENT INDIA

By SYAMACHARAN BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

I

IN ancient world often the priest went to the artist and supplied him with themes for plastic or pictorial representation. The priest worshipped the magic forms created by the artist of animals which formed the food of the race or the tribe. Religion and art sustained each other.

'Art for art's sake' is a phrase not many centuries old. The primitive artist was invariably a utilitarian. The representations of animals at Mohenjo-daro are, it has been suggested, totemistic in origin. Totemism is based on the worship of a species of animal to which certain families or clans thought that they had a definite blood relationship. The totem exerted a very powerful influence not only on religion but on human schemes of relationship as well. Totemism is very closely connected with ancient religions.

Zoolatry which is undoubtedly totemistic in origin found an extensive scope in the ancient world. Most of the ancient peoples of the world believed that a great many of the different divine entities preferred to present themselves in the living guises of sacred animals. In the study of the ancient religion of Egypt we come across the falcon of Horus, the dog of Anubis, the ram of Amon and Khnum, the goat of Herishef, the Ibis of Thoth, the greyhound of Seth, the Crocodile of Sebek, the cow of Hathor and many other hybrid forms. Sacred animals were in Egypt treated with great respect while living and were embalmed and entombed in consecrated burials after death. A voluntary killing of a sacred animal was punished with death and even an involuntary interference with the life of a sacred beast was followed with heavy fines. If an ibis or a falcon was killed willingly or unwillingly the man had to pay the penalty with his life. But whereas an animal was worshipped in one part of the country, in another part close by it was killed and eaten with great relish.

* This article is in continuation of the author's illustrated article on *The Earliest Chapter of Indian Art* published in our previous issue (March, 1934) of this Journal.

Juvenal thus wrote of the ancient Egyptians in a satirical vein :
“ Who does not know what monsters are adored by demented Egypt ? One part worships the crocodile, another goes in awe of the ibis, gorged with snakes.....Cats here, there fish of the river, and elsewhere dogs are venerated by whole cities, but Diana by none. It is sacrilege to violate the teeth, and the onion and to chew them in your jaws,—how sainted are they whose gardens grow these divinities ? ” Undoubtedly Juvenal is pointed in his subtle twists of irony, but surely he understood nothing of the inner spirit and the historical rôle of zoolatry in the life of the ancient peoples of Egypt. With his vein for satire, he could never appreciate the simplicity of the emotional aspiration of the Egyptians to the heroic past and he could never understand what satisfaction these clever peoples of the ancient world felt in turning their devotion to the oldest divinities of the common people and of the nation. In Mesopotamia also we find that eagle is the bird *par excellence*,—the symbol of kingly majesty.

Zoolatry which finds an extensive practice in modern India, is without doubt non-Aryan in origin. When the Aryans entered India the pre-Aryans were growing old, so the inundation of a vigorous new blood strengthened the old peoples and imparted to them “ that youthful ardour, that bold confidence, that aptitude for change and progress the gift of which has been lost to advanced civilizations, and of which barbarism is merely the uncultured and fleeting form.” Synchronously with the Aryanisation of India, another process, more powerful and enduring in effect, went on. This process, let me call, *pre-Aryanisation of the Aryan culture*. The period following the entry of the Aryans in India was a period of incubation,—a period in which two different cultures began to assimilate each other.

Zoolatry is but an Aryan incorporation of a form of non-Aryan worship. As extant in modern India it can be classified under three heads, worship of animals which are entirely mythical in character, worship of animals whose origin is questionable and worship of animals which are found in every-day life. Thus the worship of the human-faced goat or bull or elephant or the combination of several animals falls under the first category. The worship of unicorns and the worship of bulls, elephants or buffaloes, etc., falls under the second and the third classes respectively. We gather materials of ancient zoolatry from stone idols, engravings on seals and sealings, stone figurines, small terra-cotta, etc.

II

In later Hindu tradition Visnu is called *Ekasringa*. Probably the name is reminiscent of the worship of unicorn which was so very popular in the ancient world. That the unicorn was worshipped in the ancient world is evident from an engraving at Mohenjo-daro which depicts the animal carried on by a group of worshippers.

Draped and garlanded the bull stands in sombre and solemn grandeur on the seals of Mohenjo-daro. The worship of the bull in some form or other was current amongst many of the races of the ancient world. A not unusual attributive of the Egyptian king was "Mighty bull." Often the king was represented as a bull destroying enemies and knocking down fortress walls of his adversaries. The bulls were in Egypt totems or protectors of certain classes. They were the depositories of parts of the royal power. Gradually as the king-worship became more and more prevalent, the monarch absorbed into himself the attributes of the ancient totems. Bull-worship is closely allied to phallic and sun-worship. The Egyptian 'ka' which is like a phallus in shape signifies the following things : the primordial and universal substance, the generative force, the male organ of generation, thought and intellect and the most ancient totem, the bull. The feminine 'ka-t' signifies the female sex organ and the plural 'kan' implies foodstuffs. In the background of these philological intricacies the interpretation that stands clear is that the ancient people thought the sun as the male principle and the earth as the female principle ; their combination resulted in foodstuffs.

When in ancient Sumer the horses were regarded as the asses of the mountains, the Chariot of the Sun-god was drawn by bulls. Though in Mesopotamia the bull played a less prominent part than in Egypt, he did not occupy a very low place. Gods are represented as riding on bulls and on the vulture, still he is a sacrificial victim. In ancient religion the object of sacrifice was also an object of worship and not unoften a totem too. The theory of transubstantiation is an echo of the sacrifice of totem.

Both the Sumerians and the Vedic Aryans called the supreme deity by the name of the "Bull of heaven" and according to certain traditions, the bull is not only the guardian deity of domestic felicity but is also a storm demon with power for good and evil. In later Hindu mythology he is the *vahana* of Siva and is worshipped in the form of '*Nandikesvara*.' In the journey to the next world, he forms

the chief vehicle and fortunate is the man whose descendants can perform '*Vrisotsarga*' or the ritual of the liberation of the bull after his death,—for he has an easy journey heavenward.

In prehistoric Egypt, the elephant as totem was well-known and a city was named "the city of elephant." As '*Airavata*,' he is the vehicle of Indra and in the semi-human form of Ganesa, he is the God of Success. Though a herbivorous animal, the Kandhs who regard him as the emblem of the mother-goddess, sacrifice human victims before him. In Crocodilopolis of ancient Egypt, the crocodile was worshipped as the manifestation of Sebek Ra. Even to-day the Sonjharas of C. P., India, capture a crocodile alive and after worshipping it, restore it to water. It is the vehicle of the river goddess and is protected in sacred tanks. The buffalo is the vehicle of Yama or the god of death and the pious Hindu refuses to use him for carting or ploughing. Of visage dark, he is the demon of water. As '*Bhainsasura*' he has great power for evil and is to be propitiated. Fishes are respected as depositories of dead spirits and are preserved and fed in sacred tanks. It is highly irreligious to harm these preserved fishes. The half-human and half-animal '*Hanuman*' or black-faced monkey, is the porter *par excellence* of temples, villages, forts, towns, etc. The tiger is not only the vehicle of the mother goddess, but as '*Vaghai Devi*' is the mother goddess herself and to the Bhils he is the '*Vaghaika Kunwar*.' The rhinoceros is an agricultural deity and even to-day the Lhota Nagas deposit a piece of his bone under a cornfield to make the harvest grow. The dog is worshipped by the Bhils who make a flour image of it and eat it after the worship. The pig in wild condition is regarded as a form of the mother goddess and the Rajputs eat its flesh in sacred communion.

The Vedic seers know no serpent god and do not bend their head in adoration to any, but the seers of the Atharva Veda are only too willing to propitiate them. The king of the serpent-worshippers, Takha, allied himself with Alexander. Janamejaya's *Sarpa-yajna* in the *Mahabharata* and the *Kaliya Damana* of Krishna commemorate clashes between the serpent worshippers and the Vedic Aryans. Semi-human Nagas are well-known motifs of Indian art. The serpent, the symbol of subtlety, was also worshipped in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. Ningishzida is emblemized as a serpent. He is a bearded god whose body consists of a serpent's coil. Hence the representation of Nagas at Mohenjo-daro on a faience plaque is nothing to wonder about.

In tracing the evolution of religion, we at first find the totem standing isolated in its natural form. But gradually as the human mind progresses, the human stamp changes its form. Human arms and limbs grow out of it. In the last stage of evolution we often find the totem breathing out its history, from a pair of hoofs or horns or a tail merely.

Thus in later evolution, the bull is represented by his horns only which slowly becomes the symbol of divinity and superhuman powers. A man with horns is the evolution of a horned totem (*cf.* the horned man on a seal at Mohenjo-daro).

An event that is very common in the ancient world is the conquest of a patron totem by another of a different tribe. The totem of the victorious clan or the tribe or the race rises on a higher pedestal and the totem of the conquered is placed in a humiliating condition. Often the '*Vahanas*' are nothing but the totems of vanquished tribes.

As in the history of political evolution, families grew into clans, clans into tribes and tribes into nations, so also several totems were harmonised into an entity which was but a composite form of several totems. The totems were arranged in order of pre-eminence of the tribes of which they were the guardian deities.

Only a decade ago the presence of the Indus valley civilisation was not known to anybody, but to-day with the help of the vast amount of remains that have been dug out, the history of the most ancient peoples of India can be written in greater details than many of the peoples of the mediæval eras. The resurrection of the fourth or third millennia B. C. has upset the whole perspective of Indian history.

The artistic and archaeological bequests of the Indus valley have helped us not a little in our attempt to obtain a clear and general picture of the animal world of the country in the most remote period of Indian history. Mohenjo-daro is replete not only with representations of animals, real and mythical, living and extinct, but is also rich in the skeletal remains of animals, domesticated and wild, worshipped or used otherwise.

Bones of beasts that died long, long ago, have been dug out with great care and have been scrutinised thoroughly by experts. From the examination of the dead remains, we are in a position to infer that the ancient people of Mohenjo-daro had domesticated the Indian humped bull or Zebu (*Bos Indicus*), the buffalo (*Bos bubalus*), the elephant (*Elephas maximus*), the camel (*Camelus dromedarius*),

the horse (*Equus caballus*), the dog (*Canis familiaris*), pig (*Sus cristatus*), fowl (*Gallus*) and the sheep.

A few bones of stags have also been found but from the paucity of their remains and of representation in terracotta or seals, one is led to question if these animals were killed in chase and brought to the city or used for medicinal purposes. Four types of deer have been found, viz., the Kashmir stag, Sambhar, the spotted deer and the hog deer.

Of the wild animals of which remains have been unearthed the shrew and the house-frequenting mongoose deserve special mention. The men of Mohenjo-daro possessed skill and had evolved methods by which they could capture alive such powerful beasts as tigers, rhinoceroses and elephants.

From a study of the character of the fauna of the country it is safe to infer that the animals like lions and antelopes, denizens of rocky sandy plains, were conspicuous by absence but animals like rhinoceroses, tigers and elephants which live either in marshy lands or amongst tall grasses in watery districts were found in plenty (cf. Sumer). Since the time when the old civilisation flourished, the country has seen enormous climatic changes with the consequent changes in the character of the flora and the fauna. Probably there were vast forests around the country, causing much rainfall. But with time, these have vanished away for ever.

Calcutta

CLASSICAL REVIVAL IN OUR MUSIC AND PRINCIPLES OF COMPOSITION

By DHURJATIPRASAD MUKHERJI, M.A.

IT is a real pleasure to report that the taste for classical music is spreading among our people. As yet, the circle is select, but it is there, and it is growing. Prophesying is a risky venture, but one could detect symptoms of increasing interest in high-class music. Nearly twice a week the Indian State Broadcasting Company manages to insinuate 'classical items' into its programme. The Gramophone Companies are bringing out records in which virtuosity plays no insignificant part. These records are selling better than was expected. Young artists are singing *Kheyal*, young men and women are eager for *ustads*; and in the idea that such are not available in Bengal, they knock at the gates of the Marris College of *Hindusthani* Music at Lucknow. The *Hindusthani* style, or the Mahomedan style, the name should not count, is just now very popular. To one interested in the study of social movements, these facts are important; to the nationalist who values his country's culture, these are happy auguries, and to the critical mind they are as starting points for the process of evaluation. In any case, the movement is interesting and deserves scrutiny, and after scrutiny, encouragement. The scrutiny must be close and encouragement generous. In the criticism of music, other non-musical considerations crop up. They should be watched with reference to the growth of music. The encouragement too must not be incautious. Caution is essential, because there are false dawns and literary crows are not infallible, particularly in Bengal, where literature is rampant and music couchant. Yet generosity is necessary, because if social sympathy cannot create culture by itself, it helps conduction or diffusion of its major traits.

The culture-traits must be desirable ones. Desirability cannot be defined. *Dhrupad* and *Kheyal* are admittedly two very admirable types. About *Thumri*, personally, I have no doubts, though purists have some. Then again, *Dhrupad* and *Kheyal* must themselves be of good style. For practical purposes goodness of style may be identified with the manner of singing by members of certain well-known musical families, chiefly Mahomedans, in the North, at least. Here, again, the need for caution comes in. First of all, it is necessary to know

which *gharwana* or style is *pucca* and which is not, and then is it possible to help to spread the right one by learning or otherwise popularising. At the same time it is equally imperative to use the lessons derived from a study of styles in such a way as to prove that the history of *Hindusthani* music has not stopped with these families. The two principles suggested here are not irreconcilable, particularly to a young educated Bengali, who is an eager student, critically disposed, and temperamentally unable to imitate slavishly. A Five Years' Plan of rigorous training and the rest devoted to the development of individuality and expression, with refresher courses in between, form a practical programme for a career in music for a Bengali youth of average musical ability. A knowledge of the principles of music as a science acquired by a strictly scientific training will be of great use to him to select a good style, to steer clear of extra-musical considerations and conflicting opinions about styles, to learn easily and yet keep his individuality. In other words, the young Bengali singer when he is equipped with knowledge will not find it very difficult to separate the wheat from the chaff and consume the former to be a healthy artist instead of the effeminate one that he is going to be without knowledge. As yet, he has not chosen wisely, for his knowledge is not based on sound pedagogics. Here, as elsewhere, there is a criminal waste of energy through misplaced loyalties.

There are rivals to the classical revival. They masquerade under false pretences. One rival is the modern Bengali composition which seeks to portray a poetic feeling of a certain worth in new musical terms or combinations of air. Its pretences are linguistic and musical. Its arguments can be summarised thus: (1) we are Bengalis, therefore we can understand a Bengali poem better than one in *Brijbhasha* or *Urdu*; (2) the meaning of a verbal composition helps and enriches our enjoyment; (3) the melody must be corresponding to, and therefore illustrative of, the poetic feeling; (4) *Ragas* are not the monopoly of old composers, and there is always room for creation, temperament or personality in expression; (5) but we are accustomed to the traditional forms of airs and melodies, hence the scaffolding should be classical, but the decorations original. Each of the above propositions is questionable and their totality is specious. A bare mention of the fallacies would probably suffice here. (1) All of us may understand a sentence in Bengali, but all of us do not understand a poem even when it is written in the vernacular. The appreciation of a poem is always difficult as it is vaguer than mere understanding and probably more comprehensive as well. For what is usually called understanding, a paraphrase by

breaking up and reassembling the lines is necessary. While a poem is being set to music, paraphrasing or explanation of the thought structure is out of the question. (2) The understanding of a sentence in any language is not of the same nature as the understanding or appreciation of a musical phrase. In the former, the meaning-sequence is essential ; in the latter, it is not. As the verbal part of a composition is in the poetic form, the importance of reference or meaning diminishes inasmuch as, in poetry, the mood may choose to depend more on assonance or texture than on logic. The linguistic (semantic) claim becomes weaker still if we recognise the other claim that the classical tradition is strong in Bengal ; for, then, we would be well used to the non-musical properties of words from *Brij-bhasha* or *Urdu* by now. It is a truism that the listener becomes forgetful of the delicate shades of meaning in time-worn words. The comparative neglect of meaning keeps our enjoyment of the musical properties of words, *i.e.*, their syllabic resemblances and vowel concordance undivided and unsullied. (3) The facts of the case support my contention. The meaning of each sentence of a poem need not always help our appreciation of the music to which it is set. My experience is that the Bengali audience of classical music, select as it is everywhere, is more appreciative of classical music here than one of Lucknow, in spite of the former's lack of opportunities. It is corroborated by first-rate *ustads* outside Bengal. I explain this experience, not *mystically* in terms of a musical soul that the Bengali is supposed to possess, but *empirically*, in terms of a common experience that the Bengali does not usually understand the meaning of such songs and can more truly appreciate the musical part of it. In his case the words do not hinder the appreciation, of music, to that extent as in the case of the Lucknowite they do. The verbal meaning is a dangerous thing to play with. Unless words and notes grow together the composer should be careful and the audience wary. If my first propositions are true, *i. e.*, if both the nature of poetry and the understanding of poetry are different from the nature of music and the nature of its appreciation, then the problem of setting poems to music or of finding words to a new musical form becomes rather difficult. So far as one can see, the only solution is to act on the musical suggestion of a poem as offered by its assonance and texture of words and phrases, *i.e.*, of the imaginatively associated series of verbal symbols, vowels and consonants held by the melody. Beyond this, anything less than this words as such cannot serve. Thus the word *পূর্বা* in a poem need not always suggest *Purvi*, and any variation of *Purvi* need not always call forth a description of

emotional abandon or *उदात्त*. In musical composition however, this type of associative weaving wears thin very soon. Even the reputed pictorial descriptions of *Ragas* and *Raginis*, or of descriptive *slokas* for the matter of that, are of little help either to the singer or to the listener. It is only very rarely that they are useful. A poem that paraphrases the picture or the *sloka* is not worth writing or being set to music. The question of setting *tal* to the music is easier of solution because the poem has usually an indicative rhythm. But the problem becomes less difficult in those rare cases where words come clothed in melodies. The majority of the songs of Tagore and A. P. Sen, a distinguished minority among those of Kazi Nazrul, and an insignificant few of new composers are of this type. Here, the clear duty of the singer is to follow implicitly the set composition. Nothing short of a combination of musical and poetic genius and an inspired ability to recapture the mood of the song can confer on the singer the privilege of interpreting the song at his will. In fact, the whole point about such compositions is the unity of words and music. To break it up is to come between the bark and the tree. (4) Therefore, the scope for originality is really limited. The words indicate the melody, the poetic form points out the rhythm, the poetic mood suggests the mode of expression; and very little is left to the executant, unless, of course, he is gifted with a personality or temperament that soars above limitations. This exception has always to be made. If one believes in personality one introduces an indeterminate quantity in the calculation. Personality can be built by deliberate effort, but there again the danger of a mannerism being confused with style looms ahead. A high degree of technical polish can however be trusted to act as a substitute for temperament. In other words, failing unusual gifts, technical efficiency is a sure support and it assures a certain level of execution which is probably the most that can be expected of the largest number. In case we fight shy of postulating personality and build on the impersonal, the compulsion of technique alone limits creativeness. My own idea is that personality comes in again, in this case by the back door. To give a parallel instance: Cubism presupposes a process of abstraction from the painter's personal sensibility. It seeks to eliminate the personal equation. But the latter is never eliminated. Herbert Read writes: "Actually, nothing could be more distinct than the personality, the individuality of the work of the Cubist painters I have mentioned. No one would ever confuse a picture by Braque with a work by Leger." The impersonalist however does one good service. He tears off the '*persona of things*' and gives a chance to the personality

of the artist to shine forth ; by insisting on clear vision and elemental forms he rejects "adventitious aids to expressiveness." and in laying stress on technique he lays down certain canons of formulation which offer something to go upon. The personalist, i.e., one who believes in individuality, does one harm at least, he eschews all standards of criticism, introduces disorder on the off chance of creating occasions for a first-rate piece of work, and jumbles up issues in enthusiasm. For critical purposes, the difference between the two schools is in degrees of generosity with which a work is praised. The personalist is lavish, the impersonalist is cautious. If criticism is a discipline, the impersonalist has an advantage over the personalist. If a work of art is worth the sacrifice of a good average, the personalist scores over the impersonalist. In any case, temperament will out, though passing through the discipline of abstraction and technique it comes out purer. From the point of view of creation, as distinguished from criticism, the emphasis is slightly shifted. But very slightly. The golden rule, in my opinion, is to distrust, at the beginning, individuality, creativeness, expression and such other romantic qualities. They are like fruits, full of vitamins when fresh, but apt to rot very early. As such, the composers should be well-trained in music and poetry. Unfortunately, they are not so now in Bengal. Most of the modern Bengali compositions are unhappy, either as poetry or as music.

(5) Usually, the basic elements of modern compositions are traditional, i.e., classic. When they are not, they are at least meant to be. This is desirable. But what about the decorations ? They are hardly original. As modern compositions go the decorations are borrowed from those of *Thumri*, *Ghazl*, *Baul*, and *Bhatial* types of music. The blending may be claimed to be original. But blendings too are permissible in *Hindusthani* music. In fact, new styles have emerged as a result of the mixture of different types. New melodies have sprung as a result of the mixture of different melodies. But hardly has there been a single instance of a happy melody or type coming out of a mixture of incompatibles or opposites. It will be argued that in the survival of a culture-trait, social competition and selection plays a large part. That is, nothing succeeds like success, and history alone is the sole judge of compatibility. This argument, again, is partly true. The element of plausibility here is in the fact that habit counts a good deal in determining the pleasantness of what sounds at the first hearing as an assemblage of incompatible notes or phrases or styles. Repetition of discordant notes has been experimentally proved to take away the discord after a certain interval. But why do people allow the repetition

of one set of notes and discard another ? How is it that *Mianki Malhar*, a blend of *Malhar* and *Kanada* is still so pleasant and popular, and *Haridasi Malhar*, one of *Malhar* and a variety of *Sarang*, sounds strange and is fast disappearing. (The prestige of names, if *Mian* means *Tansen* and *Haridas* refers to *Haridas Swami* at all, cannot go very far in this case, for there are Hindus still in India, who know that *Haridas Swami* is the name of a *Sadhu* who was the *Guru* of *Tansen*, and it would be their look-out to perpetuate the memory of a Saint and indirectly teach a lesson to a renegade from Hinduism by allowing *Mianki Malhar* to disappear by desuetude.) Therefore, incompatibility must be more than a mere novelty which is apt to wear off in course of time. It is an offence against certain principles of composition. They have never been expressly formulated, but none the less they exist. Somebody should formulate the principles of compatibility. Better people have not yet done it, hence I take this work upon myself. Needless to say there is no finality in such statements. A discussion might elicit more points and make them finer. (I am referring to melodies only; the intrusion of words raises problems which are new but not novel.)

(i) It is better to avoid mixture of *Dhrupad* with *Thumri*, *Ghazl*, *Tappa*, for the dignity of the former is jeopardised thereby. The formal rigour of *Dhrupad* is bent by the flourishes of the latter. The spirit of bald, bleak, and lonely grandeur is antagonistic to the luxuriant entanglements of *Thumri*, *Ghazl* and *Tappa*. The *Dhrupadiya* withdraws unto himself and invites his audience into his Palace of Art. The *Thumri*-singer comes out in the open and seeks points of contact with his audience, moves among them as the Greek gods used to do when they were bored at Olympus. The serenity and the high serious tone of *Dhrupad* make for unity while the grace and dynamic qualities of *Thumri* and *Ghazl* make for variety. Whatever the philosophers might say, it is difficult to syncretise unity and diversity. It is not impossible, but it is highly improbable. But *Dhrupad* and slow *Kheyal*, fast *Kheyal* and *Tappa*, these two and *Thumri*, *Thumri* and *Ghazl* might easily go together. All this with reference to styles. So far as *Dhrupad* and folk styles like *Baul*, *Bhatial* and others are concerned, my idea is that they are not incompatibles complete, and for the following reasons: (a) in both there is an absence of unnecessary decorations and flourishes; (b) the ancient *Dhrupad* compositions were mainly religious, so are the folk-songs. The love-songs have more or less the same theme treated in more or less the same way; (c) there is a similar union of notes and words between the best

specimens of each; (d) both require a calm approach and unhurried development; (e) both are economical in the use of words and notes. I am not insisting on another historical fact that *Dhrupad* (*Hori*, too, which is called *Dhamar* in Bengal) itself owed its revival to the court-patronage of the folk-music of Gwalior. Yet the differences are noteworthy, particularly between folk-songs and *Dhrupad* sung and understood as it is to-day. *Dhrupad* depends on linear continuity, its dignity depending on the serenity and rigour of its lines. This continuity is responsible for an abstract and formal unity. The appeal of the folk-songs is to the emotions from which colour is borrowed. The singer of a folk-song abandons himself to the mood of the piece, though he very rarely departs from conventional procedure. The unity of folk-music is one of colour, emotion and abandonment which is reached by a process of *empathy* with the mood described so economically in the song. All that I suggest is that differences between *Dhrupad* and folk-styles in general are less wide than those between *Dhrupad* on the one hand, and say, fast *Kheyal*, *Thumri*, *Ghazl*, *Tappa*, on the other.

(ii) From the point of view of the song, the blending of *Raginis* presents a difficult problem for composers. The easiest thing to do is to note the sequence of melodies as in a *Ragamala*. A *Ragamala* or a garland of melodies, as sung traditionally by a virtuoso, pays due regard to the smoothness of the transition from one *Ragini* to another but within the same genus or *Raga*. The catches which affect this transition are to be carefully noted. When contiguous notes are dominant a slight shifting of the emphasis smooths the passage from one *Ragini* to another. Thus *Kedar*, *Hambir*, *Kamod*, *Chhayanat* and *Shyam* may come within one category, and the whole group may either pass on to the *Malhar* or to the *Bihag* group. I use the word 'may' advisedly, because opinions differ about the classification of *Ragas*, *Melas*, or *Thatas*. Much depends on the basis of classification, and more than one basis is possible. I for one would prefer Pandit Bhatkhandeji's classification for two reasons—first, it avoids the confusion of Shastric opinions without renouncing their good points, secondly, it is based on *Gayaki*, i.e., styles as they are sung by *Ustads* in Northern India to-day. In any case, the principle of classifying *Raginis* is a good index to the rules of composition. But the difficulty of composers is not removed at once. After all, a melody is associated with a particular mood, and the composer's mood need not be the same. It may very easily be so complex as to elude a single air. It is just possible

that no one *Ragini* or two or three would fit in with the new complexity. In a case like this, the claim for originality demands a hearing. No law can be indicated here, but one general direction may be offered. The poem must have a unity of idea or suggestiveness in spite of its complexity or variations. *It is the counterpart of this unity that seeks expression in music.* The principle of selection of the melodies for this purpose has been indicated in an earlier part of this essay. But selection here is probably less important than the achievement of a musical unity. In other words, the totality of the musical effect must be indisputable. The melodies must not merely succeed one another or get confused among themselves. Music must not simply translate the varying ideas in the couplets. There should be a correspondence between verbal unity and the musical wholeness. I repeat the remark, *most of our modern compositions are unhappy.* They are illustrative, where illustration is impossible. They commit the same mistake as is committed by the painter who seeks to blindly imitate life and nature. Translation is not the job of a creative artist. Most of our modern composers mistake translation for creation.

These are some of the principles of blending in composition. They are not observed. Therefore caution is justified. Of course, revival can never be a repetition. It is sure to strike a new path. But the path may as well be a blind alley. Judging critically, modern compositions have entered into one such. But the other symptom, *viz.*, the eagerness of the modern youth to be trained properly is really a happy augury. Genius and originality are very rare indeed. Technical efficiency is more commonly attained. It is only after this attainment that ease, grace and other qualities of artistry appear. Till then art had better be equated to artizanship. Really, most of us are common, very common indeed.

(iii) The third principle of composition is based on the significance of *badi* and *sambadi* notes as indicative of the time at which the different melodies are to be sung. For the sake of convenience the more popular melodies can be classified thus; as has been done by Pandit Bhatkhande.

(1) Those taking रे, ग, and धा शुद्ध or तीव्र 7 P.M. to 12 P.M.—*Purba*, 7 A.M. to 12 A.M. *Uttara*.

(2) Those taking रे कोमल and ग and नि शुद्ध or तीव्र 4 P.M. to 7 P.M. (*Purba Ragas*) and 4 A.M. 7 A.M. *Uttara Ragas*.

(3) Those taking गा and नि कोमल, 12 to 4 midnight or midday.

It is well known that *Purba Ragas*, or melodies taking the upper half of the tetrachord, are sung in the evening and *Uttara Ragas* in the

morning. At the All-India Music Conference the experts agreed that there was a correspondence between *Bilawal* and *Kalyan*, *Jaunpuri* or *Deshi* and *Kanada*, *Adana* and *Sarang*, *Kalingra* and *Gauri*. This conclusion was arrived at without a knowledge of the theory of *Sandhi Prakasa*. Therefore the golden rule of composition is *not to disturb* the association of particular airs with their respective times. This does not mean either that *Bhairavi* cannot be sung and enjoyed at all times or that in dramas which are performed at night *Bhairavi* should be excluded. What is meant is that blendings should not depart from the principles which underly temporal differences. It is always wise not to break association-patterns too violently. Incidentally, it is clear that *Purba Ragas* and their counterparts in the *Uttara Ragas* can be blended as has been done, say in 'चान परीरी' a *Khyal* in *Iman-Bilawal*.

The above principles are best illustrated by examples. Let us take the *Kambhaj* group. It includes, according to Pandit Bhatkhande :

- (1) खाम्बाज—drops रे in the आरोह ; the catch is सा नि धा, मा पा धा मा गा
- (2) किंकिट—The catch is धा सा रे मा गा पा, सा गा रे सा, नि, धा पा
- (3) तिल drops रे, धा in the आरोह and अवरोह ; the catch is नि पा, गा मा गा सा
- (4) रागिचरौ drops रे पा in the आरोह and takes रे in the अवरोह ; the catch is रे सा नि, धा सा, मागा साधा निधा मा गा रे सा ;
- (5) खाम्बावती takes रे in आरोह and drops गा नि ; the catch is रेमा पा धा, पाधासा, निधापा, धामागा, मासा
- (6) दुर्गा खाम्बाज drops रे पा both in आरोह and अवरोह, the catch is गा सा नि, धा नि, सा, सा गा साधा निधा, मा गा सा ;
- (7) गारा is सम्पूर्ण, the catch रे ख रे सा, धा नि, पा, धा नि सा गामारे खरे सा ;¹

These seven *Ragas* have one common feature. Their *badi* is गा But there are four other *Ragas* belonging to the same *That*, *Desh*, *Surat*, *Tilak-kamod* and *Jaya Jayanti*. The last four take रे as *badi* With ease, the first sub-group goes with the second sub-group. *Jaya-Jayanti* takes both गान्धार and smooths the transition from *Kambhaj* to *Kafi That* (गा—नि) कीमल. It is known as परमेल-प्रवेशक राग। Every composer must look out for this principle of introduction into another series of *Ragas* or *Raginis*.

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¹ From the Paper by Pandit V. N. Bhatkande read in the Fourth All-India Music Conference, Lucknow, and incorporated in the Second Volume of the Report of Proceedings. I am fully conscious of the fact that the *Gayaki* is different in some of these *Raginis* in Bengal, particularly in (4), (5), and (6). *Abhinabaragamanjari* is my authority.

POST-WAR GERMANY : A STUDY FROM WITHIN

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TO understand the development in Germany which has culminated in the ascendancy of Hitler, one must free himself from certain subversive influences of war-time propaganda and the news editorials. This is all the more indispensable with regard to the history before and during the war and the so-called peace treaty. One must remember certain historical facts, shifted from the humdrum of the daily press, and with Faust try to descend unto the "mothers."

With the dying echo of the last gun on the 11th November, 1918, closes a period—a significant period indeed—of the western history. Begun in 1789 in Paris, under the auspices of "Rights of Man," it developed to maturity through the French Revolution and was subsequently stabilised in the economic field and christened as Manchester Liberalism. It spread all over the western hemisphere and ushered in the age of imperialism or democracy. In spite of the different names, all these things are essentially one and the same, the logical outcome of the philosophic concept that inspired the French Revolution.

A reaction was, however, brewing meanwhile starting especially since 1919. Community sense, as opposed to individualism and "laissez-faire" principle, was silently dawning. At first, only philosophically and in Germany especially, could it be recognised; not so much in clear-cut formulation as in a very definite mental orientation. It is this new orientation which conditioned the growth of the nation manifesting itself through the tremendous happenings subsequent to the year 1918. This psychological transvaluation, more or less local to start with, soon spread over to other lands as well, to Italy above all. Fortunately, Italy, unlike the defeated Germany, freed from all external control over her internal and foreign policies, was in a position to work out the practical realisation.

Why did this movement start particularly in Germany ? Because this country is geographically the centre of Europe and since the early Middle Ages, it has also been the spiritual crossings of the western and the eastern worlds. The country, whose face has been simultaneously directed towards the east and the west, was thus decreed

by Providence to work out the spiritual synthesis of the new movement. This fact must always be kept in mind if the history of Germany is to be properly understood ; no matter whether one is occupied with the European policy in the Middle Ages, or the history of the Crusades, or that of Reformation and religious wars, or the advent of growth of rational philosophy, etc.

The world war, which directly or indirectly affected the whole inhabited world, came to an end essentially through the so-called peace treaty of Versailles. The outcome of this dictation, called "treaty" only by the allies, manifested itself firstly in the well-known general economic crisis throughout the world and it still continues ; secondly in a general political unrest and nervousness aggravating still further the already acute economic crisis. But these consequences were most distinctly manifest in Germany because against this country the various paragraphs of Versailles treaty were essentially directed. We have, therefore, to distinguish between :

(a) The economic consequences and (b) the inner philosophical and political development although a definite border-line between these two cannot be drawn.

To discuss here the details of the Versailles Treaty and the subsequent development of the reparation question, beginning with the conferences in Spa and London, leading over the Dawes' and Young Plan agreements to its ultimate cancellation in Lausanne, would unduly lengthen this paper and may be discussed some other time. The vicious circle, which was inaugurated in Versailles through the unilateral and unreciprocated flow of gold and goods to the debtor countries is sufficiently known. It is evident, that in Germany, results of the world crisis were felt first and that here, besides the physical, also the spiritual reaction and resistance manifested itself.

Versailles is unique in the history of the world. It is the first peace treaty in modern times ; which closed up with unilateral dictation. On the basis and security of President Wilson's 14 points which distinctly promised a peace on ethical basis, Germany had relinquished the strong position still held by her exhausted soldiers ; she had already surrendered the arms. To the dictation of Versailles, therefore, she had to yield. Disarmed through too much confidence on the erstwhile enemy's word, she was not in a position to put up any resistance against the various clauses of the treaty which, to every thinking man,

were from the very start impossible. The main conditions of the treaty demanded.

1. Disbanding of the whole standing army.
2. Surrender of the whole navy and mercantile fleet to the allies.
3. Surrender of the most important industrial parts of Germany especially the Saar Valley, the more important part of Upper Silesia, not to speak of Alsace-Lorraine, north Schleswig, Danzig, etc.
4. Handing over of all her colonies to the allies, the value of which was estimated in those days at about 10,000 crores of gold Marks.
5. And last but not the least, she had to agree to pay, besides an enormous amount of other duties, certain sums, which later on became known as reparations.

In the Wilson-Lansing report it was demanded that Germany should agree to "repair" all damages inflicted on the civil population of the invaded countries. To this the imperial German government agreed prior to the Armistice. The estimated value was about 4,000 crores. In Versailles, however, Germany was called upon to pay the total cost of the war, including even the pensions to war-widows, war veterans, etc. The total amount of this sum was not yet known and could hardly be estimated at the time. Even a very crude estimate went up to figures, to pay which, as Keynes, the famous British economist, pointed out, the total amount of world gold then existing was not sufficient. Partly in realisation of this fact, it was decided, contrary to the basic principle of world economics, that a part of the reparations should be paid in the form of finished goods.

Germany, therefore, deprived completely of her colonies and the mercantile fleet, and partly of her industries and mines, all her private financial investments in foreign countries, had to agree to the payment of sums, the measure of which was unknown even in the rich years before the war. As non-existing goods can only be produced by work, it was evident that Germany was to be enslaved for the next 3 generations. Thus by the annihilation of one of the belligerents was ended the 2,000-year old struggle beginning with the famous battle of Julian-Apostata on the plains of Zabern.

The tremendous injustice of the dictation became evident even in those dark days of war-psychosis. To get a moral justification for such an award, unheard of in the history of man kind, the ill-famed paragraph 241 of the Versailles Treaty was framed, thereby declaring Germany to be solely responsible for the war. This paragraph, the key to the whole Versailles Treaty, though still extant has, however,

been rejected by the historians of practically all countries. It is significant that in the face of such untruths, signature to this treaty could be obtained from the Germans, for it plainly shows the moral confusion then prevailing in the young German Republic. The men who parted with their signatures were S., one of the leaders of the German Socialist Party and E., one of the leaders of the Centre Party.

As trustee for the future of this unique treaty, the League of Nations was founded, primarily based on the conditions drawn up in Versailles. The original idea of Wilson, which came out of high ethical principles, was developed and manipulated by Clemenceau, resulting in the birth of the League of Nations. It is evident that the League based on untruths cannot face the future, and the withdrawal of Japan, which was announced during the last weeks, shows to the world the incipient breakdown of the League, just as the Hoover year showed the early scrapping of the Versailles treaty.

We shall shortly discuss the development of the reparations from Versailles up to date, reviewing thereby simultaneously the influence upon world's trade and world's general economic conditions. As I said before, the exact amount, which was to be paid by Germany, was not known during the days of Versailles. To estimate the exact figures, a commission was appointed, later on known as the Repko, *i.e.*, Reparation Commission. In the ultimatum of London on the 5th May, 1921, a total amount of 13,200 crores gold Marks was fixed with an additional 560 crores for Belgium alone. The plan of payment put down annuities of 200 crores against payment and interest, plus 26 % to be levied on the total of German exports which alone, for instance, if carried through, would have amounted to 5,000 crores annually during the years 1929-30 in addition to the afore-mentioned 200 crores. Although the leader of German economists, Stinnes, as well as the Chairman of the German Trades Union definitely stated before the allied delegates in Spa that payments of this kind were absolutely impossible, the political parties of the German delegation agreed to the ultimatum and put their signature on it. Regarding this treaty even the British press of the date wrote as follows:

Encyclopedia Britannica states: The inclusion of war-pensions, etc., into the obligations for reparations is in direct contradiction to the preliminary agreement of the 5th November, 1918 (Armistice).

Lord Buckmaster, former Lord Chancellor in "National Liberal Club" (30-12-1922).—If one induces a nation to surrender its armaments under certain conditions, which were previously agreed upon, and if

later on different conditions are enforced upon this nation after it has been rendered defenceless, the procedure is to be considered as utterly dishonest and can never be blotted out.

Manchester Guardian (15-5-1923) "Artifex".—"I don't understand much about politics ; but I do know what national honour means and what a word, once given, stands for. And there it seems to me that the conditions of the peace treaty violate justice in a most definite way and represent to our nation, nay, to every single Briton, a stain which never more can be removed."

In 1922 the impractical nature of this plan became evident. Germany asked for a moratorium and she received it, although the delivery of goods had to be continued. Before final discussions took place as regards the amount of actual annuities, the French delegates in the Repko found certain irregularities in the shipment of woods and although the same amounted only to a few hundred telegraph posters, it was sufficient justification for the French to occupy with military forces the whole of the Ruhr valley. This automatically stopped payments of any kind. The passive resistance of the German population in the Ruhr taxed the capacity of the Government to the utmost, for the government had not only to pay for the upkeep of the occupation army but also had to care and provide for the many hundred-thousands of fugitives and the transferred population. The government had also to pay to the industrial firms in the occupied area at least the wages and the salaries of employees who could not work during the occupation period. This drain upon the German finance was so terrific that it gave the final impetus to what is known to the world as inflation of the German Mark. However, it was the Ruhr occupation which prepared the whole population for a national regeneration about which we shall presently discuss.

However, the French themselves were practically ready to break up the Ruhr adventure as they realised that nothing would ever come out of it. But prior to this the German Government yielded to the French demands and stopped the passive resistance movement, thus contributing towards the unsatisfactory settlement under the Dawes' scheme. An expert Committee under the chairmanship of General Dawes was invited by the Reparation Committee on the 3rd November, 1922. This Committee had to settle the final arrangements about Germany's payments. The so-called Dawes' Plan was accepted in the second London conference in August, 1924, and came into force on the 1st September of the same year. The Dawes' Plan provided annuities of 250 crores including payment and interests on the total

sum. Of this 96 crores were to be paid by the German railways and the German industry for the next current 40 years. The balance together with an amount based on a possible percentage of increase of German exports had to be paid for over an indefinite period by the German Government. Securities were put up by mortgages on the railways, industrial enterprises, customs and the big indirect duties like those levied on tobacco, alcohol, etc. Payments had to be made in German currency exclusively. A part of it was utilised to pay the German manufacturers' cost of goods exported on reparation account, the cost of the occupation army in the Rhine valley, while the rest had to be transferred *via* a special agency resident in Berlin. It was especially stated that the transfer of the balance sums should be effected annually without endangering the newly established German Mark, which if depreciated again would become a danger to the rest of the exporting countries.

It must be remembered that already before the payments according to Dawes' Plan started, Germany had paid tremendous sums to the Reparation Commission. The German account mentions:

Cash payments	...	200	crores
Loss on loans previously given during the war to the German allies, loss of concessions in Morocco, Russia and China amounting to	...	900	crores
Ships and railway materials delivered to the allies as per Versailles Treaty	...	650	crores
Goods delivered between 1919 and 1924, especially coal, tar products, chemicals, building materials, domestic animals	...	350	crores
		<hr/>	
		2,100	crores.

Of course there was no agreement between the Finance Department of the German government and the Reparation Commission as to the height of these figures. Lloyd George specially remarks in his book, "The Truth about Reparations and War Debts":

"The accounts were kept by the allies and the fundamental principles of fair accountants are outraged by the way credits and debits were checked."

If the German figures are accepted, and the national income of the lost provinces and the colonies is added thereto, the total loss

Germany sustained before the ratification of the Dawes' Plan amounted to about 4,000 crores of gold Marks.

After the Dawes' Plan Germany paid until the cancellation of the same 8,000 crores in cash and money.

For one thing the conditions of the Dawes' Plan put a ban for the first time on the possibilities of further recurrence of the brutal military punitive expeditions, known under the polite French term "Sanction" and which came to being prior to the Ruhr adventure by the occupation of Frankfort and Duisberg area.

The payments effected in the Dawes' Plan became possible mainly by placing international loans on foreign, especially American, markets, thereby commercialising a government debt and transferring the same into a public one. The interests which had to be paid on this international loan could be secured only by a tremendous increase of Germany's export into foreign markets. Although in these days the first clouds of the world crisis appeared on the horizon, heralded by the general fall in the prices of raw materials, the same decrease in raw material prices led for the time being to a fictitious boom on the general export markets. The industry was in a position to buy cheaply and to sell to good advantage. In spite of the very big payments, the German currency was yet standing very firm and in those days Germany had perhaps the only chance during the last 14 years. Unfortunately, this seemingly good situation led the parties then in power to spend money in a rather reckless way; this counteracted very quickly the beneficial results of the passing advantages of the market situation.

The swelling of German exports in the foreign markets was noted everywhere with keen disappointment and the first raising of custom tariffs began; thereby establishing the vicious circle in which we are at present caught.

For the economic attack upon the markets of the allies gave birth to the raising of custom barriers everywhere which in turn opposed more and more the German exports, thereby leading to the default of the payment of interest on foreign loans. Naturally both the parties were disappointed with Dawes' Plan and they proposed to alter the same. This decision was greatly facilitated by the fact that the Dawes' Plan was always officially known to be a preliminary settlement and the time seemed to have come for a final agreement. Through various conferences, starting in Paris, continued in Baden and finished in the Hague, a final agreement was at last reached which in diplomatic circles is called the "New Plan," and popularly

known as the Young Plan after the name of the chairman, Owen Young, the American financier.

During the Paris conference, a most interesting incident occurred which was so far unheard of in the history of international finance. Slowly first, then quicker, German currency began to depreciate. The gold reserve and the foreign exchanges in the German Reichs-Bank considerably decreased at the same time. The reason was that after some difficult controversy during the conference various French newspapers adversely reported on the German situation. These articles very quickly developed to actual financial attacks upon the German currency. Thus various French banks gave notice to their German creditors and to the Reichs-Bank as a result of which the foreign exchange and gold reserve from the German treasury began to flow out. The German currency was thus naturally exposed to considerable danger. However by raising the general bank discount rate and imposing of what became known as credit restrictions, the Reichs-Bank succeeded in meeting the situation. But it was practically too late and the whole financial world was startled. If such a comparatively weak action could so adversely affect the German currency how will it be possible to expect from the Germans heavy payments of the sort under contemplation: thus argued the world. However, this action of the French financiers was criticised even by their own countrymen as extremely short-sighted and stupid; and although the French financiers immediately stopped their manoeuvre, an era of general distrust on financial questions was therewith opened up and has remained with us ever since.

The Young Plan to begin with decreased the annuities considerably, the smaller part only of which was unprotected. Up to 1933-34 Germany was to pay an annual average of 180-90 crores, with a regular increment rising to 255 crores in 1955 followed by an annual gradually decreasing rate, so that by 1987-88 all payments should automatically cease. The total payment was thereby figured at 11,605 crores.

Against this, all occupation armies were to be withdrawn immediately; the control commissions were to be disbanded; all mortgages had to be returned and transferred into negative mortgages, that is to say, Germany was not allowed to take up mortgages from other countries. The so-called prosperity index of the Dawes' Plan which foresaw increasing payments with increasing prosperity was dropped. The whole agreement was based upon a steady development

of the export trade of Germany and the increasing prosperity of this country and provided a certain safeguard for its currency.

On the other hand, the drop of the gold clause was a decided disadvantage. The gold clause of the Dawes' Plan foresaw that with the rising value of gold, decreasing payments and especially the interests on the payments would result in a corresponding decrease in percentage. It should be noted that the value of gold was rising ever since the ratification of the Young Plan, but the benefit of this could not be enjoyed by the German debtor.

Military punitive expeditions of any sort should no further be taken into consideration except when it could be definitely proved that Germany had with a definite motive violated the terms of the treaty.

The Young Plan was ratified on the 31st of March, 1930, with retrospective effect from the 1st September, 1929. For the time being, its obligations were loyally met with. Whether this was right is to-day very much to be doubted, because the general crisis became more and more definite and led finally to the happenings which are still fresh in the memory of every one. The German export upset the foreign markets more and more, foreign currency became endangered, which led to repeated raising of protective tariffs in practically all countries of the world. It was the first time in modern history that even the traditionally free-trade country like Great Britain imposed protective tariffs. In the spring of 1931, Germany tried to overcome the increasing export difficulties by erecting a customs union between Germany and Austria. Other countries in the neighbourhood of Austria, especially Rumania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were ready to join this union. But France suspected in the union an undue increase of Germany's military power. For it could hardly believe that this plan dealt with customs questions only. France thought that this probably should become the first step towards Austro-German union. It, therefore, protested and to render it stronger gave notice to Austria with regard the heavy loans given to this country. The immediate result was the liquidation of the Austrian Credit Anstalt, the most popular bank in Austria, rendering therewith almost the whole Austrian people bankrupt. England tried to save the Austrian situation and offered a wholehearted financial co-operation in the form of a loan to meet the French demands. This heavy expenditure togetherwith the frozen British credits in Germany brought England in such a difficult situation that she went off the gold standard in September, 1941.

The beneficial results of the Hoover moratorium were thus completely counteracted. The breakdown of the world's trade which became evident from day to day influenced the export in such an adverse way that, based on certain clauses of the Young Plan, the German government declared itself unable to meet any further obligations provided in the mentioned settlements. The international bankers' conference in Basel examined the German financial situation and came to the conclusion that further payments were impossible if the German currency was to be kept on its present position.

On the strength of this verdict, payments were stopped. The conference in Lausanne was expected to clear the new and the most delicate situation. The allies were ready to acknowledge Germany's insolvency if the United States of America in turn would find a way to drop or diminish the war debts. However, the United States of America declared themselves unable to meet the demand unless the Disarmament Conference of Geneva came to definite results. It is to be remembered that the French opposition in Geneva, based on the policy of the combined French factories for armaments, endangered the conference in such a way that the final outcome can already now be regarded as a failure although the conference has not yet finished its meeting.

The temporary settlement in Lausanne which could have led to a full German success if the German delegation had maintained their original position, proved in the end to be a failure to the Germans. The new Chancellor von Papen for reasons, at present not known, agreed to certain French demands and was willing to pay at least the interests, a certain lump sum, on the commercialised loans as well as some parts of the protected part of the Young payments. Although all the governments, after the Lausanne conference, declared it to be a complete success, it was more or less a success for the French only. The ratification of it depends on the outcome of the disarmament conference. The so-called secret agreement between France and England states that the Lausanne agreement will be ratified only, if the question of the war debts be settled in a manner acceptable to the allies as satisfactory. Apart from the financial question, the Lausanne conference was a full diplomatic success for France inasmuch as her strong isolation which became evident more and more during the last years was successfully counterbalanced and once more Great Britain was found at her side. This defeat of the Anglo-Italian policy was acknowledged by Mussolini with the immediate dismissal of his foreign minister Grandi who was sent as ambassador to London. England

herself had her empire worries and had therefore to allow the French a free hand in Central Europe. In Vienna, France struck first. The weak government of Mr. Dollfuss had to acquiesce to the demand of France to accept a French credit on the definite understanding that for the next 20 years the question of Austro-German union will not be taken up again. The loan given to Austria in exchange of this agreement was not very big ; it was just enough to pay the interests on the previous loans. Still the impoverished country had to accept these bindings which placed her for the next years more or less on the level of a French colony.

A few words must be said about the reaction of the international high finance. Whereas most of the conditions laid down in the Versailles treaty and in the subsequent conferences were developed under the influence of war-psychosis, the French bankers alone realised that the day was to come when all the various political agreements would have to be revised and that possibly also the agreements regarding reparation payments would have to be cancelled, or at least in a great measure modified. At the same time, the bankers knew that an exporting country would never dare to cancel its *private* obligations. This was the reason why under the Dawes' Plan, a larger part of Germany's financial obligations was commercialised by placing international loans on American and French markets, which finally turned into a profitable business. The world-history became a gamble on the stock exchange.*

* [The author read a paper, at the invitation of the International Fellowship, Calcutta, with a view to remove misunderstandings created by current periodicals not in touch with Germany. While putting up in a vigorous defence for the present regime in Germany, the writer was naturally criticised by several learned members of the Fellowship, both from the political and economic standpoint. The paper being too long for a single insertion, we divided it into two, and published the political section in our issue for November, 1933, last. His economic thesis which introduced his political section is now published here.—Ed. C. R.]

VILLAGE SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BENGAL

(Its Evolution)

By NARESHCHANDRA ROY, M.A.

RURAL self-government in Bengal has barely a history of sixty years behind it. It was given a start in 1870 with the passing of the Village *Chowkidari* Act in that year. Local affairs of the villages had been at one time managed by bodies of village elders. But these institutions had crumbled to pieces when the Britishers took possession of this province. Village self-government in some crude form might have survived in other parts of India but they had died out altogether in Bengal. Again beyond the village bodies, there were in pre-British days no self-governing institutions entrusted with local functions over wider areas. Such duties had invariably been committed to the charge of the agents of the Central Government in the districts. Self-government in other words, if it ever existed at all in Bengal, was confined only to the villages. The higher administrative units had never any experience of such an institution.

For one hundred years after the acceptance of the *Dewani* (1765), the British Government showed no inclination towards organising self-governing institutions in the rural areas of the province. But since the early years of the 19th century the problem of village watch and ward had set the Government a-thinking. The village *Chowkidars* were in a most inefficient and disorganised state. If crime was to be checked and law and order maintained in the villages, it was essential that the *Chowkidari* system should be reorganised. There was a difference of opinion among the officers of the Government as to how this reform was to be brought about. Some of them were definitely of the conviction that the village police could be made efficient only by taking it entirely out of the local control and making it a subordinate branch of the regular constabulary. Taxes were to be raised from the villages for the maintenance of the *Chowkidars* but the local people would have no voice in the spending of this money. The *Chowkidars* in other words would cease to be the servants of the localities and would become, like the regular police, the agent of the

Provincial Government. Against this view-point was pitted the opinion of other officers who did not want to destroy altogether the local character of the village police. They saw no wisdom in making the *Chowkidars* an integral part of the regular police organisation. The non-official Bengali opinion as represented by the British Indian Association preferred local control to be maintained over the village watch and ward.

In 1869 a Committee was appointed with Mr. Rivers Thompson, then Secretary to the Government of Bengal, as the Chairman. This Committee pointed out that the *Chowkidars* would better fulfil their duties if they continued to feel that they were more the servants of the localities than the agents of the Government. It accordingly recommended that the *Chowkidars* should not be made part and parcel of the regular constabulary but should be local men appointed and controlled by a village body to be known as the *Panchayet*. It was on the basis of the recommendations of this Committee that a Bill was introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 22nd January, 1870, by Mr. Rivers Thompson which became Act VI of that year. It empowered the District Magistrate to appoint by a *sunnad* a *Panchayet* in any village which contained more than sixty houses. This *Panchayet* was to consist as a rule of not less than three and more than five persons. This body was to be entrusted with the duty of appointing and maintaining the village watch. It was to supervise its activities and secure its regular payment. Each member of the *Panchayet* was to be responsible for the due report of all crimes to the police. The *Panchayet* in fact was to be held responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the village. The *Chowkidars* were to be its instrument in fulfilling this task.

The *Panchayet*, we have noted, was to be a body not elected by the villagers but appointed by the District Magistrate or a subordinate officer chosen by him. In fact it was ordinarily a police officer who went to the village and nominated the members of the *Panchayet*. This practice was followed in spite of the provision in the Act that some Magistrate was to be deputed to the village by the District Officer to communicate personally with the residents of the village and explain to them the general duties of the *Panchayet* before actually nominating this body. Again as the members of the *Panchayet* were appointed on the authority of the District Magistrate, so they could be removed also by the same authority from office. Another important feature of the *Panchayet* was that it was not a voluntary office. If any person properly qualified was appointed

a member of this body, it was not open to him to accept or decline the offer. Any person who refused to serve as a member of the *Panchayet* might be subjected to a fine of Rs. 50. Nor were the responsibilities of this body very light. It was to assess and collect the *Chowkidari* tax in the village. It entrusted one of its members with the duty of collecting the rate and keeping the accounts thereof. It was lawful for the *Panchayet* to permit this member to retain any sum not exceeding six per cent. of the amount collected by him to repay the costs of such collection. In case the amount assessed was not collected, the Act empowered and authorised the District Magistrate to levy the arrears from the members of the *Panchayet*.

It has been observed that the *Chowkidars* were to be appointed by the *Panchayet* but it could not dismiss them on its own authority. The sanction of the District Magistrate was required to that effect, before any *Chowkidar* could be dismissed by the *Panchayet*. During the discussion of the Bill in the Legislative Council, Maharaja Jatindra Mohan Tagore objected to this provision on the ground that it would tend to undermine the authority of the *Panchayet* and make the *Chowkidars* remiss in their duty. He moved an amendment to the effect that if the members of the *Panchayet* were unanimous as to the dismissal of a *Chowkidar*, no sanction of the District Magistrate would be necessary. But the Government spokesman opposed this amendment. He pointed out that in many villages two factions were noticeable and if this check on the authority of the *Panchayet* was not provided for in the Act, the *Chowkidars* would not be sure of a secure tenure of office.

The Act of 1870 set up indeed a village council but conferred upon it only some powers with regard to the watch and ward. No authority in respect of local sanitation, communication, education or similar other functions was vested in this body. An attempt was made to supply this deficiency in 1883 when the Bengal Local Self-Government Bill originated under the inspiration of Lord Ripon's Government was on the legislative anvil. In the measure which Mr. Colman Macaulay introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council on January 20, 1883, was embodied a provision for the institution of a committee for a union of villages. This Union Committee was not to be a coalition of *Chowkidari Panchayets*. It was to be independent of and separate from these already existing institutions. The proposed Union Committee would be concerned with the management of local pounds, schools and roads. But it would not have anything to do with the village police, which function would remain vested in the *Chowkidari Panchayets*. These

Union Committees would be constituted by election but this election would be of an informal character. While the Bill was passing through its tortuous course in the Legislative Council, Mr. Westmacott of the Indian Civil Service was placed on special duty for the formation of the Union Committees which were to be the bed-rock of the local self-government system provided for in the original Bill. In the sub-divisions of the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions and the Munshigunge Sub-division of the Dacca District, he was successful in forming altogether one hundred and eighty Union Committees. First of all he got a plan ready with the advice of the local officers of the Government as to the number of Union Committees to be set up in the different sub-divisions and as to the villages over which each such Committee was to have jurisdiction. Then either personally he would visit a village or ask the Sub-divisional Officer to undertake the duty. On his visit, the people of the villages to be included in the Union would be assembled in a central place and name in his presence the persons who were to be on the Committee. In some places this informal election roused a keen enthusiasm among the people. Mr. Westmacott however after constituting one hundred and eighty Union Committees had to give up his work in this field. The Local Self-Government Bill had to be recast in the light of the new suggestions of the Secretary of State and the Union Committees were no longer to occupy a crucial position in the local self-government structure. The place which was intended for them in the original Bill had now to be given in the recast Bill to the Local Boards which were to act as the agents of the District Boards. There was not sufficient scope in the initial stage of the local self-government experiment for two sets of bodies for agency functions. Consequently it seemed that the Union Committees already organised were still-born. In the absence of any encouragement from the Government, their number in fact began to dwindle from year to year until in 1904 it came down to only fifty-four in the whole province.

While an arrangement was being made for the establishment of Union Committees, the sword of Damocles was hanging over the head of the *Chowkidari Panchayets*. The Act of 1870 went into effect at once and was in operation in the different districts. They showed at first some definite signs of success but very soon reports came pouring in from local officers of the Government that the object with which they had been started was not being fulfilled. In 1882 a Commission presided over by James Munro, then Inspector-General of Police, was appointed to investigate into the working of the *Panchayets*. This Commission submitted after a careful

enquiry a very full and able report. The findings of the Commission were that (i) the *Panchayets* had signally failed voluntarily to accomplish the chief object with which they were created, *viz.*, the regular payment of the salaries of the *Chowkidars*, (ii) that notwithstanding the apathy of the ninety per cent. of the *Panchayets* the *Chowkidars* now received salaries with tolerable regularity once a quarter, (iii) that such regularity was attained only by constant supervision on the part of the local officers amounting at times to harrassment which had not been contemplated by the framers of the Act as necessary or advisable, (iv) that in the absence of such harrassing supervision there would have been neglect and the *Chowkidars* would have remained unpaid, and (v) that appointment as members of the *Panchayets* was intensely disliked by the people of the villages as such appointment was compulsory, unremunerative and undignified and as it involved on the part of the *Panchayets* the risk of the attachment and sale of their property in the event of collection of rates being in arrear. The unpopularity of the office of the *Panchayet* was further aggravated by the fact that it subjected people to distasteful supervision at the hands of magisterial and police officers. The Commission was also constrained to report that the selection of the *Panchayets* was not made with proper care. The nominations made by the local police had been too extensively accepted as final. The Commission had also reasons to believe that the assessment was in many cases unfair and accounts produced by the *Panchayets* were almost universally fictitious. Hence the Commission recommended that the law should be drastically amended and many of the existing powers of the *Panchayets* should be withdrawn from them.

Accordingly Mr. Garrett, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, introduced a Bill in the Legislative Council on January 16, 1886, to amend the Village Chowkidari Act of 1870. He pointed out that this Act was framed in a spirit of entire trust in the village people and it was hoped that the sense of self-interest would induce them to make the village police an efficient instrument of law and order. But the control vested in the *Panchayet* had not been properly exercised. In the interests of the better management of watch and ward of the villages these controlling powers should consequently be curtailed in some directions. He now proposed that the *Panchayets* should no longer enjoy the final power of appointing the *Chowkidars*. They would henceforward make only the nominations and the final authority to appoint would be vested in the District Magistrate. The existing power of punishing and dismissing the watchmen should also be

entirely taken out of the hands of the *Panchayets* and vested in the District Superintendent of Police subject to the general control of the District Magistrate. The *Chowkidars* again would not be obliged to receive their pay from the *Panchayets*. They would receive it at the police stations which they would be compelled to attend henceforward at stated periods and report there as to what was going on in the villages. It was also proposed that the *Panchayets* would be relieved of the burden of collecting the rates, this duty being vested in an officer to be appointed by the District Magistrate and to be known as the *Tahsildar*.

The Bill came in for severe castigation at the hands of the members of the Legislative Council. Mr. Anthony MacDonnel observed that when the Act of 1870 was passed it was expected that the memberships of the *Panchayets* would be eagerly sought for by well-to-do villagers. Instead however there was noticeable among them a singular antipathy to such offices and for this unpopularity defects in administration were to a great extent responsible. The District and Sub-divisional Officers did not take the amount of interest in the constitution of the *Panchayets* which they should have been well advised to do. He cited an instance to show how indifferent these officers actually were in this matter. On one occasion a Deputy Magistrate was deputed to establish *Panchayets* in certain villages. He, however, did not think it worthwhile to go to the villages himself. He spent his time in the neighbouring *thana* and sent a police underling to select the *Panchayets*. This latter went to the villages, exempted all the well-to-do people on some money being paid to him and chose some poor uninfluential people to form the *Panchayets*. These helpless men compelled to be *Panchayets* on pain of heavy fine were scoffed at and hustled when out to assess the rate. The same police officer later on inspected the villages and reported that rates were not properly collected and the *Panchayets* were negligent. Mr. MacDonnel now suggested that there should be a provision in the Act that no *Panchayet* should be taken as finally formed until either the District Magistrate or the Sub-divisional Officer had visited the village and satisfied himself by personal enquiry that the social position and influence of the persons nominated to the *Panchayet* were of the requisite kind. Mr. A. M. Bose directed his opposition to the provisions of the Bill in a more frontal way. He pointed out that the Government were moving in the wrong direction. It would not be by curtailing the responsibility but by increasing the power and dignity of the *Panchayets* that a real stimulus could be given to their initiative

and efficiency. True remedy for the evils complained of would be found only in the growth of honest public spirit and opinion among the village folk. But this development was out of the question so long as the *Panchayets* were not given any real responsibility to discharge and were too much in the leading strings of the police. If this Bill was passed the local *Panchayets* would be a mere formality and the village watch would become a wing of the regular police. In the Select Committee to which the Bill was referred, it was considerably recast and shorn of its many objectionable and retrograde features. Of the new proposals those only became finally embodied in the Act, which provided that the *Chowkidars* would receive their salary at police stations which they would be constrained to attend at stated intervals. Mr. A. M. Bose made a suggestion in course of the detailed discussion of the Bill in the Council that wherever Union Committees had been set up under the Local Self-Government Act of 1885 the duties of the *Panchayets* should be vested in them. The Lieutenant-Governor however himself interposed to object to this proposal of vesting police powers in the Union Committees. No reasons he put forward for this stand. The suggestion of Mr. Bose consequently fell through.

The attempt to curtail the powers of the *Panchayets* and centralise the village police proved to a great extent abortive in 1886. But in 1892 the Government again returned to the attack. A Bill was now introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Cotton, the Chief Secretary to the Government, for further amending the Act of 1870. Mr. Cotton in emphasising the necessity of the changes he proposed observed that the *Chowkidari* Act of 1870 had municipalised the village police. But if there was any function of Government which it was inexpedient to municipalise, it was the control over the police. He wanted to see that the village watch was brought into closer touch with the Government. And by way of carrying out this objective, he proposed that the *Panchayets* would henceforward only nominate the *Chowkidars* the final appointment of whom would be the concern of the District Magistrate. It should be noted that this proposal was a part of the Amendment Bill of 1886 but in that year it was not approved of by the Legislative Council and had to be dropped but now in 1892 it was revived. The Amendment Bill introduced by Mr. Cotton further provided that the number and salary of the *Chowkidars* also should henceforward be fixed by the District Magistrate. The Legislative Council this time approved of these amendments and the Act of 1870 was thus radically altered. There

was only one saving grace in the amendment Act which was otherwise a retrograde measure. It provided that the District Magistrate might, with the previous sanction of the Government of Bengal, ask the rate-payers in any village to select the members of the *Panchayet*. The selection would of course be subject to the approval of the District Magistrate. Even this mild provision was opposed by Mr. Cotton, who on this occasion entertained the view that democracy was unsuited to Indian conditions. The motion however was carried in spite of his opposition. The Act of 1892 practically withdrew the last vestiges of authority which the Act of 1870 had assigned to the village *Panchayets*.

The centralisation of the village police which the Act of 1892 provided for soon over-reached itself. Instead of adding to the efficiency of the *Chowkidars* it seemed to undermine it further. The village watchmen would fulfil their task better as servants of the local bodies than as the agents of the provincial authorities. This fact was brought home to the Indian Police Commission which was appointed by Lord Curzon's Government in 1902 and which was presided over by Sir Andrew Fraser, later on the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The Commission was convinced that the village police ought not to be separated from the village organisation and placed under the regular police. This conviction of the Commission was embodied in its report which was submitted in 1905. It did not desire to see a body of low-paid stipendiaries or subordinate police scattered over the country, but the utilisation of the village agency itself. "The village police officer," emphasised the Commission, "ought to be a village servant holding his own place in the life of the village, the subordinate of the village headman." The Commission was also of opinion that a fair trial had not been given to the village system as introduced by the Act of 1870. The failure of this arrangement was certainly to a great extent due to the indifference of the District Officers. If they showed more care in the selection of the *Panchayets* the experiment would have been more successful. Instead of making an attempt in this direction the Government thought it right to divest the *Panchayets* of all the real control over the *Chowkidars*. This was, the Commission concluded, a serious error committed by the Government of Bengal.

In 1907 was appointed the Royal Commission on Decentralisation in India presided over by Sir Charles Hobhouse and among the members were Sir William Meyer and Mr. R. C. Dutt. The Commission submitted its report in the following year. This Commission

was of opinion that not only the *Chowkidari* affairs should be managed by the village *Panchayets* but some other local functions also should be vested in these bodies. The Commission did not take kindly to the Union Committees which of late the Government wanted to revive and extend. A union of villages was in the eyes of the Commission an artificial unit and was not expected to capture the imagination of the people. It was the village which was to be the foundation of rural self-government. It was hence essential both in the interests of decentralisation and in the interests of popular association with the local duties of government "that an attempt should be made to constitute and develop village panchayets for the administration of local village affairs." These bodies were to be responsible for the local watch and ward. Civil and criminal jurisdiction in petty cases which might crop up within the village should also be assigned to them. Construction and repair of minor local works, *e. g.*, wells, drinking water tanks, rest houses and village roads, should be similarly within the ambit of powers of these *Panchayets*. Village education also might be partially managed and controlled by these bodies. It was not for the District and Local Boards to exercise supervision over the *Panchayets*. These latter should be under the exclusive supervision of the local officers of the Government. They should be elected henceforward by the village rate-payers. The election however should not be of a formal character. It should be of an informal nature. The Sub-divisional Officer or a special Officer of the Government should visit the village personally, assemble the rate-payers together and have the members of the *Panchayet* elected on the spot. The Decentralisation Commission thus recommended the union of the *chowkidari* and the local welfare functions in the hands of the same local bodies which had once been advocated by Mr. A. M. Bose but which had on that occasion been disapproved of by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The Commission recommended another new principle for acceptance by the Government, *viz.*, the exercise by these village bodies of judicial powers in petty civil and criminal cases.

In 1916 the Government of India, then presided over by Lord Chelmsford, considered the problems of local self-government and came to certain conclusions, mostly in the light of the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission. In view, however, of the impending visit of the Secretary of State to this country for purposes of consulting Indian opinion regarding the future constitution of India, the publication of these conclusions was postponed. They were, however, embodied in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms which was published

in 1918 over the joint signature of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. The Government of India seemed to have accepted the recommendations of the Hobhouse Commission on the question of reconstituting the village *Panchayets*. It was contemplated that these bodies "might be endowed with civil and criminal jurisdiction in petty cases, some administrative powers as regards sanitation and education, and permissive powers of imposing a local rate."

On April 24, 1918, Sir S. P. (later on Lord) Sinha, then a member of the Government of Bengal, introduced a Bill in the Legislative Council to extend village self-government in this Province. He looked upon this measure as fraught with the promise of most beneficial and far-reaching results. Hitherto the *Chowkidari* and the municipal functions in the rural areas had been exercised by two separate sets of bodies. The salient feature of this Bill was the amalgamation of these two separate institutions. The *Panchayet* and the Union Committee would now be combined together into one local body. Of late the Government had taken greater interest than in the past in the establishment of new Union Committees, and the number which had dwindled in 1904 to fifty-eight rose at the end of 1917 to 1918. Purposely the Union Committees and the *Chowkidari* Unions were made co-extensive and the personnel of the *Panchayets* and the Union Committees was also made identical as far as possible. The way had thus been paved for the fusion of the two authorities. The new bodies, to be known as the Union Boards, would be invested, apart from their police duties, with the powers and functions necessary for the management of communal village affairs and would be entrusted with the powers of self-taxation necessary for discharging the duties assigned to them. Two-thirds of the members of this Board would be elected while one-third would be nominated. The President of the Board would be elected by itself. A number of Union Boards would be grouped into circles, each circle having a Circle Board. The chief work of these Circle Boards would be to superintend the working of the Union Boards and subject to the direction of the District Board to distribute general grants among them. The Circle Board would supervise their operations, co-ordinate their plans and see that every one of them had fair treatment in the distributions of grants given by the District Board to a Circle. The Circle Board would consist of 15 members, ten of whom would be elected and five nominated by the Commissioner of the Division. The Board would have authority to elect its own chairman. It was further laid down that on the inauguration of the Circle and the Union Boards, the Local

Boards, the Union Committees and the *Chowkidari Panchayets* would all be abolished.

The Bill as introduced by Lord Sinha was referred to a Select Committee. Meanwhile however, he had to leave the Government of Bengal to take up the duties of the Under-Secretary of State for India in the Coalition Ministry of Mr. Lloyd George. The Select Committee which now worked without his guidance mutilated some of the salient features of the Bill. It cut out at the instance of Sir Henry Wheeler who was now placed in charge of the Bill the provision for the Circle Boards. Here and there also some minor modifications were made. On January 21, 1919, Sir Henry Wheeler presented the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to the Legislative Council. He drew the attention of the members of the Council to the discarding of the original idea of Circle Boards which was the most important change made by the Select Committee in the Bill. He thought that such Boards would have been somewhat superfluous. They would not have been sufficiently large and important to attract keen and ambitious men to serve upon them. Besides the existing Local Boards should not be so uncereemoniously shuffled out of the Local Self-Government system. It was better, he thought, to stick to the Local Boards and give up the idea of instituting the Circle Boards. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq pointed out in course of the discussion that the Union Boards, proposed to be introduced, were expected to be lamentable failures and that on two grounds. In the first place they would be suffering from a chronic lack of funds and secondly they would be too much under the leading strings of the local officers of the Government. The powers which had been vested in the District Magistrate should be transferred to the District Board. That would make for some relaxation of official control, relaxation that was so very necessary to the local bodies for appreciating their own responsibility. There was also an opposition to the provision that one-third of the members should be nominated by the Divisional Commissioner. It was demanded that all the members should be elected by the rate-payers. But this opposition was of no avail. There was also an attempt on the part of some members of the Council to increase the powers of the Union Boards in respect of the appointment of the *Chowkidars* and the *Dafadars* who were made in the Bill more amenable to the control of the District Magistrate than to that of the Union Boards. But this attempt also proved abortive. The Bill as recast by the Select Committee was passed without practically any modification and became the Village Self-Government Act of 1919.

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HIGHER EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS IN FASCIST ITALY¹

Universities in Italy before the reform of 1928 were all financially supported by the State which regulated their functioning, either by fixing their budget or by determining their organisation (number of faculties or Schools; obligatory courses of study; nomination of Professors). The Universities having been all modelled after the same type, lost all individual characteristics and became Institutes for the conferring of professional diplomas. No liberty was granted to students in their choice of curriculum and the spirit of disinterested research declined.

The necessity for reform, springing from a desire to raise the tone of advanced teaching, already appeared in the writings of thinkers and legislators before 1928. The Royal Commission for the reform of secondary teaching sat in 1905, and of advanced teaching over which Dini presided in 1910. Bonfante's speech to the Association of University Professors in 1909 also furthered the urge for reform. And finally the influence of idealistic philosophy brought it to a practical consumption.

The reform of the Universities carried out by the Fascist Government (1928) is based on the following principles :

(a) The Universities and the Higher Institutes are primarily *institutions for advanced study*, having as their object the promotion of scientific progress; subordinate to this object is the other of providing the culture necessary for the exercise of the profession. (b) *Teaching autonomy*: Each University established its own regulations embodied in its own Statute. (c) *Administrative autonomy*: for this purpose the University has its own judicial staff and complete administrative autonomy, so that the object proposed may be achieved. (d) *Liberty of study* which is carried into practice by the following specifications: (i) Freedom of the State, of public institutions, or of private individuals to set up institutes of advanced study. (ii) Each higher institute has liberty to organise and to teach in accordance with the end in view. (iii) Each student is free to predispose and to follow a plan of study (curriculum) as he wishes. (e) *State examinations*—Since the University has a cultural aim, the title of Doctor has the value of a cultural academic qualification. The State, i.e., Society, assures itself of the capacity for professional practice by means of State examination.

The State provides for the necessity of advanced studies either by means of its own Universities or by partially financing others. With respect to the State contribution the Universities are divided into three classes :

Type A : Those are entirely at the charge of the State (Universities of Bologna, Gagliari, Genoa, Naples, Padua, Palermo, Pisa, Rome, Turin; Engineering Schools of Bologna, Naples, Padua, Palermo, Pisa, Rome; Royal High School of Architecture in Rome). **Type B** : These are partly at the charge of the State, based on conventions between the State and other public institutions (Universities of Bari, Catania, Florence, Macerata, Milan, Messina, Modena, Parma, Perugia, Sassari, Siena; Engineering Schools of Milan and Turin; School of Naval Engineering at Genoa; School of Industrial Chemistry of Bologna). **Type C** : Universities

¹ We are indebted to Professor Syamadas Mukhopadhyaya of our University for this Report. Ed. C. R.

of this type receive no contribution from the State (Universities of Camerino, Ferrara, Urbino, Milan (Catholic); Higher Institute of Social Sciences of Florence). Besides these there are: 6 Higher Agrarian Institutes, 9 Institutes of Veterinary Medicine, 12 of Economic and Commercial Sciences (of which 3 are free), 6 Teachers' Training Colleges (of which 3 are recognised), 7 of Obstetrics, 11 Astronomical Observatories. The following have special constitutions: Oriental Institute of Naples, Higher Naval Institute of Naples, University for foreigners in Perugia, Training College of Pisa.

The regulations of the 1923 law have greatly stimulated the contributions made by public institutions (Communes, Provinces, Savings Banks, etc.) to higher instruction. With the help of these and of the State the following new institutes have been set up:

Faculty of Political Sciences in Rome, Pavia, and Perugia; University for foreigners in Perugia; Zoological station in Naples; Royal higher Institute for the training of teachers in Messina; Catholic University in Milan; Higher training schools for teachers in Turin and Milan (Immacolata); School of Aeronautic Engineering in Rome; School of Mining Engineering in Rome; Faculty of Veterinary Medicine in Camerino; Faculties of Arts and of Mathematics in Cagliari; School of Veterinary Medicine in Sassari; Royal Higher Institute of Economic and Commercial Sciences in Bologna; Royal High School of Architecture in Turin, Venice, Florence, and Naples; Reform of the Royal High School for teachers in Pisa; Schools of Obstetrics in Camerino and Catanzaro; Royal Italian Institute of Archaeology and the History of Art; Italo-Germanic Institute; Institute of Experimental Biology in Rovigno; Italian Academy; National Council for Research; Committee for Deep Sea Researches; Florentine Institute for the study of Papyri; Fascist Academy of Juvenile Physical Education in Rome; Optical Institute in Florence.

During the last ten years the income has reached the sum of 500 millions, a figure never previously reached. Notwithstanding the difficulties University present time 70 millions have recently been set aside for new of the buildings in Rome.

By constructing new buildings, installing new offices, etc., the State has provided the means of study for increasing numbers of students. The number has not greatly increased (47,365 in 1921-22, 48,933 in 1931-32) so that there is no crowding as in other countries; the reform has contributed to this by developing the professional, commercial and industrial schools, by rigorous selection during the passage from one kind of school to the one above it, and by the State examinations for professional practice.

The following among the Institutes for advanced studies created by the Fascist Government may be enumerated:

(a) *The National Council for Research* (Royal decrees of 18th November, 1923, No. 2895 and 26th May, 1932, No. 598) which makes use of its own laboratories or those of the Universities for all those scientific-technical questions which concern the national economy. It publishes: "Italian Scientific-technical Bibliography," "Scientific Research," "Italian Periodical Publications," "Italian Institutes and Scientific Laboratories," "Italian Cultural Institutions," "Foreign periodicals which can be found in the libraries of Italian scientific Institutes." It has instituted a centre of technical information and a "Calculation Institute" for the solution of technical problems by the most up-to-date means of Mathematical Analysis. It distributes each year many money grants for study in Italy and abroad.

(b) *Italian Academy (1926)* which includes the most eminent scientists, men of letters and artists annually distributes premiums for 1,000,000 lire, the proceeds of copyrights; and in addition 200,000 liras in premiums on behalf of the "Corriere della Sera" and others. It publishes volumes of reminiscences and administers the "Volta Foundation" for international congresses, exploration expeditions abroad, etc.

(c) *Fascist Institute of Culture (1925)* which was a library in Rome containing many thousands of volumes and several hundred periodicals, gives courses of a political, historic or artistic character. It provides bibliographical information on Fascism to Italians and to foreigners. Other Institutes for foreigners will be mentioned later.

Relations between Italian Institutes for Advanced Studies and Abroad.

The law of 1923 for the first time allowed University professors to go abroad for a whole year (or longer) without losing any of their professional rights in Italy. The laws of 19th December, 1926, No. 2321 and of 23rd June, 1927, No. 1135, facilitate the exchange of Italian and foreign teachers. The transfer to Italy of foreign teachers is permitted. The law of 28th August, 1931, No. 1227, places at the disposal of teachers for cultural missions abroad the sum of 250,000 liras. The opportuneness of extending exchanges among teachers was vigorously upheld by Italy during the meetings in Paris (March, 1932).

Reciprocal agreements for these exchanges exist between Italy and Czechoslovakia, Germany, Poland and Hungary. Independently of this the Italian Government annually assigns money grants for study to foreign students in Italy (in the years 1927-31, 325 of these were distributed for a total of 1,800,000 liras). For these students all scholastic taxes are reduced by one-half. By the law of 3rd July, 1930, No. 1176, the rules for the admission of foreign students into Italian Universities were simplified. The number of foreign students has more than tripled during the last ten years.

There is (since 1925) an agreement with Great Britain for the equivalence of the titles conferred in Italy and in England for the practice of medicine and surgery. A similar agreement with France is being prepared.

In Perugia there is a University for foreigners (1925) where from July to October courses of advanced study are given on the Institutions of Italy, Literature and the History of Art, Italic and Etruscan antiquities, Geography and the History of Italy, and on Italian thought through the centuries (as well as language and literature courses for foreign teachers). The Italian Inter-University Institute (1923) organises each year courses of advanced study and of languages for foreigners which are given during various parts of the year in different cities (Siena, Rome, Ravenna, Faenza, Florence, Venice, etc.); particular attention is paid to the art of these places, their archaeology, and their most typical artistic products (lace, glassware, pottery, etc.). In Siena there are courses of music and the history of music.

LINGUISTICS IN INDIA¹

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Comparative Philology as a subject of scientific study is still in its infancy in India. There are, no doubt, some trained linguists working at present at various University centres but they are not many, and, unfortunately, the percentage of students who take lively interest in the Science of Language is comparatively very small. However, a good beginning has been made and thanks to the activities of some societies like the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad, the Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā, the Linguistic Society of India, etc., and of other serious workers in the field, we have every reason to be hopeful that at no distant date Linguistics "is going to have its rightful place among the intellectual endeavours of our country."² The chief impediment to the Indian student wishing to be initiated into the Science of Linguistics has so far been the want of a suitable manual dealing with the elements of the Science of Language. European works on the subject written naturally for the European students whose educational equipment from the linguistic point of view is different from that of the Indian students, have almost failed to meet the want for the simple reason that most of our students do not possess even a working knowledge of ancient European languages—a thing so essential for using with advantage the European books on Linguistics. The late Dr. Gune's "Introduction to Comparative Philology," a work of invaluable help to the Indian student, if used under the guidance of a well-qualified teacher, is now out of print and its first edition had "considerable defects in detail.....and a good many misleading or incorrect statements with regard to grammar and to phonetic laws."³ Jahagirdar's Manual⁴ is no better; it appears to have been very hastily written and is full of inaccuracies both as regards interpretations and examples.

The recent publication of "The Elements of the Science of Language" by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala is, therefore, most opportune and welcome. It bids fair, indeed, to supply a long-felt want. In the following lines, only a resumé of the many problems discussed in the book is attempted; an adequate review would demand greater learning and more time and labour than I could possibly bestow on it.

The book is divided into twelve chapters and has, besides, four Appendices—two at the end of Chapter II and two at the end of the work. The opening chapter deals with the Psychology of Speech and the Divisions of Philological Studies. The three stages of language, viz., (i) Gesture, (ii) Articulate Speech and (iii) Written Speech, have been clearly distinguished and the various theories regarding the origin of language have been

¹ A Book-Review in appreciation of *The Elements of the Science of Language* by Irach Jehangir Sorabji Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, University of Calcutta, 1932

² Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Presidential Address of the Philological Section, 5th Oriental Conference, Lahore, 1928.

³ See A. A. Macdonell's systematic but searching criticism of the book in the JRAS., 1920, pp. 636-648.

⁴ "An Introduction to the Comparative Philology of Indo-Aryan Languages" by R. N. Jahagirdar, M.A., Poona, 1932.

explained in brief but telling terms. Although most of the ancient peoples, inspired by religious motives, ascribed their speech directly to God, modern philologists hold that the articulate speech is the result of "the psychological processes going on within in the human brain."¹ The origin of language is, therefore, "in the revival of the motor element accompanying a perception."

What, then, is the connection between *sound* and *sense*? Neither any nor all of Max Müller's four theories, *viz.*, (a) the *Bow-wow* or *Onomatopoeic* theory, (b) the *Pooh-pooh* or *Interjectional* theory, (c) the *Ding-dong* or *Pathogenic* theory, and (d) the *Yo-he ho* theory, can satisfactorily explain all the facts of language. And want of sufficient data precludes the formulation of any definite theory regarding the connection that exists between sound and sense.² Modern Philology, therefore, leaves aside that speculative field and concerns itself with the more fruitful field of living languages. Each language is studied either *comparatively* or *historically* and every one of the branches of Philology, *viz.*, Syntax, Morphology, Semantics or the Science of meaning, and *Urgeschichte* or Linguistic Palæontology, has at present its special *Littérature* and literature.

The History of Linguistic Studies in India and in the West is the subject of the second chapter. Though Comparative Philology, as we now know it to be, is only recently introduced in India, the study of linguistic phenomena in our country is very old indeed. It dates back to the Vedic age when the *Samhitā* text of the Rig Veda was resolved into the *Pada* form; this was in fact the first attempt at the analysis of Sanskrit Speech. Then there are the *Prātiśākhya*s in which we meet with the first treatises on phonetics written mainly with a view to instructing as to how the Vedic chants were to be recited but containing, at the same time, useful information regarding language.³ For example the classification of the Sanskrit sounds in their systematic natural order as found in the *Prātiśākhya*s, has, in substance, remained the same till today and "it shows a high degree of scientific precision and analytic skill."

The attempts of the authors of the *Brāhmaṇa*s at interpreting some of the Vedic words and phrases are often incorrect from the linguistic point of view, but Yāska, the great etymologist and author of the *Nirukta*, reveals fine intellect and scientific insight in his investigations in the field of Vedic Etymology. Some of his interpretations are very valuable even to the modern Vedist.

After Yāska there flourished many Grammarians in ancient India but their works are, in most cases, entirely lost to us. Only their names such as Āpīśali and Kāśakṛtsna, and some quotations from their works are all that we know of them. We then come to Pāṇini "the greatest Grammarian of India (one might almost say of the world)." Dr Taraporewala has given us an excellent summary of his method of analysing the language and its influence on the subsequent growth of Sanskrit.

¹ Unless otherwise indicated the quotations are from the work under review.

² It should be mentioned here that the problem of the origin of sound and its relation with sense had also been pondered over by Sanskrit Grammarians of old. Their theory and solution of the problem deserve the attention of even a modern phonetician. One may refer to "Physical Theory of Sound and its Origin in Indian Thought" by Umesh Misra, Allahabad University Studies, Vol. II, and to a recent note on "Some Speculations about Sound in Sanskrit Literature" by A. B. Gajendragadkar. The Aryan Path, Vol. IV, No. 7, July, 1933.

³ Sir George A. Grierson, in a message to the Linguistic Society of India on the appearance of the first number of "Indian Linguistics" says: "It was the authors of Indian *Prātiśākhya*s that laid the foundations of the science (the Science of Philology), and that inspired scholars of the west."

The following lines may be reproduced. "His was indeed a master-mind and he struck out a path entirely original. The whole of his work depends on the *Siva Sūtras* where the *pratyāhāras*, i.e., the terminology he is going to adopt, are set forth. It is these fourteen *sūtras* that mark him out to be entirely distinct from any of his predecessors. But though he introduced many new technical terms and practically a new method of analysis, he did not entirely break with the previous systems of grammar. He accepted many of the older terms. By his masterly analysis he arrived at the fundamental conception of roots—which are a set of monosyllabic constants, each a concept and each expressing an action (*kriyā*). He also shows by his threefold division of parts of speech that he recognised the fundamental principle that the sentence is the unit of language. To this day Pāṇini remains the most thorough and the most nearly perfect analysis of any language in the world."

Pāṇini's influence on the later development of Sanskrit has been profound and, to a great extent, fatal in the sense that it became merely a medium of speech of a small aristocracy, or rather, the property of the learned. In other words, "it ceased to be used as a living language by the common people to express their thoughts and emotions."

The later grammarians have based their studies more or less on the lines indicated by Pāṇini. Most prominent among them are Kātyāyana and Patañjali who headed by Pāṇini (the *munitraya*, the three sages), "represent the highwater mark of grammatical research in India." Numerous commentaries and sub-commentaries followed Patañjali, notable among them being the *Kāśikā*, a joint work of Jayāditya (of Kashmir) and Vāmana and Kaiyaṣa's *Prāṇīya* on the *Mahābhāṣya*.

Next we come to the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita—the most famous of all Kaumudīs in India—apparently written with a view to meeting a demand for re-arranging Pāṇini's *sūtras*. The *Paribhāṣaṇḍuśekhara* of Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa who practically ends the long line of grammarians of the Pāṇinian type, is a commentary on the *Paribhāṣa* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

Mention may also be made of the Philosophy of Speech (*śabda*) created by the Naiyāyikas of Nadia. *Sabdaśaktiprakāśikā* of Jagadīśa Tarkāṅkara best represents this school. "The book is an extremely abstruse treatise on the philosophical and psychological aspects of the Sanskrit language."

Leaving aside other schools of Sanskrit grammarians like the Kātantra school, the schools of Candragomin and Jainendra, we come to Hemacandra,¹ a very holy and highly honoured Jaina monk of Gujarat, whose greatness and fame as a grammarian is second only to that of Pāṇini. A man of versatile genius and vast learning, he was the author of many important works on various subjects. His object in writing a new grammar, the *Sabḍānuśāsana*, was to say in the shortest possible manner not only all that his predecessors had said upon the subject, but everything that could be said.²

With Bopadeva, the author of the *Mugdhabodha*, written for simplifying the system of Pāṇini for the understanding of classical Sanskrit, Dr. Taraporewala closes the survey of Linguistic Studies in India before the modern times and then proceeds to glance rapidly at their history in the West.

¹ Dr. Taraporewala has omitted the name of Dhanaṣpāla who flourished two centuries before Hemacandra, but he deserves to be mentioned. He was a lexicographer and wrote a Prakṛit Dictionary entitled the *Pāṭalacchināmāla* in 1029 Vikrama Samvat (972-73 A.D.) at Dhārā. This Dictionary has been published by Dr. Bühler, Göttingen, 1878.

² S. K. Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 58.

Beginning with Aristotle's analysis of language in the 20th chapter of his *Poetics* and Plato's phonetic classification of the Greek sounds in his *Cratylus*, Dr. Taraporewala describes the grammatical observations of the early European grammarians: Dionysios Thrax, Appolonius Dyskolos, and Laurentius Valla. The Latin Grammar of the last named Laurentius Valla (1440), was regarded as an authority even up to the 18th century. Then with the rise of Christianity after the fall of Rome, there began the serious study of the various languages such as Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Latin and Arabic, with the main object of elucidating the Christian Scriptures. Consequently the interrelation of these languages was brought home to the scholars.

The honour of giving birth to Comparative Philology as we now know it, goes, however, to Sanskrit. The introduction of the language and literature of Ancient India into the Western world has been hailed as an event of the utmost and world-wide significance in the history of culture since the Renaissance.¹

Sir William Jones (1746-1794),² Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765-1837), F. Schlegel (1772-1829), W. von Humboldt (1767-1835), A. Schlegel (1767-1845), F. Bopp (1791-1867), and J. Grimm (1785-1863) were the first pioneers who laid the foundations of Philological Science. And the credit of collecting the necessary material, on which most of the theories of the modern school are based, is due to another batch of scholars—A. F. Pott (1802-1887), A. Schleicher (1823-1865), F. Max Müller (1823-1900)—the author of the *Science of Language*, editor of the great edition of the *Rg Veda* and General Editor of the *Sacred Books of the East*, etc.—Rudolf Roth (1821-1895) and Otto Böhtlingk (1815-1904)—the joint compilers of the huge *St. Petersburg Dictionary of Sanskrit* in German.

From 1855 onwards a new era of psychological philologists, commonly known as the *Junggrammatiker*³ has begun and still holds the field. "Their insistence on psychology was their main point of difference from the older people." H. Osthoff, K. Brugmann, H. Paul, W. D. Whitney, B. Delbrück and many other distinguished linguists belong to this new school. The chief characteristics of the *Junggrammatiker* may be reproduced here.

(a) Study of living languages is regarded as equal in importance to that of the "classical" ones.

(b) Problems of ultimate origins are regarded as insoluble in the light of our present knowledge.

(c) The physiological and psychological aspects of speech are sharply distinguished.

(d) Analogy is admitted as an important factor in language growth.

(e) The mixing of dialects is considered to have had a great influence in the history of a language.

While these characteristics of the *Junggrammatiker* were making themselves felt in the field of Linguistics in the Western world, a number of European scholars like Beames, Hoernle, Tyll, Trump and Grierson took up the study of the Aryan Vernaculars and pointed out their mutual relations. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, by delivering his famous *Wilson Philological Lectures* in 1877 laid the foundations of philological studies in

¹ A. A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 1.

² He founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 (and not in 1786).

³ A German word meaning "young grammarians." This name was given to the new school of psychological philologists by the older linguists with a view to ridiculing the new school as "new-fangled as well as wanting in years and wisdom."

our country along the western lines. *The Linguistic Survey of India* inaugurated by the Government of India in 1903 under the able directorship of Sir George Grierson is now before us in its complete form and this stupendous achievement has been, and will for a long time continue to be a source of great inspiration and guide to linguistic studies and investigations in India. At present an enthusiastic band of trained linguists, European as well as Indian, is carrying on research into not only the Modern Indo-Aryan Languages but also into other families of speech in India, e.g., Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, Tibeto-Chinese, etc. The most prominent among them are R. L. Turner, J. Bloch, T. G. Bailey, (Tessitori is, alas! no more amongst us), Przyluski, D. Jeneš, S. K. Chatterji, Taraporewala, N. B. Divatia, S. Varma, Banarasidas Jain, R. Aiyar, Boddling, S. Kanhare, B. Saksona and Morgenstierne.

According to Dr. Taraporewala the main tendencies of these Junggrammatiker of India are: (a) study of the vernaculars, (b) study of anthropological and kindred data, (c) study of the classical languages, (d) study of comparative religion, and (e) study of foreign influences.

Chapter III is devoted to the language-types and the classification of languages. The author states at the outset that all through the chapter he has made use of Chapters IV-X of Tucker's *Introduction to the Natural History of Languages*. Languages may be classified in two ways: (a) syntactically or morphologically and (b) genealogically or historically. As the sentence is the unit and the foundation of language, the first type of classification is, according to the author, more reliable than the second one. Dr. Taraporewala then minutely describes the divisions of languages and while doing so he recounts the chief characteristics of Indo-European languages, viz., (i) suffix inflection, (ii) originally synthetic in structure but getting more and more analytic in course of development, (iii) monosyllabic roots with primary and secondary suffixes, (iv) syntactical prefixes unknown, (v) the power of making true compounds, (vi) vowel-gradation and (vii) flexions in great variety.

Then follow the two appendices; the first dealing with the various Language Families of the world and the second with the Indo-European Languages. It seems needless to reproduce here the information presented in these appendices in a very succinct form.

The chief influences affecting the development of languages, viz., the physical influences, racial influences, the mental outlook of a people and the cultural influences are discussed in Chapter IV and the Intellectual Laws of Language such as Analogy and kindred phenomena in Chapter V. Useful and important as these chapters are, we must pass on to the next chapter which is the most interesting dealing with Semantics or the Science of Meaning.

As a special and scientific branch of linguistic studies, Semantics is, comparatively speaking, only recently developed,¹ and much remains to be done in the subject for oriental languages,² Dr. Taraporewala treats this subject very ably and his study is all the more interesting to us inasmuch as he has striven to illustrate his statements with abundant examples from Indian languages, in particular from his mother-tongue, Gujarati.

¹ M. Bréal's *Essai de Semantique* (1897) is the first important study of the subject. Its English translation by Mrs. H. Cust appeared in 1900.

² Mr. Hemanta K. Sarkar has published an interesting paper on "the Intellectual Laws of Language and Bengali Semantics" in the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes (III Pt. 2, pp. 684 ff.). In the early part of his paper he says: "The Hindus... must not be thought of as having paid no attention to such a subject." Then he gives some stray references from Yāska, Pāṇini, the Mimāṃsā and Nyāya philosophies, etc., in support of his statement.

In discussing the changes of meaning and the reasons thereof, the author classifies them under these three heads: (i) expansion of meaning, (ii) contraction of meaning and (iii) transference of meaning. But to realise how extremely interesting the subject is, the reader must himself peruse, we feel, the pages of this chapter; a summary would miss much of its charm as it must of necessity be robbed of examples.

Chapter VII-X dealing respectively with the Production and Classification of Sounds, Phonetic Tendencies and Phonetic Change, Syntax and Form-Building and Word-Building will be of great advantage to serious students of Linguistics. An ordinary reader might not find sustaining interest in them.

Linguistic Palæontology (Chapter XI) is very important in many respects. It attempts to rebuild *Urgeschichte*, ancient history (rather "pre-history") from linguistic evidence. But the task, though very attractive, is not so easy. The linguist has, indeed, to be extremely careful in ascertaining the proper value of the linguistic evidence at his disposal before attempting to reconstruct the details of ancient history.¹ No hasty conclusions need be drawn merely from the presence or absence of a word in particular branches. An interesting example in this respect is the problem of the homeland of the Indo-Europeans.² Whether this and other kindred problems will be ultimately solved or not, it must be remembered that Linguistic Palæontology will help in a large measure to understand the Indo-European mind and its achievements.

An accurate description of the living languages of India, based chiefly on Sir G. A. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Pt. I (Introductory) and Dr. Chatterji's *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Part I. "Introduction," is given to us in Chapter XII. A brief but important account of the historical development of the Indo-Aryan languages from the earliest ages is also recorded along with the proper classification of the living speeches. The various stages in the growth of these languages have been clearly indicated.³

Before ending this review, we must take note of the two final appendices (C and D) in the first of which Dr. Taraporewala discusses the Linguistic Problem in India. Much capital is often made out of the apparent diversity and multiplicity of the languages of India by strangers who cherish some fantastic notions about the linguistic unity in India. The author, therefore, wisely removes the misconceptions just referred to at the very outset by arguing that the extent of India is equal to that of Europe (*minus* Russia), and that if India (including Ceylon and Burma) has 22 principal languages, Europe has no less than 21. The huge number of dialects in India is apt to strengthen this misconception, but be it remembered that by far the greater portion of these dialects are spoken by the forest tribes and the aboriginal inhabitants often numbering a few hundred for each tribe. As to the diversity of languages, Dr. Taraporewala states that in fact there is greater linguistic unity in India than is discernible in Europe.

¹ This is particularly true with regard to the pre-history of the Indo-Aryan. Cf. J. Bloch, "Some Problems of Indo-Aryan Philology," Forlong Lectures for 1929, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, V, pp. 713 ff.

² The many theories of the cradle-land of the Indo-European cannot be recounted here. The *consensus omnium*, however, appears to be in favour of the N.-E. shores of the Caspian. For an excellent summary of these, see Taraporewala, p. 331, and J. Charpentier, in the Bull. SOS., London, IV, pp. 148 ff.

³ Attention may be drawn in this connection to the excellent series of articles "On the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars" by Sir G. A. Grierson appearing since Feb. 1931 in the *Indian Antiquary*.

As a solution to the "threefold" (provincial, national and international) aspect of the linguistic problem in India Dr. Taraporewala first of all pleads that the country be divided (at any rate for the purposes of education) into "Linguistic Provinces," for this would no doubt bring out the best in each vernacular. For inter-provincial communion he supports the claim of "Hindustani, neither Urdu nor Hindi but a harmonious blend of both typifying in itself the two great cultures of our peoples united in a nation." For international purposes, or in his own words, "in order that the ancient Aryan message shall be proclaimed to the world, and that thus India may fulfil her destiny, she should make the English language—the World-language of the future—her own.

A Memorandum entitled "English as World-language" communicated by the author to the Northern Peace Conference Union (Stockholm, Sweden) is reproduced in Appendix D.

In the beginning of this review we said that an up-to-date manual summarising the existing data on the Science of Language had been long overdue in this country. Here is the book that will now supply the desiderata and needs not only of students of Linguistics but also of all who, in whatever capacity, are interested in language as such, which is "one of the most extraordinary creations that has developed in the course of human evolution."¹

Dr. Taraporewala is an accomplished linguist and a reputed teacher of long experience. He commands an admirably clear and simple style of explaining even the subtle intricacies of Linguistics. Unlike his *Selections from Avesta and Old Persian* (First Series, Part I), Calcutta University, 1922, the volume under review has an exhaustive General Index, an Index of Words and an Index of Authors and Books quoted. The 12 tables, 24 diagrams, etc. add considerably to the value and usefulness of the book. One only regrets the necessity of including an Errata; when will Indian printing get rid of this stigma on its reputation?

We have one more complaint. Dr. Taraporewala is perfectly justified in not regretting that the book has taken over a decade in writing and finishing; but then did he not feel the necessity of revising the subject-matter of the book, particularly the first three chapters that had been "in print quite a long while" in order to make the work most up-to-date and quite in keeping with the scientific thought of the year of its publication? One also misses in the Index of Authors the name of some of the most prominent Linguists of the day, particularly J. Bloch, Przyluski, S. Levi, Vendryes, Meillet and others.

The book deserves, nevertheless, the closest study and must be regarded as indispensable to the students and teachers of Linguistics in India and, one might add, abroad. Let our Universities prescribe it as a text-book for higher studies in Linguistics and allied subjects. The Calcutta University is to be congratulated for publishing the book. It is, in fact, perfectly in keeping with her worthy tradition of being the first Indian University that has tried to systemise the study of vernaculars and published unique works on the subject like *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* by Prof. S. K. Chatterji.

¹ Henry Berr in his foreword (p. vii) to *Language* by J. Vendryes (English translation), London, 1925.

THE MARINGS OF MANIPUR

By JYOTSNAKANTA BOSE. M.A.

Research Fellow, American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Manipur is the land of mystery since the days of hoary antiquity but it is the ethnologist's paradise as being a preserve of countless primitive tribes. In November last I had to renew my acquaintance with the area to study some new tribes as a Research Fellow of the American Museum of Natural History, thanks to the renewal of the grant by Prof. Clark Wissler this year.

Gone are the days of mystery. No twenty-one days' cart journey now through tiger-infested mountain-forest. The capital of Manipur is now one day's run from the nearest railway station. If one can enjoy the scenery sitting on loaded lorries full of rice bags jolting rhythmically on the ruts of a new asphalted road of 160 miles, one would find the run to Imphal still pleasant to the eyes though the bones would ache for days after the journey is finished. Beginning on the plains, running up to altitudes of above 4,000 feet and dropping down to a pleasant valley, the road winds its way through one of the most gorgeous sceneries and is probably one of the best motor roads of the world. Here and there a Naga with his picturesque costume mingles harmoniously with the scenery all luxuriously wild with fragrant flowers and ringing with cries of wild beasts.

Some of the amusing experiences which we had to face sometimes in handling the primitive tribes will be cited here. One of them is to get anyone before the camera and if you force any of them then a free fight may easily ensue because they think that by taking a snapshot we are capturing the soul of that man and if the soul is captured then the man will die soon. One cold dreary night when the whole camp was asleep, an agitated voice was heard outside the camp crying aloud "Shahib, Shahib." We are very much frightened with the voice and came out with sobbing heart in sleeping costumes and were amazed at the dreadful sight of a man who was bleeding profusely from the stroke of a *dao* on his head. The man in his broken voice laid a complaint that his companion hurt him with a *dao* because he had given us correct information about their customs. We called for the accused then and there and they amicably settled the matter by fining the accused person with a pig, four rupees and some pots of *zu*.

Before the subjugation of these tribes by the State they were engaged in constant warfare with each other and headhunting reigned supreme. For that reason each tribe was restricted to its own tribal area guarded by sentries to prevent raids from other camps. This system of constant alertness and activity made them hardy and active for all sorts of work. The boys were separated from the parent's custody at the age of eight or nine and kept under the guidance of a senior boy who trained them for future service to the village. These boys were trained on military lines and hazardous adventures made them heroes and brought them social prestige. When these boys grew up they were sent on for a raid to another village. The success of it was judged by the number of heads brought back by them and never by riches. The youngman who acquired a head at the time of the raid, got a special distinction from the village people and was allowed to wear a special dress which was taboo to others on ceremonial occasions. But now-a-days to bring them under control all these customs are suppressed and by this the backbone of their society is broken and the tribes are degenerating day by day with decreasing number.



THE MARINGS OF MANIPUR
A Male Group



THE MARINGS OF MANIPUR
A Female Group

The tribe which we selected for our study this year was the 'Marings.' These people live on the top or on the slope of a high hill. The villages now consist of a small number of houses and each house is occupied by a single family. But in former times they all had to live close by on account of their constant feud with the neighbours; so a large number of houses could be found in a village; but now-a-days under peaceful conditions they live in different villages for economic reasons far away from one another. The houses are made of wood and bamboo splits with grass-thatched roofs and nearly 50 to 60 feet in length and 15 to 20 feet in breadth without any plinth or windows. The interior is very dark and as soon as one enters it bad smells of old rice-beer and dried meat will stink in his nose. The furniture or other things are very scanty except some big 'bells' (jars) of *zu* (rice-beer) and some extremely useful household utensils.

The story of the traditional origin of this people is very interesting. They say that three men came out of a cave (known as *Kashli Songsong*) by the side of a river named 'Longkamdamju' in the south about three days' march from their present settlement. These three men when they came out of the cave found a man sitting on the top of a bamboo and that man asked their help and they brought him down. These four men then started a village known as 'Moulbimalchong' and are said to be the original ancestors of the different clans of the Marings.

Family is the unit of their society and it consists of a man, his wife and children. The children when they are seven or eight have to leave their parents' custody. The boys live in a bachelor's dormitory known as *Kartanga Khang* under the guidance of a senior boy who trained them in various occupations, and this house may be taken as the educational institution among these people. The girls have their own separate dormitory known as *Naka Khang* where they learn various household duties under the able guidance of a senior lady who may be married or a widow.

The most striking thing is that their names are fixed in all cases before their birth. In the case of the eldest son the name is *meba*, the second *koba*, the third *angba*, the fourth *meba*, and the fifth *khamba*. If in any case another son is born after the fifth, he is also named as *khamba* or sometimes by *laitolba*. In the case of girls too the eldest one is known as *tibi*, the second *tobi*, the third *tungbi*, the fourth *sankhubi*, and the fifth *khambi* and in this case too if any other girl is born after the fifth she is called as *khambi* or *laidong*. This type of naming leads us to great confusion as they all looked alike to us in their appearances.

Marriage among them is regulated by exogamy, that is, a man has to marry outside his own group. If in any case this rule is violated then that man has to pay a heavy compensation for the breach and sometimes the man is even driven out from the village. There are several forms of marriage in vogue among them but the most important and the regular form is the marriage by service. In this form the man has to serve for three years in the house of his future father-in-law as we find in Biblical traditions Jacob's service for fourteen years to win the hands of Leah and Rachel.

The religion of this tribe consists of ceremonies and festivals with occasional worship. The benevolent spirits are never cared for, on the other hand sacrifices are often offered to malevolent spirits to avert their evil eyes, which, in their opinion, bring all sorts of calamities. The highest God is known as 'Nungthoutherai' who is the creator of this universe and is annually worshipped with elaborate ceremony.

The University, Calcutta.

Miscellany

1. Evasion of Taxes in France.

The topic for discussion at the *Société de' Economie Politique* of Paris on January 5 was "fiscal fraud." M. Lecarpentier was the chief speaker.

The evasion of taxes has been going on, in the first place, in the domain of tariffs or custom duties, said he. The fraud consists in the false declaration of quantum or value. As for the state monopolies (*e. g.* tobacco and matches), the fraud is to be found in the contraband trade. But neither false declaration nor smuggling lead to a considerable loss in revenue, according to Lecarpentier. More substantial is the loss sustained by the Government on account of the frauds committed in the Departments of Registration and Stamps.

In regard to the indirect taxes the commission of fraud is rather easy. Certain taxes on consumption lead to a loss of some 500 million francs. It is very difficult to mend the situation because those who commit the fraud are strongly supported by influential sections in the *Chambre des Députés*.

Then remain the direct personal taxes to be considered. The salaried officials of Government and other large offices cannot indeed make any false declaration in regard to the income. But there is a vast amount of fraud going on in small offices whose proprietors very often understate to the tax collector the salaries or wages on their pay rolls, in order to avoid unfriendly relations with the employees.

It is strange, says Lecarpentier on the authority of a specialist in direct taxation, that no motor driver, cook, servant or bearer belonging to richer families ever pays any tax. And yet everybody knows that when one considers the housing, food and *bakhshish* (*Pourboire*) chances enjoyed by such persons their income rises to decent figures.

Altogether, the income of the Government from the taxes on salaries might be doubled had there been no fraud committed so systematically and along so many fronts.

The non-commercial professions evade taxes in a tremendous manner. The loss to the state is to be measured by four fifths or three fourths of what it ought to realise.

As for the industrial and commercial enterprises the smaller ones, *i. e.* those with business not exceeding 50,000 francs, practise an enormous fraud. But in larger enterprises the Treasury is cheated to the extent of some 20 per cent.

The taxable income derived from shares and securities is nearly 10 milliard francs. The loss to the state in revenue on account of simple non-payment of taxes or fraud amounts to nearly half a milliard.

According to President Colson it is impossible to control the fraud because the publicity of income is not likely to be tolerated by the French people. In England and other countries, on the other hand, said he, the amount of inheritance is announced publicly.

Several speakers suggested that if the State wanted the taxpayers to be honest in declarations and payments it should itself set the example of honesty and morality. Prof. Truchy, for instance, believes that the Government practises dishonesty in the discharge of its functions when

it levies and uses taxes more according to the political passions and electoral interests than in accordance with the requirements of public welfare. The taxpayer who feels that he is being treated as a pariah and deprived of justice which the state owes to all citizeness naturally protects himself by fraud.

Another cause of the commission of fraud is, according to Truchy, the unduly high rate of taxation. In order to control the fiscal fraud the state will have to curtail its public expenditure so that it be relieved of the necessity of imposing excessive taxes. The problem is thus connected with the larger question of the rôle of the modern state and of the reasonable limits within which its functions ought to be circumscribed.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

2. Indian Archaeological Explorations in Tibet and Nepal

Professors Giuseppe Tucci and Carlo Formichi, well-known indologists, were deputed by the *Reale Accademia d'Italia* last year to Tibet and Nepal. They have returned to Rome after their explorations. According to the *Times* of London Signor Tucci, who had already visited Tibet three times, left Italy last May, and with a caravan and 30 horses and 17 men of Western Tibet began an extended tour through the country. He had brought back with him about 3,000 Tibetan manuscripts, 300 statues, and hundreds of different objects of historical, archaeological, linguistic and philosophical interest. The full result of the expedition will be published in due course both in book form and through lectures.

Signor Tucci's accounts to the Press seem sufficiently ample to support his claims to have "traversed regions hitherto unpenetrated by explorers," to have been "the first man to visit the interior of some famous monasteries," and, thanks to his "knowledge of 20 dialects of the Tibetan language," to have acquired an intimate knowledge of the country and its inhabitants such as no one of his predecessors brought away with him.

He does not explain how he managed to enter Tibet, but according to one newspaper, he declared himself to be deeply indebted to the help of the British authorities. Describing his journey, which took him altogether over 1,000 miles, Signor Tucci says that the expedition, which included as photographer Captain Gherzi, a naval doctor, crossed over the Rotang Pass and came first to the monastery of Toiling.

Signor Tucci claims that in the last 100 years only four Europeans have crossed the threshold of this monastery and that they did not penetrate, as he did, into its halls of initiation and into its most sacred recesses.

Here they stopped for some time, and Captain Gherzi took about 90 photographs, particularly of the precious frescoes which adorn the walls of the stucco statues which are a conspicuous ornament. Signor Tucci was allowed to look at some ancient manuscripts, and he engaged "in long theological, philosophical and religious discussions with the leading monk." On leaving there they visited the monastery of Rabgyeling, "never as yet visited by a European," and thence went to the monastery of Lalung, and "many others which it is unnecessary to name, where we were always received with great honour and where the monks put at our disposal everything we wished to see and to photograph."

Signor Tucci mentions that the "English maps which we had with us were of comparatively little value to us. We found the distances and altitudes not to correspond with those given on the map, the existence of villages where there were none marked, and *vice versa*."

In order to win the confidence of the monks Signor Tucci made a point of "eating and drinking exactly as the Tibetans did," however unpalatable the diet might be, and when he entered a monastery, of "behaving exactly as a Lama would." In addition he made free use of rupees, which were "much appreciated." Thus, whenever he had occasion to deal with the authorities he used to "send in advance a letter, a shawl, and an appropriate quantity of rupees."

As an example of what can be accomplished by a mixture of bribery and a knowledge of Tibetan psychology, Signor Tucci mentions his method of obtaining a certain statue.

This statue was an Indian representation of *Salon*, a divinity said by tradition to have been born by spontaneous generation. He declared that he had "dreamed that this divinity wished to go with him." The local wizard (*stregone*) thereupon summoned a meeting in the temple where the feasibility of such a thing was debated. Finally, one of the advocates "declared Signor Tucci to be a Buddhist" and "produced as proof a photograph of his study," which it seems, does "nearly resemble a Tibetan temple." At this moment the wizard who had accepted a gift of rupees, "opportunistically fell into a trance" and in this condition "placed the statue upon Signor Tucci's head."

Signor Tucci met Signor Formichi on the frontier of Nepal, and pays a tribute to the "exceptional benevolence" of the Prime Minister of Nepal in admitting them to the country. A number of manuscripts were also collected here.

After the fatigues of his expedition Signor Tucci has gone down to rest at Amali before he begins thoroughly to decipher his manuscripts and to set in order the quantity of valuable material which he had brought to Rome.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

8. Haushofer's Cult of Geopolitik.

The successful completion of the tenth year by the *Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik* or Journal of Geopolitics (Berlin) in December, 1933, furnishes an occasion for the world of social science to devote some attention to a new category by which it has been getting enriched in recent years. This category is none other than *Geopolitik* and we are indebted to Prof. Karl Haushofer of Munich for this enrichment in the realm of societal thinking.

Geopolitics and Geo-graphy (-logy).

Geopolitik is as simple as Geopolitics or the politics of the Earth. As such it conveys hardly any significance however. It is certainly not possible on the strength of such a naive etymology to raise *Geopolitik* to a veritable cult as Haushofer has been attempting.

Perhaps in order to avoid misunderstanding it is desirable to remark at the outset that Geopolitics or the politics of the Earth is not to be confounded with its nearest terminological comrade, geography, or geology

(*Erdkunde*). In other words, it is not the so-called geographical (climato-logical) influences on man and society,¹—the impact of Nature on Kultur or civilization or political geography as usually understood that "determine" Haushofer's interpretations of social institutions. We are not encountering in this new cult of 'geopolitics' but the modernized version of Bodin, Montesquieu, Hegel, Buckle and others. Works like Bagehot's *Physics and Politics*, Ratzel's *Politische Geographie* or Huntington's *Civilization and Climate* are not treatises in the geopolitical sense. Nor are we to understand that the ten volumes of the *Zeitschrift* have made it a point to specialize in geological explorations or the mineralogical and metallurgical foundations of modern prosperity.

Both geography and geology are indeed to be found as contents in geopolitics. But geopolitics is more extensive and comprehensive than either and is at any rate not to be taken as embodying the doctrine of a geographical or geological "interpretation of history," politics, and culture.

Geopolitics and World-Politics.

Another near terminological comrade of *Geopolitik* would be *Welt-politik* or world politics. But it would be no less a mistake to identify geopolitics with world-politics.

The *Zeitschrift* is certainly interested in the political developments of the world. In fact two regular correspondents furnish this journal with news and notes relating to two different Hemispheres, so to say. One deals with the Atlantic world and the other with the Indo-Pacific domain. It is interesting that the two regions are named not according to any country or continent but according to the oceans. And yet in Haushofer's hands the journal has not grown into what might easily become a review of international politics, international relations and law. *Geopolitik* is by all means the study of international politics, current history and diplomacy but it is something more.

Some Fundamentals.

Let us take some of the topics discussed during the half-year, July to December, 1933, and we shall get an idea of the contents of the category *Geopolitik*. The following titles may be regarded as belonging to the group of fundamentals in this new discipline:—

1. Space and State (Baumann).
2. Questions of Population Science.
3. Air-Transport in Progress (Kornrumpf).
4. What is Biological "Mono culture"? (Lehmann).
5. Mining and the Intellectual World (Meisner).

One understands that in these fundamentals we touch the subjects dealt with in economics, politics as well as sociology.

The Geopolitical Method.

Applied to Japan.

Haushofer himself as teacher at the University of Munich, has to deal with anthropology, and his special field is Japan. And he takes

¹ On geographical determinists see Hankins: "Sociology" in the *History and Prospects of Social Sciences*, edited by Barnes (New York, 1925).

interest also in China and India. The second edition of his *Japan und die Japaner* ("Japan and the Japanese") has been just published by Teubner (Leipzig and Berlin, 248 pp.). Simultaneously came out his *Japans Werdegang als Weltmacht und Empire* (Japanese Development as World-Power and Empire) from the house of Gruyter & Co. (Berlin, 152 pp.). The manner in which he deals with the Japanese data in these books is a good illustration of the concept of geopolitics.

In the latter work Haushofer's *Leitmotif* consists in the analysis of *Raumaot* (need for space) as constituting the basic urge of Japanese public life. Japan is exhibited, in the first place, in the *milieu* of her internal progress from point to point. But the relations of Japan with the external world—with the neighbours—occupy the chief attention. We are enabled to feel that the Western Pacific theatre of activities, the "Great Malayan" problem, the "Far Eastern Question," the Pan-Asiatic Movement as well as the world-crisis furnish the true perspectives of thoughts and enterprises in Japan. Haushofer believes that, other circumstances remaining the same, a Monroe Doctrine for Eastern Asia, or a Japanese thesis of non-intervention, is almost a *fait accompli*.

In *Japan und die Japaner* in the form in which we have it in the new edition, Haushofer makes it clear that more momentous than earthquake, fire, flood and other natural geographical catastrophes in Japanese life to-day is the anthropologico-geographical fact that Japan has run headlong into the most acute storm-centre of problems in increasing population. While, therefore, he is not unmindful of the climate volcanoes, sea-coasts, flora, fauna, technology, industries, ports, etc., his attention is concentrated on the "dynamic" of the people's policies, urbanization, the question of colonial expansion, the strategy of the state as well as the voice of the national soul.

The Geopolitics of German Problems.

From these and other writings of Haushofer's as well as the trend of contributions, reports, reviews and notes by his colleagues in the *Zeitschrift* one should be in a position to frame a pragmatic definition of geopolitics, should it be possible to define it while it is perhaps still in a fluid condition.

It is in this connection that the application of the geopolitical method to the treatment of problems bearing on Germany should be of profound interest. The following titles of papers published during the six months from July to December, 1933, refer especially to Germany:

1. The Biology of Germans settled in Foreign Countries (Burgdoerfer)
2. The German Boundary on the Maas River (Fink).
3. Where lies the German Foreign Policy? (Hesse).
4. From Herder to Hitler (Sarkar).
5. The German Economic Structure with special reference to the Colonization of the Eastern Districts (Volz).
6. Does the Geographical Position of Germany Forbid an Expansion on the Sea? (Von Waldeor-Hartz.)
7. The "Factory-Village" the Future Form of Colonization in Eastern Germany (Widermann).
8. The Imperial Auto-Roads of Germany.

The second decade of the *Zeitschrift* begins (January, 1934) with two important essays. The one by Haushofer himself deals with "breathing space, field for life and equality of treatment on earth." The other

essay is by Kurt Trampler and is entitled "German Frontiers." "The destiny of a people," says he, "is determined by its frontiers, by the space-limitations of its settlements, by its place in the surrounding world."

Trampler as Exponent of Geopolitics.

The geopolitical thesis of Trampler is worded as follows:—"The more the activities of a people are fenced in by a single boundary-line, the wider the space enclosed therein and the shorter the boundary line, the more the territorial structure of its border-districts renders it difficult of intrusion from outside and easy of access from inside, the more securely and peacefully can its destiny develop. And the more easily will a simple and unambiguous boundary-sense common to the entire community grow in that people."

The application of this doctrine to German conditions is made by Trampler in the following manner: "In regard to the German people," says he, "all these advantages of boundary-structure are lacking and have been lacking to a considerable extent throughout its entire history, stormy and full of conflicts as it is. The cultural, racial, statal and defence boundaries of our people do not correspond with one another. Much too lengthy boundary-lines fence in a much compressed space. The German people has always been more and more forced away from the natural defence lines."

"If then, inspite of the unfavourable boundaries the German people is to preserve and continue its existence," says Trampler, "one thing is necessary, namely, the clear consciousness of all sections of the German people about the solid facts regarding the past history and present conditions of its struggle over the boundaries, as well as the adaptation of every function and activity of German life to its requirements."

Boundaries and Neighbours.

By geopolitics, then, is to be understood the study of the most pivotal fact in group life, namely, first, its boundaries or frontiers, and secondly, its neighbours. Every race, people, or nation is by its very existence naturally doomed to have dealings with its neighbours to the north, south, east and west. Emigration and immigration of men and women, exports and imports of goods, wars and treaties, migrations of discoveries and inventions, movements of disease as well as drugs, in one word, contacts, relations or intercourse with the natural and social forces beyond one's boundaries are phenomena which are almost inevitably determined for every race or region. It is the study of *all* these forces, almost in the manner of the biologist, or ecologist in their bearings on every single country or people ¹ that furnishes the groundwork of *Geopolitik*.

The data of this science look at one time like geographical, at another time like ethnographic or anthropological, once economic, and then again demographic and what not. The whole view of life, movement, progress, etc., is of course the object of the final study.

The connecting link is to be found in the idea that it is the function of the men and women within the region or the group so to master or

¹ For an ecological interpretation of world-forces see in this connection: Sarkar: *The Science of History and the Hope of Mankind* (London, 1912) and *The Politics of Boundaries and Tendencies in International Relations* (Calcutta, 1926).

utilize the world forces of all denominations as to obtain the most beneficial results for themselves. *Geopolitik* becomes thereby the science of the "politics of boundaries" or applied economics in its widest sociological framework. It is thus easily the most dynamic science for every nationalist-minded statesman.

The Pluralism of Geopolitics.

It is obvious that the cult of the geopolitics cannot afford to indulge in any brand of monism. Neither the climatological nor the economic "interpretation" of human personality or societal transformation can have an *exclusive* sway in this discipline. The geopolitician will likewise eschew and consider unscientific the attempts at explaining the progress of the world solely by racial or ethnic and eugenic factors¹. In his judgment the remaking of mankind is being consummated by a plurality of creative agencies. *Geopolitik* is therefore a wide-awake science, responsive to the most diverse stimuli or the socio-cultural environment, and as such bids fair to have a promising future as an instrument of pluralistic energism.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

¹ See in this connection Barnes : *The Rise of "Scientific Sociology" in Social Reform Programs and Movements* (*Encyclopaedia Americana*, New York, 1919) and Hankins : *The Racial Basis of Civilization* (New York, 1927).

Reviews and Notices of Books

(1) *The Pallava Genealogy*, by the Rev. H. Heras, S. J., Bombay, Indian Historical Research Institute, 1931, and (2) *Studies in Pallava History*, by the Rev. H. Heras, S. J., Madras, B. G. Paul & Co., 1933.

In these two treatises the Rev. H. Heras, S. J., who is Director, Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, seeks to elucidate the history and chronology of the great Pallava emperors of Southern India. In the *Pallava Genealogy* he makes an attempt "to unify the Pallava pedigrees of the inscriptions" and prove that there was only one dynasty of Pallava kings consisting of 24 rulers. The second treatise entitled *Studies in Pallava History*, comprises three lectures delivered at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The first lecture deals with the Pallava conquest of Kāñchipura and develops the theories adumbrated in the *Pallava Genealogy*. The second lecture seeks to give a critical analysis of the evidence regarding the Pallava-Chalukya wars. The concluding lecture is concerned with the builders of Mahābalipuram, their artistic ideals and their contribution to the aesthetics of South Indian architecture and sculpture.

Father Heras has undoubtedly shown much ingenuity in sifting the evidence of inscriptions, particularly those relating to the bitter contest between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas, and there is a good deal of force in his criticism of the untenable conjectures of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and others. But some of his contentions are clearly not acceptable and his statements of facts are not always marked by accuracy and precision. The weakest part of his work is that relating to the Pallava pedigrees. The treatment of this subject betrays just those shortcomings for which the author criticises rather severely Mr. H. Krishna Sastri. Just as Krishna Sastri cuts off "Nara" from the name Narasimhavarman and finds out the name Simhaviṣṇu, so Heras himself drops Siva from Sivaskandavarman and finds out Kumāravishṇu, adding that "the change of *Skanda* into *Kumāra* is only a change of sound, but not a change of meaning. To the latter name the name *Viṣṇu* has been appended very likely on account of the eclectic view of the monarch." A similar reasoning would enable one to identify *Skanda* Gupta with *Kumāra* Gupta and turn *Simhavarman* into *Simhaviṣṇu*. The mere fact that Kumāravishṇu is represented in a late epigraph as having captured Kāñchi does not necessarily indicate that he was the first king of his line to conquer that great city. Vīra Ballāla II of Dorasamudra is styled "taker of Talakāḍ" and Kirtivarman I is called *Vātāpyāḥ prathama vidhātā*, but it is well known that the former was not the first Hoysala to capture Talakāḍ, nor was the latter the first Chalukya to rule over Vātāpi. The author thinks (*The Pallava Genealogy*, p. 10) that Bappa, the ancestor of Sivaskandavarman, was not a very important monarch and his title *Mahārāja* is very insignificant. But a few pages further on (p. 14) he draws pointed attention to the "flavour of antiquity and veneration suggested by his epithets" "The Great King, the Lord Bappa, a giver of many *Krors* of gold and of one hundred thousand ox-ploughs." To support his conjecture that Sivaskandavarman (whom he identifies with Kumāravishṇu) was the first Pallava to rule in Kāñchi the author is compelled to surmise that the king, his father, was "absent in the previous capital, probably in Andhradeśa" (p. 11). But this is contradicted by the evidence of the Mayidavolu plates according to which the Andhrāpātha in the time of the *Yuva-mahārāja*

Sivaskandavarman was in charge of an official (*Vyāpṛita*) who received his orders from the crown prince at Kāñchī. It may be added here in passing that in both his works Father Heras confounds the names and titles of the kings mentioned in the Prākṛit charters. Thus in his *Studies* (pp. 7, 12) he speaks of the Mayidavolu plates of *Vijayaskandavarman* and finds the name *Vijayaskandavarman* also in the Hiraḥaḍagalli Plates! In his *Pallava Genealogy* (p. 10) referring to the Hiraḥaḍagalli and Mayidavolu Plates he says that the *former* was issued when he was only the *Yuva-mahārāja* and the *latter* when he was the *mahārājādhirāja*!

The identification of Aśvatthāman with Virakūrcha (p. 15), because each of these personages is represented as having married a Nāga woman, is of a piece with the identification of Sivaskandavarman with Kumāra-vishṇu. Will any one identify Dharmapāla of Bengal with Rājyapāla because both took wives from the Rāshtrakūṭa family, or Krishna II of Mānyakheṭa with Indra III because both married princesses belonging to the Kalachuri line of Chedi?

Equally untenable is the identification of the *Yuvamahārāja* Vishṇu gopavarman of Palakkāḍa with the South Indian King (*Dakṣhināpatharāja*) Vishṇugopa of Kāñchī defeated by Samudragupta. To obviate the difficulties attending such a conjecture the author surmises (*The Pallava Genealogy*, p. 19) that "The defeat of Vishṇugopa at the hands of Samudragupta took place when the former was only a prince, during the reign of his father Skandavarman II." If Vishṇugopa was only a prince and his father was the reigning sovereign of Kāñchī why is the name of the prince and not that of his father the king, included in the list of *Sarva-Dakṣhināpatharāja* captured and liberated by the Gupta emperor?

While the author's reconstruction of the Pallava genealogy is hardly satisfactory, his account of the Pallava-Chalukya contest is, on the whole, both interesting and informing, though here again some of his statements are hardly accurate. We do not know on what reliable evidence he makes Pulikeśi II, Vikramāditya's grand-father (*Studies*, p. 36). In the account of Pulikeśi's wars with the Pallavas he misses altogether the significance of the following passage of the Aihole record:—

"When straightway he strove to conquer the Cholas, the Kāveri..... had her current obstructed by the causeway formed by his elephants....."

"There he caused great prosperity to the Cholas, Keralas and Pāṇḍyas, he being the hot-rayed sun to the hoar-frost—the army of the Pallavas."

In the concluding lecture Father Heras controverts the theories of several South Indian scholars and comes to the conclusion that it was Mahendravarman I who laid the "foundation stone of the grandeur and reputation" of Mahābalipuram as the "birth-place of South Indian architecture and sculpture." But he admits that "the style of the Adhivarāha Temple, specially of the pillars, does not fall within the canons of the Mahendra Style." In spite of its obvious limitations the book will be useful to students of Pallava history.

H. C. R. C.

Early History of Kamarupa, by Rai K. L. Barua Bahadur, B.L. Published by the Author, Shillong. Demy octavo xx+342+8 pages with 25 illustrations. Popular edition, price Rs. 5.

The importance of writing histories for the different provinces of the sub-continent of India cannot be exaggerated and it is a happy sign of the time that Indian scholars have turned their attention to this supremely important work. Assam, though one of the lesser provinces in respect of population, etc., has yet a past which is scarcely less glorious than that of

many other provinces of India. We have therefore no hesitation in offering our welcome to Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua's *Early History of Kāmarūpa* in which the author has attempted to present a connected history of the old kingdom of Kāmarūpa from the earliest times to the closing years of the sixteenth century A.C. Sir Edward Gait's well-known history of Assam, the pioneer work in the field of Assam history, which has happily run into the second edition, treats the history of the Ahom period more fully than that of the earlier period wherein much room for improvement has been left. This task of presenting a fuller picture of the pre-Ahom period of Assam history has been undertaken by the author of the work under review and, we must admit, he has performed it well.

Rai Bahadur Barua's book has certain features which have made it particularly attractive. His intimate knowledge about the geography and people of Assam has enabled him to throw new light on and offer proper interpretation to some of the information gleaned from epigraphic sources. He has happily not chosen to confine himself to the political history of his province. The chapters on the Cultural and Material Progress, the Vaishnava Reformation, and the Growth of Literature are particularly interesting, though it is often difficult to accept the conclusions drawn by him.

The early history of Kāmarūpa, however, like that of other Indian provinces, is not free from controversial matters, and our author, while he has not avoided them, cannot be said, as can be hardly expected, to have satisfactorily solved all the problems raised by scholars. While some of the conclusions made by him can neither be proved nor disproved for want of positive evidence, there are some which are sure to be generally rejected by scholars. As it is not possible to discuss fully all such controversial topics within the limited space at our disposal, we can touch only a few of them here. One of his theories which seems to have greatly impressed his imagination is that in very ancient times, say about 1000 B. C., the *janapada* of Prāgyotisha stretched in the west up to the banks of the river Kosi thus including within itself not only the greater part of northern Bengal but also the Purnea district of North Bihar, while "the greater part of lower Bengal or Vaṅga was probably under the sea," and that "Prāgyotisha or Kāmarūpa was therefore Aryanized long before central or lower Bengal." In his eagerness to justify this theory he has ventured to remark that "it is perhaps a mistake to associate the Puṇḍras with the stretch of country which came to be known as Puṇḍravardhana in the Gupta period." In support of this view he has referred to the authority of the Cambridge History of India. In that work Prof. Rapson has no doubt identified the ancient Puṇḍra-*janapada* with modern Chota Nāgpur (p. 317), but he has adduced no reasons for this identification and in this he has simply followed Mr Pargiter. But Mr. Pargiter himself, while locating the Paṇḍras, presumably a branch of the Puṇḍras, in Chota Nāgpur, has placed the main body of the Puṇḍras in northern Bengal (*vide* J. A. S. B., Vol. LXVI, 1897, pp. 99-102). In the Mahābhārata in connection with Bhīma's *divijaya* in Eastern India the Puṇḍra-*janapada* has been placed in the neighbourhood of the Kausikī-kaccha which points to northern Bengal. The name Puṇḍra-*vardhana*, which is much older than the Gupta period and is associated not only with the Maurya emperors of Magadha but also with the Buddha and his times, clearly shows that the Puṇḍra people were connected with northern Bengal from very ancient times. For the recently found Mahāsthān inscription of the Maurya period has definitely established the identification of *Puṇḍra-nagara* with Mahāsthān on the Karatoyā (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, Part II). Hence it seems to us that the theory of the western boundary of Kāmarūpa being the river Kosi cannot stand the test of scrutiny for a moment, for the location of the ancient Puṇḍra-*janapada* in north Bengal intervening

between Videha and Kāmarūpa seems incontestable. Nor does the author's theory that Kāmarūpa was Aryanised long before central and lower Bengal, that is, Vaṅga, seem at all tenable. He bases his argument on the Puranic and Epic references to Naraka and Bhagadatta which, according to him, show that Prāgyjotisha came under Aryan influence about the time of the Bhārata war. Apart from the argument that these references really establish nothing about the Aryanisation of Prāgyjotisha, it may be pointed out here that these references would suggest Aryan influence in the *janapadas* of Bengal also, *viz.*, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, etc., about the time of the Bhārata war. Indeed the theory of the Aryanisation of Kāmarūpa before that of Bengal has absolutely no ground to stand upon. The existence of Mithilan influences in the social life of modern Assam can perhaps be better explained by referring to other historical facts of a later date, *e.g.*, the western extension of the Kāmarūpa kingdom beyond its traditional boundary, the Karatoyā, under Bhāskaravarman, Harshadeva as well as the Kāmatā kings and the early Koch rulers, and the probable migration of Mithilan people to the Kāmarūpa kingdom after the Muslim conquest of Tirhut in the fourteenth century A.C.

The identity of Prāgyjotisha and Kāmarūpa has been tacitly assumed; but no explanation whatsoever has been offered as to how the two names came to denote the same region. Following Sir Edward Gait the name Prāgyjotishapura has been taken to mean the "City of Eastern Astrology or Astronomy," but this explanation as well as the attempt to justify it by reference to the temple of Navagraha in the vicinity of the modern city of Gauhati do not, I think, deserve any serious attention from scholars. It seems these two names originally represented two different tribes which have given their names to western Assam, the Prāgyjotishas, which came earlier, being ousted by the Kāmarūpas in later times. It is to be noted that even in the time of the Kamauhi grant of Vaidyadeva Prāgyjotisha and Kāmarūpa were not regarded as fully identical, the former being the name of a *bhukti* and the latter that of a *maṇḍala*. There seems to be much reason in the contention of Dr. R. G. Basak that Kāmarūpa was the name of a province of which the capital was called Prāgyjotisha. This appears to have been the case in later times, but in their origin they seem to have been two different tribal names. I think, however, that Rai Bahadur Barua's identification of Davāka of the Kauśāmbī Prastā of Samudra-Gupta with the Kapih valley in the Nowgong District of Assam is likely to be generally accepted by scholars. As a matter of fact I myself suggested this identification in an article in the Journal of the Assam Research Society (Vol. I, No. 1).

Our author says, "There are good reasons to suppose that about the time of the Mahābhārata war Kāmarūpa formed a Dravidian kingdom and that the kings of the dynasty of Naraka and Bhagadatta were of the Dravidian origin like the Aikshākus of Ayodhyā and the Janakas of Videha" (p. 25). In the Surma Plains also "the Dravidians formed the predominant element in the population as now" (p. 20). Statements like these should not have been seriously made even on the authority of late Mr. Pargiter. The suggestion that the *Cultis* mentioned by the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea were gold coins used by the Kalita *sadāgars* of Assam is, to say the least, extremely fanciful, and equally fanciful is his identification of the Indoi of Ptolemy located in India extra Gangem with the Hindus (pp. 9 and 189). The mistaken form of the name of the battle-field of Tarāin or Talāwari, namely Tirauri, has also been unfortunately retained in this book, though V. A. Smith pointed out long before that "most English books miscall the battle-field Tirauri" (Early History of India, p. 408, ft. n.).

Rai Bahadur Barua has placed Pushyavarman about 380 A.D., but he might have placed him about thirty years earlier with better reasons like Drs. H. C. Ray and R. G. Basak. While the identification of the Kausikā of the Nidhanpur plates with the Kosi of North Bihar cannot be regarded as final, the identification of Shih-li-cha-ta-lo of Yuan Chwang with the modern district of Sylhet so strongly upheld by Mm. P. N. Bhattacharya and accepted by our author does not seem to us at all tenable. The suggestion that Śaśāṅka was originally a vassal of Mahā-senagupta is plausible, though positive proof in favour of this is lacking. But the suggestion that Bhāskaravarman conquered the Gauḍa kingdom early in his reign and ruled over it till his death cannot yet be regarded as final, though I think much can be said in its favour. The controversy about this has been ably discussed by Dr. R. G. Basak in his *History of North-Eastern India* (pp. 225-229) where the author has put forward a new theory. Rai Bahadur Barua has unfortunately failed to notice the existence of a king of Kārnasuvarṇa named Jayanāga who was first known from an inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 60 *et seq.*) and who is mentioned in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (p. 637) probably as a successor of Śaśāṅka. In view of these facts our author ought to have proceeded more cautiously before regarding Bhāskaravarman's conquest of Kārnasuvarṇa as permanent. On p. 70 of the book the author makes the suggestion that Rājabhāṭa, king of Samatāṭa, mentioned by I-tsing, may have been a vassal under the Kāmarūpa king. But he has again failed to notice that this Rājabhāṭa has been identified by scholars with Rājārāja-bhāṭa, the fourth king of the Khadga dynasty which ruled independently over Samatāṭa in the seventh century A.C. So there can be no question of Rājabhāṭa being a vassal under Kāmarūpa kings. The identification of Devavarman, the king of Eastern India, mentioned by Hwui Lun, the Korean priest, with Śālastambha or any other Kāmarūpa king (pp. 72 and 106) as well as the arguments put forth in favour of this identification is really astounding. Dr. R. C. Majumdar is inclined to identify this Devavarman with Devakhaḍga, the third king of the Khadga dynasty of Samatāṭa. Dr. R. G. Basak's identification of this Devavarman with Devagupta (III), son of Adityasena (*History of North-Eastern India*, pp. 180 and 206), seems to be more reasonable. But in any case his identification with the *mlecchādhnātha* Śālastambha of Kāmarūpa must be regarded as absolutely fantastic. Equally fantastic and unwarranted by facts is the assumption that, since the conquest of Kārnasuvarṇa by Bhāskaravarman early in the seventh century, eastern Magadha and the whole of modern Bengal remained under the overlordship of Kāmarūpa kings till the end of the reign of Harshadeva about 750 A.D. (pp. 72 and 112). In the Ragholi plates of Jayavardhana there is reference to a king of Puṇḍra, "skilful in destroying his enemies," who was killed by a chief of the Saila family, and scholars have placed this king of Puṇḍra on palaeographic grounds towards the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century A.C. This fact certainly militates against the theory of continuous overlordship of Kāmarūpa kings over Bengal from the beginning of the seventh to the middle of the eighth century. Again, the very title of the poem *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja shows beyond doubt that the *Magadhanātha* defeated and killed by Yaśovarman was by origin a Gauḍa, who was the master of Magadha as well as of the Gauḍa kingdom. After his victory over the Gauḍa king of Magadha Yaśovarman is also said to have defeated the king of Vaṅga. So on the strength of the evidence of the *Gauḍavaho* we may perhaps assert without fear of contradiction that about the time of Yaśovarman's conquering expeditions the Gauḍa and Vaṅga divisions of Bengal were each being ruled by an independent king. So the theory of continuous overlordship of Kāmarūpa over Bengal till about 760

A.D. falls to the ground. But Rai Bahadur Barua has gone further and has even ventured to identify the Gauḍa-Magadhan adversary of Yaśovarman with Harshadeva of Kāmarūpa. But how the Kāmarūpi king Harshadeva could be regarded as a Gauḍa and a Magadhanātha by Vākpatirāja passes our understanding. Indeed in the Paśupati temple inscription of Jayadeva he is styled as lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kalinga and Kośala. But Harshadeva who was a Kāmarūpi according to our author could not possibly be also a Gauḍa so as to justify the title of the poem Gauḍavaho, while there is no evidence to show that he ever occupied the throne of Magadha so that he might be called Magadhanātha by Vākpatirāja. So it is needless to say that our author's contention of Harshadeva being the Gauḍa-Magadhan adversary of Yaśovarman is absolutely baseless. But he goes so far as to make his Kāmarūpa king not only the overlord of Magadha but also of Videha (equating Kośala with North Bihar!) and even of the eastern portion of the United Provinces up to Ayodhyā (pp 112-13) which really takes one's breath away.

We have little space left to us to discuss in detail all the points in which in our opinion the author has failed to grasp the truth. But we may only point out here that to regard Mahārājādhirāja Ādityasena, the performer of the horse-sacrifice, and his descendant, Jivitagupta II, as petty rulers of Magadha, to call the Pūlas indigenous rulers of Magadha, to place Gopāla about the end of the eighth century and to call the dynasty of Vajra-varman and Jātavarman a dynasty of Magadha, to mention only a few points, are on the face of them unhistorical and unwarranted by facts. I leave it to linguists to give their judgment as to whether the "old Kāmarūpi dialect was originally a variety of Eastern Maithili" (pp 93 and 318). Similarly I would like to refer it to the students of ancient Indian art and iconography for their opinion on the following statement of the author—"Another striking feature of this piece of work (the Parbatia temple) is the pose of the figures of Gangā and Jamunā which seems to be characteristically Greek while in their anatomical correctness these figures resemble the Hellenic art more than anything else" (p. 179 and *vide* plates facing pp. 175, 176 and 178). Another noticeable feature of the book is that while all foreign influences upon the social and cultural life of Kāmarūpa have been sought to be explained by reference to Mithilā, not a word has been said about the close cultural relationship between Bengal and Kāmarūpa except the statement that the latter received from the former the most obnoxious phase of Tāntrikism of which Kāmarūpa has the ill reputation of being the original centre. Moreover, a spirit of chauvinism of a very limited character runs through the whole book which, I fear, has taken away much of the value of the work.

The get-up of the book is satisfactory, but the whole book bristles with printing mistakes which together with the scanty use of diacritical marks and faulty transliteration such as. Mourya, Choitra, Koshala, Jamuna, to cite only a few instances, often offer themselves as obstacles in the way of the reader. The index does not contain many important words used in the body of the book which of course must be regarded as a serious defect of the work. Another shortcoming is the want of a map accompanying the book owing to which the reader is often at a loss as to the positions of many of the place-names referred to in the text. But one must admit that in spite of all these defects this work must be regarded as a distinct contribution to the study of Indian History and that the lucidity of the author's style makes the reading of the book pleasant and interesting.

(1) Introduction to the Study of Hadith: (2) Taqdir and Predestination by Maulana Muhammed Ali, M.A., B.L.

Maulana Muhammad Ali, the head of the Lahor Party of the Qadiani sect of the Muslims, is a well known writer on Islamic subjects. His English translation of the Quran and the History of the Early Caliphs are familiar to those who are interested in these subjects, and are marked for plain statement of facts in simple language.

The *Introduction to the Study of Hadith* is written by him to make people familiar with the broad facts connected with the vast and important literature in Arabic on the traditions of Islam. The author has tried to give a short sketch of the origin and the development of this literature without going in to the details, and without discussing the difficult problems connected with subjects, which have been thoroughly and admirably discussed by the German scholar, I. Goldziher, in his remarkable work, the *Muhammadanischen Studien*.

Maulana Muhammad Ali's work is sure to serve as a good introduction to the study of the subject, and to remove some misunderstandings about it, which generally prevail.

In his *Taqdir and Predestination*, Maulana Muhammad Ali has tried to approach the difficult problem of 'Free Will' and 'Predestination,' which is more or less common between most of the religions, and really falls within the scope of metaphysics.

The problem has been discussed among the Muslims with heat and vigour for centuries and divided them into various sects—the Jabariya, the Qadariya, and the others,—each of which relied on the verses of the Quran, and on traditions, and interpreted them according to his own view.

Maulana Muhammad has approached the subject in a new light. He has given a more or less new turn to the problem from the Islamic point of view showing from the verses of the Quran, that the doctrine of Predestination cannot be supported by the holy book. A perusal of the book will be beneficial to the students of Islamic dogmas.

M. Z. SIDDIQUI.

The following Publications were also received for review :—

1. *Energy* by Mahendranath Dutta.
2. *Metaphysics* by Mahendranath Dutta.
3. *Mind* by Mahendranath Dutta.

These 3 books are published by Pyarimohan Mukherji, B.L., 3, Gourmohan Mukherji Street, Calcutta.

4. *Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency for the year 1932-33.* Superintendent, Government Press, Madras. Rs. 3-4.

5. *Annual Returns of the Hospitals and Dispensaries in Bihar and Orissa for the year 1932* by Colonel L. Cook, C.I.E., M.B.B.S., F.R.C.S., I.M.S., Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa Patna, 1932. Rs. 5.

6. *Annual Report on the Administration on Jails of the Bengal Presidency, 1932*, by Lt.-Col. R. E. Flowerdew, I.M.S., Inspector General of Prisons, Bengal. Bengal Secretariat, Book Depot, 1933. Rs. 1-1 ; 1s. 6d.

7. *Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Presidency of Bengal, 1932-33*, Bengal Secretariat, Book Depot, 1933. 13 as. or 1s. 6d.

Gleanings

HINDU SCIENTISTS ON EARTHQUAKE

In view of the recent earthquake which has naturally led to an awakening of interest in popular mind as to the causes and character of different kinds of this natural phenomenon, one might feel interested in what the ancient Hindu Scientists had to say on this subject. In an article on *Hindu Scientists on Earthquake* contributed to the *Modern Review* (Calcutta, monthly), Mr. K. P. Jayaswal summarises the conclusions of Hindu Scientists on the phenomenon of earthquake from the writings of astronomers and mathematicians who flourished in this country before 600 A. D.

On the causes of earthquake, apart from two Puranic theories, there are these theories of the scientists.

(i) *Atmospheric Pressure*.—The upper atmosphere comes into friction with the lower atmosphere of the Earth which causes an earthquake with a roar.

“अनिलोऽनिलेन निहतः क्षिती पतन् सखनं करोत्यने”

XXXII, 2.

The author of this theory was Vasishta, whose original text is as follows:

“यदा तु बलवान् वायुरन्तरिक्षाऽनिलाहतः

पतत्यामु सनिर्घाती भवेदनिलसम्भवः

तस्य योगान्नपततसल्लव्यान्वहता क्षितिः

सोऽभिघातसमुत्पद्यः स्यात् सनिर्घातमहीचलः॥”

—Bhattotpala, p. 442, Ed. Sudhakara Dvivedin.

(ii) The theory of Parasara was entirely different. According to him earthquakes are produced by gravitation of planets, when there is a disturbance in their regular courses

“अक्ष-चन्द्र-ग्रहण-ग्रह-विक्रतचारजाश्च कम्पनाद्भूः।”

(iii) In addition to the above all the authorities are unanimous in holding that one class of earthquakes is caused by the Elemental Fire. (iv) Another class is unanimously stated to be the result of heavy rains, and (v) the last class to be the result of internal or elemental water.

Earthquakes are thus divided by the Hindu scientists into four classes. (i) *Vayavya* or atmospheric. This is produced, according to the school of Parasara, by the gravitation of planets, while according to the others, by the concussion of the upper and lower air. This is the most dangerous type of earthquakes, which is evident from its duration and extent and the mischief, which I shall presently notice. (ii) The *Hautasa* (हौतास) or *Agneya* (आग्नेय), i.e., quakes produced by the internal fire. This is the second dangerous type. (iii) & (iv) The third and the fourth are the *Aindra* and the *Varuna*, which are produced by excessive rains and floods. The

last one is regarded at times as beneficial (*subha*) while the others are of the destructive type (*asubha*).

The *Vayavya* occurs under seven named *nakshatras*,

बलायार्थमृषाद्यान्नादित्यं जगत्तिरोन्मुक्त्वेति
मच्छलमेतदायव्यमस्य रूपाणि सप्ताहानि

and its symptoms are noticeable for about a week beforehand. The sky becomes misty, dust rises from the earth to the sky, gales rage breaking trees asunder. The sun's rays become pale and weak (रविरेपट्करावभासौ च). This type destroys crops, waters, forests and gardens. It produces the following diseases:—swellings, breathing diseases, madness, fevers, respiratory troubles. It produces economic depression (वर्षिक पीडा—रश्मिनां क्रयविक्रयगौविनाच व्यथा पीडा). Fine arts and industries suffer. It [generally] occurs in the following countries:—Kathiawar (Saurashtra), Delhi (Kuru), S. Bihar (Magadh), Bundelkhand (Dasarna), Agra and the neighbourhood (Matsya).

The Fiery or Volcanic Type.

The *nakshatras* peculiar to this type are also named:—

पुष्पाग्नेयविशाखाभरणीपिष्याजभाग्यसञ्ज्ञानि ।
वर्गो ह्रीतमुभोऽयं करोति रूपाख्येति ॥

Its preceding symptoms are:—fall of meteors, fiery appearance of quarters (दिग्दाह), outbreak of fire with gales. Its effects are loss of clouds, disappearance of water-sheets, international enmity, skin disease, jaundice, etc. It generally occurs in Bhagalpore, Monghyr (Anga), Bactria, Badrinath district (Tangana), Orissa (Kalinga), Bengal (Vanga), Tamil country (Dravida), Orissa Agency (Savara) and Asmaka (W. Malwa). To these Parasara adds Oudh (Ikshvaku), Kullu (Kuluta), Pamirs (Tukhara), Baluchistan (Sibi), Jalandhar Kangra (Trigarta), North Bihar (Videha), etc. According to the elder Garga and other authorities, there are mixed types of quakes, and the types have their definite periods of the day and night—e.g., in the fore part of the day or night the Vayavya quakes take place. In the middle of the day or night, the volcanic ones take place; in the third part the Aindra and in the fourth part, the Varuna. But this theory of time was rejected by Parasara as unsound.

According to Hindu scientists, especially Parasara and his school, there had been continuous earthquakes of a terrible type in India when hills arose and disappeared. It is noteworthy that the Puranic (cosmogony) story of mountains flying from one place to the other has been explained by Parasara as a phenomenon of the early earthquakes, fully recognising that mountains in India rose up due to quake actions.

The subject deserves attention and study at the hands of technical scholars.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU EDUCATION

The modern age is so far out of touch with ancient Hindu ideals of thought and life that it is now difficult to understand the educational system of ancient India which was the outcome of her system of life and her philosophy. In the *Prabuddha Bharata* (Calcutta, monthly), Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee attempts an elucidation of the ideals of ancient Hindu education in course of which he says :

There were however in the ancient system of education certain fundamental principles which are of value to all ages and climes. The ancient Indian teacher believed in individual treatment of pupils, in the efficacy of personal touch for which scope was given in the homes of the teachers which operated like schools in those days. It may be described as the domestic system of education and may be compared to small production or cottage industry in the economic sphere as contrasted with large production or the factory. Modern universities are like factories providing for mass production in education, turning out standardized products mostly devoid of any special genius. Such a system is based on a radical error which ignores the natural differences of individuals and artificially and mechanically forces them into a class for purposes of a uniform treatment. The absurdity of this position may be understood if a uniform treatment is meted out to patients in a hospital irrespective of differences of their diseases and their remedies. And yet if individual treatment is essential for the diseases of the body of which the causes are visible and even measurable, how much more should it be necessary for a treatment of the defects and differences of mind, intellect and character, which do not lend themselves to any objective treatment? How very difficult is it to achieve the intellectual and moral growth of the tender youths consigned to the care of schools based on classes? It was therefore that ancient Hindu education was carried on as a matter of principle in small residential schools, hermitages, in the solitude of the woods, in sylvan and rural retreats away from the cities. Indeed the entire civilization of ancient India was the product of the forest—rural civilization, and not an urban one.

But India also tried her hand in the modern methods of education when they could apply them. The case of Nalanda is an example on this point. It was run like a modern university but without some of its disadvantages. Nalanda was a regular university town with an enrolment of as many as 10,000 students. But these were all post-graduate students. Admission was very strict. It was dependent on passing a difficult *viva voce* test, as has been stated by the Chinese pilgrim Yuang-Chwang, who studied at Nalanda for seven years in the middle of the 7th century A.D. The majority of applicants for admission were sent away and only a few could get in. In this way even the strength of the University was more than 10,000 students. The number of teachers was also high in proportion to the number of the taught. There were as many as 1,510 teachers delivering in the same period 100 lectures to different classes of students on different topics. Instruction was given in commodious and storied buildings, each the gift of kings. Both royal and public patronage of the University was quite generous and adequate. It had the grant of more than 100 villages from the income of which provision was made by the University for the free board, lodging, bedding, medicine and tuition for its 10,000 students and a numerous staff.

Above all, a system of education must be judged by the quality and quantity of the output. The whole world now recognizes the highest quality of some of the productions of the Sanskrit literature as also Pali and Prakrit literature which will live for all times as complete justification of ancient Indian education and of its ideals and methods.

THE "CODEX SINAITICUS"

Codex Sinaiticus, the earliest known manuscript of the Bible, written 1,600 years ago has, everybody knows, recently been purchased from the Russian Government by the British Museum on behalf of the British people for half a million dollars, certainly a bargain at the price. This piece of news was broadcasted throughout the world, but the wonderful story of the unique treasure is known to the very few. We therefore make no apology in reproducing extracts from an interesting article in the *Indian Witness* by Dan B. Brummitt.

"One day in the summer of 1931 I had an experience in Russia which bridged for me sixteen centuries, and took me back to the days of *In hoc signo vinces* and Nicene Creed. It was all the more thrilling because it could not have happened anywhere else, and recent news from Europe convinces me that it never can happen again. A small party of us were visiting a library; once the Imperial Library, in Leningrad. Since most of the company were either preachers or otherwise related to church life, we had one supreme objective; we all wanted to see the *Codex Sinaiticus*; probably the oldest manuscript of the Bible now in the world. After slow wanderings through long galleries crammed with volumes we knew we could not read, we came at last to a room where a little old man incredibly bent and wrinkled, stood by a flat-topped pedestal very much like a small reading desk. As soon as we moved into position, tourist-fashion, the old gentleman, who told us he had been in charge of this treasure for fifty years, carefully removed the wrappings, and stood back.

"There within our reach, like a great family Bible, was this greatest of all the world's book treasure; a book which has just sold for half a million dollars, and a bargain at the price. The smooth parchment pages were wonderfully clean and fresh and the penwork of the copyist, who had finished his work almost 1,600 years ago, was clearer and more legible than the print of that day's *Moscow News*.

"In a moment my eyes found it difficult to do their duty; I was seeing more than the bold Greek capitals. I was seeing the man who had written the words on a snowy white antelope skin. His had been a labour of love for the Christians of the early part of the fourth century. And I, from a land he could not know existed, was reading the work of his pen in the early part of the twentieth century.

"The story of *Sinaiticus* is a great story, and can never be too often told. When the copyist wrote, Constantine was Emperor, the first of the Roman Emperors to accept the Christian faith; that same Constantine who thought he saw the Cross in the sky: "By this conquer." It was the time of Nicene Creed; *Athanasius contra mundum*. The long agonies of the days of Christian martyrdom in the arena were almost over. Constantinople had just been founded, and was beginning its sixteen centuries of glory and humiliation, splendour and squalor; battle, siege, and conquest. Now, after a thousand years as capital of a Christian empire, and five and a half centuries as the capital of a Mohammedan empire its glory has departed. Its proud imperial name is changed to *Istamboul*, and it has the status of a worn-out and decaying seaport.

"As I looked at *Codex* I was seeing also that indomitable German scholar, another Constantine, the great Tischendorf, whose romantic adventures in his search for discovery and recovery of this very manuscript are among the most fascinating in all the history of Bible preservation. Tischendorf knew, from his studies of Bible manuscripts, that the same Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, who has told us a little extravagantly what a noble Christian Constantine the Great was, was commissioned by

the emperor to set up a body of scribes who should make complete copies of the holy writings of the Christians. This meant, of course, the books of the Old Testament as well as the New, and apocryphal writings also. The result was the production of perhaps fifty copies of what we now know as the Bible. It was probably the first time that the Book had been treated as a literary unit. The copies were distributed through the empire, being placed in important churches under the care of the bishops and other clergy. But centuries of confusion followed. Already the fierce men of the North were moving on the Roman peace, and sacred books had to share the fortunes of the times. To-day only two manuscripts of those days are in existence. The other is the Codex Vaticanus, which, as its name indicates, is in the Vatican Library at Rome.

"Constantine Tischendorf was a German scholar of ability and persistence. He had already made a name by his brilliant uncovering of the Ephraim manuscript—which is another romantic story. He was sure that somewhere in the world many precious old manuscripts of the Bible must still be hidden away. He sought them out as a modern detective would search for the evidences of crime, following up every slightest clue. One day, ninety years ago, his quest brought him to a Greek church monastery at the foot of Mount Sinai. As he sat by the fire he saw a basket filled with fragments of mouldy old parchment. A monk told him they were to be burned, being the Sinaitic equivalent for junk, and too much in the way. Tischendorf examined this "junk," and his astonishment saw at once that it was part of a manuscript of very great age. He had come to the peninsula in search of early parchments, but here was something older than any he had dreamed of discovering. So little did the monks realize what these irreplaceable pages were that they made him a present of this lot, quite casually.

"He came back to Europe with forty-three pages; he copied them, described them to his fellow scholars, and determined to get more if and when he could. For years he kept secret the place of his find, and then, after getting the support of Czar Alexander II, titular head of the Greek Orthodox Church, he was able to resume his search. He went back to the peninsula of Mount Sinai twice before he was able even so much as to be sure that any more pages existed. He would have failed, after all, if on his last visit, and at the last moment—for so the story goes—he had not become involved in a friendly discussion with one of the humble monks of the monastery? This man took him to his cell and unrolled before him from a cloth the very pages which Tischendorf had thus far vainly sought. Czar Alexander, that same emperor who freed the serfs of Russia, had financed Tischendorf's later search, and he gave monks of Sinai \$8,000 for their ancient property. So the parchment became the chief library and religious treasure of the Russian Empire, and it was placed in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg.

"In 1914 came the World War, and in 1917 the Russian Revolution. The Codex Sinaiticus stayed on in the library, watched over by a little man who grew to a great age while he kept at his post. And there it was that I saw and handled and wept over it, less than three years ago.

"This parchment contains the whole of the New Testament, and parts of the Old, as well as the apocryphal "Epistle of Barnabas," and other fragments. It is in Greek, written in "uncials," that is, capital letters, without spacing between words, or much punctuation, as we know it, and with many marks of additions and corrections by later hands—some of them written centuries afterwards. That it is one of the first manuscripts to include the whole Bible is probable because we know that before the fourth century, the sacred records existed only as separate books or groups of books, written on papyrus rolls. How it came into

the possession of the monks of Mount Sinai nobody can say. It was written probably at Alexandria, the then capital of Egypt, or at Caesarea, on the coast of Palestine.

In the last days of last year (1933) the Codex Sinaiticus passed out of the hands of the Russian Government. It was bought by the British Museum, and the terms of the purchase are well worth telling. The British Government will pay half the price, and the museum will appeal for small private gifts to make up the half a million dollars. The gifts will come, make no doubt of that. Even if it means sacrifice, thousands of British Christians will be glad to share in the cost. To my mind that is far better than if some wealthy individual gave it all out of his swollen superabundance."

THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES UNDER THE NAZIS

The new regime in Germany has brought about vast changes in age-old institutions of Germany, and German universities are no exception to this. It is necessary that we in India should understand the true significance of these changes; we are therefore glad to reproduce the following from an article under the above caption in *The Servant of India* (Poona, Weekly) by D. D. Karve:

"All Universities in Germany are maintained by the state and every professor, lecturer and assistant in the various institutions of the University is therefore a state employee. There was no restriction to the admission of either German or foreign students to the University except that they had to show that they had passed the school-final examination of a recognised school in Germany or its equivalent in other countries. In the case of foreigners, a formal permission of the education minister was necessary in addition.

"German University life has always been conspicuous for what is called the 'Lehrfreiheit,' i.e., the freedom of the student to learn any subjects he liked and attend any lectures he fancied. There was no examination at the end of each term and even for a doctorate, the thesis, submitted after a certain number of terms and an oral examination in a certain number of subjects allied to the principal subject, were the only requirements. There were thus no compulsory subjects, no texts prescribed and no written papers. This system encouraged the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake and inculcated the habits of inquiry and research in the mind of a majority of the students.

"As regards the teachers in the University, anybody could become one after satisfying certain conditions. After his doctorate every aspirant for the 'Venia legendi,' i.e., the permission to teach had to carry on original research work on his own account and submit the results of the same to the Faculty of the University under which he wanted to become a teacher. If this work was found to be of a sufficiently high merit the prospective teacher would be asked by the Faculty to deliver a "Probenvorlesung" or a kind of trial lecture, in which his powers of delivery, explanation and his mastery over his subject would be tested by his future colleagues. If this also was found satisfactory, he would obtain the permission to teach in the University and would be called a Privatdozent. He would still get no remuneration but would be entitled to receive the fees (each student paid 2.50 marks per weekly lecture per term) from all students who attended his lectures. His further advance to an extraordinary professorship and finally to an ordinary (i.e. chief) professorship would depend on the importance of his work (research papers, etc., and ordinarily no University teacher could expect to become an ordinary professor before the age of 45 or 50.

"The internal management of the University was vested in a Senate made up of ordinary professors and representatives of the extra-ordinaries and privat-dozenten which divided itself into faculties—philosophy (*i.e.*, art), medicine, theology, law etc. At the head of each Faculty was a Dean elected by the members. The Rector (Chancellor) of the University was elected each year by the members of the Senate from among the ordinary professors by rotation between the different Faculties. The students had not only perfect freedom in the matter of choice of lectures and subjects, but also largely in the matter of their union—political, economic, theological, etc. Thus all the more important political parties from the nationalists to the communists had their student organisations which arranged lectures, demonstrations, etc.

"Since the advent of the 'Dritte Reich' (*i.e.*, the third empire) some fundamental changes have been introduced in the structure and functions of the Universities. In the first instance the political neutrality of the teachers in the University has been completely destroyed and inculcation of patriotic, especially Nazi, ideas in the minds of the students is considered to be an important function of the teachers. The various political unions have been dissolved and there has been established under the supervision of an official of the Senate a students' union which will have the right to send representatives to the Faculties and Senate when questions about the students are discussed. The Universities in Germany have therefore now ceased to be institutions for imparting knowledge only but are centres of active training of a political nature.

"Jews are naturally not allowed to become teachers in the University and even as regards students a very small percentage of that race are to be admitted. Moreover, even if they pass their examinations in law, medicine and other professions, they will not be allowed to practise except with the special permission of the Government (one can imagine, that this will not be given as a general rule).

"The so-called 'Führerprinzip' (*i.e.*, the leadership principle), which is the very opposite of the principle of democracy, has been introduced into the Universities. The Leader of the Nazis, or one of his representatives, is to nominate the rectors of the Universities and these, in their turn, are to nominate the deans, the members of the Senate, etc. There are to be no decisions by majority, but the Faculties and Senate are to serve only as advisory bodies to the deans and the rector respectively. These latter have the fullest powers to carry out their decisions irrespective of the opinion of their colleagues.

"The future professors besides being experts in their subjects, must also be either members of the SA, SS, etc. (Nazi auxiliary police) or to have put in compulsory service in one of the numerous work camps (Arbeitslager) conducted by the Government. The *Venia Legendi* will be granted only for a limited period and may be withdrawn at any time (if, presumably, the political opinions of the person are not agreeable to the higher authorities).

"The total number of students who will be allowed to study at the Universities has been drastically cut down and it is hoped that by this means the unemployment in the ranks of the educated is to be reduced. Students or teachers who held opinions, even slightly different from those held by the men that count, have been ill-treated in many instances by the ultra-nationalist 'Aryans.' According to the new principles, the *Lehrfreiheit* would in no case include the freedom of expressing approval of anti-Nazi doctrines from the chair or of forming students' unions for purposes other than those approved by the Nazis."

At Home and Abroad

(A Monthly Record of News and Views relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities and other Academic Institution.)

Edinburgh University

The Senate of Edinburgh University has resolved to offer Doctorates of Law to both Lord and Lady Willingdon for conferment at the graduation ceremony in June.

A Michigan University Scholar in India

Dr. Lew Erlanson, Professor of Botany, Michigan University, now honorary visiting professor of Botany at H. H. the Maharaja's Science College, is touring high ranges to study the anthropology of forest tribes. Under instructions of the Travancore Government the Superintendent of Archaeology is accompanying her.

Training in Basic Technology

The last session of the Inter-University Conference, Prof. Langley presiding, passed a resolution opining that "basic technological training is best accomplished through universities and should form an increasingly important part of university studies in the relevant faculties and that to enable the universities to perform this function Central, Provincial and States Governments should be requested to give special help to universities. In another resolution the Conference expressed the opinion that as an essential for the degree for technology the basic technological training should be supplemented by training in special industries by means of demonstration plants and later on in factories and workshops.

Dacca University

His Excellency the Chancellor of the Dacca University has nominated Nawab Khawaja Habibullah, Mr. Syed Abdus Salim, Dr. Mohamed Shahidullah and Professor N. M. Bose to the Executive Council of the University for three years.

The Dacca University Students' Union will hold the Annual All-India Inter-University Championship Competitions in Debates, Extempore Speeches, Recitations and Essay-writing by the end of March next. The occasion will provide a unique opportunity for the representatives of the students of different universities and colleges to meet, know and appreciate each other. The competitions, with a few exceptions, are open to the 'bonafide' students, of any College or Hall of a recognized University in India and Burma.

Hooghly College.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal has, it is understood, promised a donation of Rs. 500 in aid of a fund for the construction of a Common Room in the Hooghly College in commemoration of the coming centenary celebrations in August, 1936. The cost is estimated at Rs. 15,000.

A Notable Donation.

Rai Bahadur Radhakanta Handique, a tea-planter of Jorhat, has made a donation of Rs. 10,000 to the Assam Government for the creation of a permanent building for the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, in Assam, at Gauhati, to be named after his wife Narayani Handique. His Excellency the Governor has accepted the gift and has publicly expressed appreciation of the generosity and the public spirit of the Rai Bahadur who, on a previous occasion, made a gift of Rs. 30,000 to be devoted to the cause of the Assamese language and literature.

Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society is finding itself in difficulties and an appeal was made at the annual general meeting recently held for more members. The report of 1933 stated that the period had been one of great anxiety on account of a further fall in membership and, consequently, a fall in revenue. According to the report, the number of members at the beginning of 1934 was 525 against 541 at the beginning of 1933. Attention was also drawn to the necessity of taking measures for preserving the Society's library owing to climatic conditions and constant use. Many valuable books in the library, of which reprints were unobtainable, were in a very bad condition and the number of these books was increasing every year. Attempts had been made to deal with this problem satisfactorily, but these attempts had unfortunately met with no success. The Committee therefore made an appeal for assistance to carry out this essential work. Sir John Beaumont was re-elected President of the Society for the ensuing year.

Vernacular as medium of Instruction.

The last session of the Inter-Universities Conference passed a resolution advising that instruction in primary and middle schools should be entirely through the vernacular and at the higher secondary stage in the vernacular wherever possible.

Law Teaching of Students

In a remarkable address to the Law students Dr. Ganganath Jha, Ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, gave an answer to some criticisms made recently on the law of teaching by Sir Shah Mohammad Sulsiman, Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The admission of students in the law class in large numbers by the Allahabad University, Dr. Jha said, was no crime. Moreover the budget had to be balanced and the Government grant being insufficient, if

the University admitted students who applied for admission, it did not do any wrong. As regards efficiency of teaching of the Allahabad University, Dr. Jha referred to his challenge made some years ago when he offered six graduates of his university to compete with any other university, even the University of Oxford. The standard of law course, he said, was the same as in other universities and if students were attracted to the Allahabad University on account of its high reputation the university was not to be blamed for it. Explaining the great rush in the law department, he said, that it was due to the fact that the graduates could not get employment anywhere else and wanted to take law as their profession and the university could not help to check them. As for the criticism that the university was supplying too many lawyers, Dr. Jha said that the duty of a university was to teach all who came to it. Regarding the criticism made that the percentage of the successful candidates in the Allahabad University was abnormally high the ex-Vice-Chancellor said that if the examiners found the questions answered correctly they could not but give high marks to the students. No body could question the selection of examiners. Regarding the efficiency of the law students he was prepared even to challenge the barristers of London inns. He was not in favour of three years' law course as it would not make any remarkable difference.

Indian Historical Records Commission

The Government of India re-appointed the following gentlemen as corresponding members of the Commission for the London centre for a further period of three years: (1) Sir Evan Cotton Kt., C.I.E., M.A., formerly President of the Bengal Legislative Council, (Eastbourne, Sussex); (2) Sir Edward Denison Ross, Kt., C.I.E., Ph.D., Director of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution (University of London), and formerly Keeper of the Records of the Government of India (London); (3) Sir William Foster, Kt., C.I.E., formerly Superintendent of Records, India Office (London); (4) Mr. W. T. Ottewill, M.B.E., Superintendent of Records, India Office (London). The Government of India have appointed Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, M.A. (Oxon.), F.R.Hist.S., Senior Professor of History and Principal, His Highness the Maharaja's College of Arts, Trivandrum, as a corresponding member of the Commission representing the Indian States of Travancore and Cochin, for three years.

Indo-Italian Co-operation in Education.

A correspondent of the Calcutta Daily "Forward" writes:

On the 8th of April next, a Congress of the world-known Montessori Institution will be opened with great solemnity in Rome. Conferences and demonstrations on child-welfare and education will be held on that occasion and Dr. Montessori herself will deliver a course of lectures on "The Child's Deviations," and will expose the latest innovations of her method. Prominent Italian personalities and the whole Diplomatic Corps accredited to His Majesty the King of Italy will form the reception committee of this Congress. The Congressists will be provided with lodging in Rome and will be granted many facilities for visiting museums, old and new monuments of the Imperial City and the marvellous environs of Rome to enjoy some musical entertainments in the Augusteum and Opera House, where season is now in full swing and many other artistic entertainments.

The Congressists will besides be granted the 70 p.c. reduction on Railway fares to and from Rome from any landing port in Italy.

His Excellency Sig. G. Gentile, the great Italian Philosopher, in his capacity of the President of the newly founded Institute, is taking a keen interest in the promising Indian students. Thanks to the ardent sympathies for India of H. E. Professor G. Tucci, Vice-President of the Institute, of Dr. G. Scarpa, formerly the Consul-General in Calcutta, and Sig. Ugo Sabetta, the present Consul-General for Italy, our students are on the way of gaining invaluable experiences of being trained in special lines, cultural, economic and technical, under Italian masters. Mr. Kshitishchandra Banerjee, a talented student of Painting and the best boy of the Italin Seminar of the Calcutta University, has been granted a scholarship of 5,000 lire and 75 p.c. reduction of passage recently and has sailed for Italy to work in the Academy of Fine Arts Florence. This is indeed a very happy augury and while conveying our best thanks to the authorities, we urge our students and University authorities of India to devote more attention to the Italian language, technology and other creative activities of Modern Italy. Dr. Ugo Sabetta, the energetic Consul-General in Calcutta, is all attention to those who seek information and guidance in the matter.

Chemical Research for Industries

The need for greater concentration of chemical research upon industrial development, especially in regard to those industries which may have a particular application to Indian conditions, was stressed by Dr E. Spencer in his presidential address to the Institute of Chemists (India) in Calcutta.

He suggested that for the present this type of research should have preference over chemical research of a purely academic nature. While the latter had its value in adding to the total of chemical knowledge and in providing a training ground for the students in the higher branch of chemistry, something more was needed, he said, to remove the present unhealthy disproportion between the University output of chemists and the industrial demand for their services. The only way to do this, short of curtailing University activities, was by greater development of existing industries and the creation of new ones.

He referred to the paradox of Indian raw materials going all the way to Europe or America to return again as manufactured products, even against a considerable tariff barrier. Instances of this were vegetable oils, shellac, manganese ores, monazite sand, etc. The possibilities of some of these had already been discussed in papers read before the society. The technical knowledge and skill required for the development of these industries was not beyond the scope of the Indian chemist, and many established Indian industries had been started with considerably less prospects of success.

Such industries would themselves bring along a host of problems in their train, peculiar to local conditions. As an instance of this might be mentioned the problem of the economic disposal of large quantities of molasses and bagasse produced from the recently increased cane sugar industry. Research would undoubtedly overcome these problems and put these industries on a still sounder basis.

Dr. Spencer then went on to consider in detail the jute and paper industries of Bengal, and showed that even in these well-established industries there was abundant scope for research.

Indian Medical Council

The All-India Medical Council met for the first time since its constitution in New Delhi on March last.

Sir Fazli Hussain, who addressed the meeting, hoped that the Conference would be able to pursue its work and establish standards of education with a view to securing the two-fold objects of the Council, namely, efficiency at home and honour abroad. The Council proceeded with the business of election of a Vice-President. Sir Hassan Suhrawardy and Dr. G. V. Deshmukh were nominated, and the former was elected by a majority. With regard to the election of a Committee of the Council, it was decided that it should be composed of three representatives of Universities, one representative of registered graduates, and the representative of the nominated element in the provincial and central legislatures. Major Bhatia, Dean of the Grant Medical College, Bombay. Dr. Vyas, De Erulkar, Dr. B. C. Roy and Dr. T. Krishna Menon were declared elected members of the Committee.

College and University Teachers' Conference

The ninth session of the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Conference took place at Faridpur during the Easter Holidays. The Principal of the Faridpur Rajendra College acted as Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Principal Dr. Herambachandra Maitra as President of the Conference, which was largely attended by College teachers from all over Bengal.

Lady Tata Trust Scholarships.

The Lady Tata Memorial Trust was founded and endowed in April, 1932, by the late Sir Dorabji Tata, of Bombay, as a memorial to his wife the late Lady Tata, in order to promote the advancement of medicine by research into the disease of the blood with special reference to leucaemias. Provision is made under this Trust for Research Scholarships, Fellowships, Prizes and grants-in-aid of research work. With the exception of a fifth of the net income earmarked for the encouragement of research by Indians in India or abroad, the rest will be devoted as stated above, and the rewards will be open to candidates of any nationality including India. The Trustees are advised by an Advisory Committee having its headquarters in London, including Continental representatives, and by an Indian Committee in India.

In June 1933 the first four Lady Tata Research Scholarships were awarded. Announcement is now made that four further scholarships of the value of £400 a year each, will be open for award in June 1934 to men or women of any nationality, for research work in the subject of blood diseases with special reference to leucaemias. Each will be tenable for a year from 1st October, 1934, and renewable up to a normal maximum tenure of three years. The scholarships will ordinarily be awarded on a whole-time basis but a candidate holding a part-time teaching post may be allowed to retain this if, in the opinion of the Trustees as advised by Committee, his duties will not prevent him from giving his chief interests and energies to his proposed research work.

Candidates for these scholarships must send their applications in time to be received in London on the 15th April next, addressed to the Secretary, Dr. H. S. Patel, Lady Tata Memorial Trust, Capel House,

New Broad Street, London E. C. 2, or Prof. A. Vacha, Calvinstrasse, 27, Berlin, N. W. 40, or the Memorial Trustees, Bombay House, 24, Bruce Street, Fort, Bombay, from whom forms of application may be obtained. Applications which are delayed by special circumstances will be accepted up to the 30th April but in no case later.

Education in Bengal, 1927-32.

A review by the Government of Bengal on the progress of education in the province during the five years ended 1932 states that inspite of difficulties and hindrances, considerable progress was made in several directions. The most important advance was in the sphere of primary education.

During the quinquennium a comprehensive scheme of physical training was worked out and put into operation. Medical examination had shown that only a small proportion of Bengali boys enjoyed normal health.

Secondary Education.

Dealing with the secondary education, the review points out that Bengal has the largest secondary system in India. It has 3,126 secondary schools whereas the number of English secondary schools in the rest of British India was less than 4,000 according to the report of the Hartog Committee, in 1926-27. The total number of secondary schools and their enrolment showed an increase during the period under review but there was no increase in the number of middle vernacular schools, for a purely vernacular education is not popular. The increase in the number of high schools was due to the opening of new schools under private management and the raising of middle schools to high school status. There were during the quinquennium 1,076 high schools. The average number of candidates from a high school for the Matriculation Examination of 1932 was only 15.5 and that of the successful candidates only 10.0.

Educational Progress of Different Communities.

The following table indicates the educational progress of the different communities of the province :—

		1921-22.	1926-27.	1931-32.
Europeans	.. ..	9,443	9,610	9,721
Indian Christians	...	13,517	13,588	15,934
Hindus—Educationally				
advanced	... ..	882,425	823,323	861,034
backward	... ..	82,852	344,179	440,054
Mohammedans	.. ..	880,675	1,140,140	1,437,978
Buddhists	... ..	9,565	10,005	13,157
Others	... ..	13,664	2,535	5,347
Total	... ..	<u>1,892,141</u>	<u>2,343,380</u>	<u>2,783,225</u>

Certain communities remained more or less static, while others took tremendous strides forward. The total number of Christians in the province was about 180,000 and the children of school-going age numbered a little over 25,000. Nearly all of them actually received education. The

same is more or less true of the "educationally advanced" Hindus. These two communities are educationally almost saturated. On the other hand, the "backward" Hindus are now fully awake to the need for education. For every one of their number at school in 1921, there are now more than 5. The advance of the Mohammedans is almost as startling; they have nearly doubled their enrolment and the percentage has risen from 3.5 in 1921-22 to 5.2 in 1931-32. It may safely be predicted that any future spread of education in Bengal will be chiefly among those two communities. The progress in the education of Mohammedans may be more accurately measured by the following figures. The proportion of Mohammedan scholars to the total number of scholars is now 51.6 which is not far from 54.8—the percentage of Mohammedans to the total population. Education is spreading fast among the backward classes. The Namasudras and Pods, especially, have taken full advantage of the facilities available and are helping themselves by founding their own schools and providing scholarships for their children. It may be noticed here that the advanced Hindus have lost ground in the primary and secondary stages in which their enrolment was 631,531 at the end of the quinquennium as against 640,309 in 1926-27. The aboriginal races too, especially the Santals, made much progress.

University Education

No further progress was made during the quinquennium in the reconstruction of the Calcutta University on the lines laid down by the Sadler Commission or in the development of the Secondary Education Board. The outstanding feature of the period, so far as Calcutta was concerned, was the appointment of the University Organisation Committee. Their report formed the basis of the financial settlement, which was eventually reached between Government and the University and which, on certain conditions, assured the University of an annual recurring grant of Rs. 3,60,000. This has enabled the University to balance its budget and to make its plans for the future with some degree of stability. At Dacca the most important event was the completion of the Salimullah Muslim Hall, which was constructed at the cost of Government and which provides a residence for Moslem students.

The resolution issued in 1928 commented upon the marked fall in the number of students in the post-graduate classes of the Calcutta University. The number increased from 980 in 1926-27 to 1,483 in 1929-30, but fell again to 1,144 in 1931-32, the decrease corresponding to the period of economic and political troubles. There was a gratifying increase in the number of women students in the post-graduate classes. Another satisfactory feature has been the growing realisation of the importance of the extra-academic activities which University life offers; greater attention is now paid to the physical welfare and medical examination of the students, and the various athletic activities of the University have been co-ordinated under the auspices of the Calcutta University Athletic Club.

Collegiate Education

No new college was opened during the period, but 4 Anglo-Indian schools adopted the University course, and there are now 38 first-grade and 16 second-grade or Intermediate Arts Colleges, of which 4 are for women. Of these 12 are managed by Government, 21 are aided and 10 unaided. The total number of students decreased from 22,420 to 19,744. Nearly

all the colleges shared in this decrease; but the Calcutta colleges naturally suffered less than those in the mofussil, which were more immediately affected by the depreciation in agricultural prices. The difficulties of the college authorities were increased, when Government found itself compelled to suspend the Imperial grant of Rs. 1,29,000 on which private colleges had become accustomed to depend for the purchase and renewal of laboratory and library equipment. Increased rates of fees in all colleges appear to provide the only means of effecting a general improvement in college finances and in normal times would be completely justifiable, but whether at the present time such increase would impose undue hardships and result in decreased roll strength, thus defeating the object in view, is a matter that requires consideration. The percentage of passes in the Intermediate and Degree Examination has again increased. There has been a more general recognition of the value of games and physical exercise, and it is gratifying to learn that more intensive tutorial work is being done in some of the colleges.

Women's Education

The education of women is by far the most important need in India to-day. For an educated mother is the best guarantee of the education of her children, and women will be able to come out of seclusion and make their contribution to the culture and development of the country. "We are definitely of opinion," wrote the Hartog Committee, "that, in the interest of the advance of Indian education as a whole, priority should now be given to the claims of girls' education in every scheme of expansion."

In spite of this, the actual progress is lamentably slow. During the period, boys' secondary schools increased by 302, those of girls only by 19. There were nearly twice as many new primary schools for boys as for girls. For every two more girls who came to school about five more boys came. The total expenditure on men's education increased by Rs. 18½ lakhs, while women's education had to be content with Rs. 6½ lakhs.

The differences become more marked the higher one goes up the educational ladder. In the lowest class, there are two girls to five boys, but in Class III only one to 12 and in Class IV only one to 16. This means that proportionately fewer girls are being made literate. In the primary stage as a whole, there are 3 girls to 10 boys, but in the middle stage only one girl to 24 boys and in the high stage only one to 30. The number of women in arts colleges was only 712 in 1931-32, while the number of men was 20 912.

Girls' primary schools in Bengal are even more inefficient, incredible as it may seem, than the boys' schools. Their number is certainly large, larger than in all the other provinces put together. Out of the 26,682 girls' primary schools in British India in 1926-27, no fewer than 14,612 were in Bengal. But their number is no indication of their usefulness and by every test of efficiency they fail miserably.

Poor lot of School Teachers

On the subject of conditions of service of the primary school teacher, the review says that these are such that the profession can scarcely attract any but those who are driven into it in despair as the last refuge of the unemployed. This is particularly true of the rural districts. Life in the village is not congenial to an educated man; there are scarcely any

prospects, no intellectual stimulus, no cultured society. The pay is not enough to live on in any comfort. The average pay in a school under public management rose from Rs. 11-8 in 1923-27 to Rs. 15-2 in 1931-32, but in private schools it fell from Rs. 8-2 to 6-4. The panchayat union teacher receives only Rs. 10.

The average salary in Bengal is the lowest in all India. The teacher is compelled to find other sources of income to supplement his pittance and 269 of them acted as school postmasters, receiving an additional remuneration of Rs. 6 to Rs. 15 per month. Often, the teacher is a stranger with no attachments to the village. His status is lower than that of any substantial farmer.

Allahabad University

The Allahabad University executive council has selected Pandit Amarnath Jha, Professor of English, to represent the Allahabad University at the forthcoming British Universities' Conference to be held at Oxford in July, and Dr. J. H. Mitter, Professor of Botany, to represent the University at the Third Imperial Mycological Conference to be held in London in September.

The council has decided to adopt a rule by which those junior lecturers who draw salaries of less than Rs. 300 a month and do research work of an outstanding character will be entitled to a special allowance if the expert committee adjudge their work to be of sufficient merit.

The council recently refused the suggestion of the Secretary of the Intermediate Board, U. P., to admit in the B.Sc. class students who had passed the Intermediate in Agriculture. They will be allowed to join the B.Sc. class in agriculture only.

Education Conference in Assam.

The Assam Legislative Council discussed at its sitting of March 9, last, a resolution brought by Mr. Bridaban Chandra Goswami recommending to the Government of Assam that an educational conference, consisting of officials and non officials, be summoned as soon as possible at a convenient place, preferably at Gauhati, to review the present system of education in the province. The resolution was passed after the Education Minister had been assured that the members forming the conference would attend it at their own cost.

Annual Exhibition of Punjab Fine Art Society

The twelfth annual exhibition of Punjab Fine Arts Society was held at the Central Museum, Lahore, from February 19 to March 6. A large number of prizes were awarded for works in various medium by the Society's patrons among whom are His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab, His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, and His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. Of those prizes, Mr. Sudhir Ranjan Khastgir was awarded the Maharaja of Kapurthala prize for the best work executed in Indian style. Among other prize-winners were Mr. T. P. Mitra (His Excellency's prize for the best modelling work), Mr. M. M. Ghose, (Society's prize for modelling), Miss Asa Chatterjee and Miss K. Gupta (for gold-work), Mr. D. N. Ghose and Mr. A. N. Mukherjee.

Ourselves

[I. *The late Dr. Pramathanath Nandi*; II. *Indian Medical Council*; III. *Mr. M. R. Jayakar*; IV. *Two new Doctors*; V. *Prof. Jirasek of Prague*; VI. *Dr. Ganesh Prasad*; VII. *Italian Scholarship for Bengali Artist*; VIII. *Department of Applied Physics*; IX. *Extension of Affiliation*; X. *New Matriculation Regulations*; XI. *Bronze Portrait of the late Sir Rameschandra Mitter*; XII. *Dates for Engineering Examinations*; XIII. *Proposal for Inter-University Debates from New Zealand*; XIV. *Law Examination Results*; XV. *The Third Inter-Universities Conference*; XVI. *Progress of Education in Bengal*; XVII. *Notifications.*]

I. THE LATE DR. PRAMATHANATH NANDI

We regret to announce the death of Dr. Pramathanath Nandi, M.D., at the comparatively early age of 55. A leading medical practitioner of the city and a distinguished professor at the Carmichael Medical College, he was elected a member of the Senate by the Registered Graduates in 1922 and continued to serve his *alma mater* in that capacity till his death. Dr. Nandi never spared himself when the call of duty came and he worked with a zealous devotion all his own. His dauntless candour and straightforwardness earned the admiration of even those who might not see eye to eye with him in all matters. He was a genuine friend of the students whose interests he was ever anxious to promote. To the needy and the poor he was always ready to lend his helping hand, a quality which endeared him to all. Dr. Nandi's death is a distinct loss to the medical profession and to the University which he served faithfully and well. We offer our sincerest condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

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II. INDIAN MEDICAL COUNCIL

The Indian Medical Council which recently came into existence held its first meeting at Delhi in the first week of March. Our Vice-Chancellor, Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, who has been nominated to the Council by the Governor-General of India, was elected its Vice-President. We offer our heartiest congratulations to Sir Hassan on this fresh recognition of his meritorious work.

The Senate of the Calcutta University and the Graduates and the Licentia.es of the province are represented on the Council by Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy and Dr. Kumudsankar Roy respectively.

III. MR. M. R. JAYAKAR

It will be recalled that Mr. M. R. Jayakar was appointed by the Senate Kamala Lecturer for 1928, to deliver a course of lectures on *Ideals of Hindu Culture*. For reasons well known to the Indian public it has not been possible for him to deliver the lectures so long. He has now written to the University that his hands are full so that it will not be possible for him to prepare the lectures during the next two years. In these circumstances he has requested the University to exonerate him from his obligations. The Syndicate have regretfully accepted Mr. Jayakar's resignation.

IV. TWO NEW DOCTORS

Mr. Sudhindranath Bhattacharyya, M.A., has recently been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He submitted a thesis entitled *Moghul relations with the North-Eastern Frontier States of Cooch-Bihar, Kamrup and Assam* which was examined by a Board consisting of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Sir Edward Gait and Sir William Foster. Dr. Bhattacharyya is at present serving as a lecturer in History at Dacca University. We offer him our congratulations on his well earned distinction.

Mr. Susilkumar Mitra, M.Sc., who has been carrying on research work in Chemistry under the guidance of Sir P. C. Ray at the University College of Science has just been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science. His thesis '*On Thioketonic Esters*' was examined by Prof. Paul Sabatier, N.L., Professor G. T. Morgan, F.R.S., and Professor Robert Robinson, F.R.S. The distinguished examiners were unanimous about the exceptionally high merit of the dissertation and Dr. Mitra deserves special congratulations on so excellent a work.

V. PROFESSOR JIRASEK OF PRAGUE

Professor Dr. Arnold Jirasek, Chief Surgeon of the Czech University Clinic at Prague will shortly pay a visit to India. On an enquiry from the Consul for Czechoslovakia, Calcutta, the Syndicate have informed the Professor that the University will be glad to invite him to

deliver a short course of lectures at the University on some selected subject during his stay in this country. The Consul has further informed the University that the distinguished savant does not expect any remuneration. It is hardly necessary to add that such cultural co-operation is of immense value for a better understanding between the East and the West.

VI. DR. GANESH PRASAD

Dr. Ganesh Prasad, Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics, whose term of office expired on 20th December, 1933, was re-appointed Professor by the Senate in December last for a further term of three years. The appointment was subject to the sanction of Government. Government have intimated to the University their inability to accord their sanction until a Selection Committee has been set up for filling up the vacancy. The matter was discussed by the Senate on 24th March last and it was ultimately decided to accept the recommendation of the Syndicate which was to the effect that the Professor should for the present be appointed till the end of the current session. In the meantime steps will be taken for the constitution of the Selection Committee in accordance with the Regulations, and its recommendation will be laid before the Senate in due course.

VII. ITALIAN SCHOLARSHIP FOR BENGALI ARTIST.

The Royal Consul General for Italy has intimated to the University that the Italian Institute for the Middle and Extreme Orient, recently constituted in Rome for the cultural co-operation between Italy and the East, has awarded a scholarship of 5,000 Italian lire to Mr. Khitish-chandra Banerjee, a young Bengali Artist of great promise. Mr. Banerjee passed the Final Examination of the Government School of Art in 1931 and for two years prosecuted the Italian course at the University classes. He has also acquired a working knowledge of French and German. Mr. Banerjee will join the higher courses of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Florence where he has been granted exemption from all fees. He has also been given a reduction of 75 per cent. on his passage by the Lloyd Triestino Line from Bombay and on the Italian State Railways. The Syndicate have requested the Consul General to convey to the Institute the grateful thanks of the University for this practical encouragement given to one of its students.

VIII. DEPARTMENT OF APPLIED PHYSICS

Mr. Chandrasekhar Ghosh, M.Sc., has been appointed by the Senate an Assistant Lecturer in the department of Applied Physics. Mr. Ghosh after a brilliant academic record had worked for some time as a research scholar under the Ghosh Professor of Applied Physics. The appointment was made in accordance with the recommendation of a Selection Committee.

IX. EXTENSION OF AFFILIATION

The Senate at their meeting held on 24th March, decided to grant extension of affiliation in various subjects to several Colleges in Bengal. The extension in each case is subject to the approval of Government.

Vidyasgar College has been recommended for affiliation up to the B. Com. Standard. The College at present teaches students preparing for the same examination. The regulations for the B. Com. Examination have, however, been recently revised and the list of subjects also has been considerably altered. The Syndicate accordingly thought it desirable that the College should ask for fresh affiliation in the various subjects of study.

Rajendra College, Faridpur, has been recommended for affiliation in Civics up to the I. A. standard.

Loreto House, Calcutta, has been recommended for affiliation in Civics up to the I. A. Standard and in Economics up to B. A. (Pass) standard.

Bangabasi College has been recommended for affiliation in Biology up to the I. Sc. standard. It is interesting to note that this is the first time a College has applied for affiliation in this subject.

Burdwan Raj College has been granted affiliation in Arabic up to the I. A. and B. A. (Pass) standards.

Bankura College has been granted affiliation in Bengali as a second language up to the B. A. standard and in Physics up to the B. Sc. (Honours) standard.

X. NEW MATRICULATION REGULATIONS

The New Matriculation Regulations were passed by the Senate sometime ago and were forwarded to Government for sanction. The Secretary to the Government of Bengal has now addressed a letter to the Registrar communicating the observations of Government on some of the provisions of the Regulations. At the same time the Secretary has stated that Government "are gratified to find themselves in general agreement with the University on the major issues." We also are glad that this is so. The Regulations have been under consideration of the University and Government for nearly a dozen years. They involve several changes of a far-reaching character. It is hardly possible that there will be complete unanimity on all the issues, but it has been generally agreed that, notwithstanding possible differences of opinion on some questions of detail, the general scheme, as outlined by the University, is sound and is calculated to introduce reforms which will place the system of secondary education on a sounder and more efficient basis.

Government have suggested that the points of difference, as indicated in the Secretary's letter, could best be discussed at a conference which will be attended by the representatives of Government and the University. It has also been proposed that a separate conference may subsequently be held to discuss the application or modification of the Regulations so far as girls are concerned.

The Syndicate considered the matter on 23rd March last and accepted the proposal for a Conference. They selected the following six members as their representatives: The Vice-Chancellor, Professor S. C. Mahalanobis, Dr. W. S. Urquhart, Professor Pramathanath Banerjee, Professor Khagendranath Mitra, and Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. The Syndicate further decided to inform Government that it would be desirable to deal with the question of girls' education at the same Conference to which a few women representatives should be added. The Syndicate nominated Mrs. P. K. Ray and Mrs. Tatini Das for this purpose. We also are inclined to think that it would be a mistake to postpone the question of girls' education to a future Conference. The Regulations will in many respects affect the common interests of boys and girls; we cannot divide the problem into two water-tight compartments. Neither will it be desirable to delay consideration of the matter any further.

We trust, as a result of the deliberations of the Conference, the University and Government will be able to come to an agreed solution of a problem which vitally affects our future educational progress. The time has come when we should make a move and the sooner we can do so, the better for every party concerned.

XI. BRONZE PORTRAIT OF THE LATE SIR RAMESCHANDRA MITTER

The Sir Rameschandra Mitter Memorial Committee has presented to the University a portrait in bronze of the late Sir Rameschandra Mitter, who was the first Indian to act as Chief Justice of Bengal and during his days occupied a pre-eminent position in the public life of the province. The portrait has been prepared under the personal supervision of Mr. Mukul Dey, Principal, Government School of Arts, Calcutta. It has been thankfully accepted by the Syndicate and will adorn the Senate Hall which with the march of time has become a repository of statues, busts and portraits of eminent men, scholars, administrators and benefactors, irrespective of caste, creed or colour.

XII. DATES FOR ENGINEERING EXAMINATIONS

The commencing dates for the next I.E. and B.E. Examinations have been fixed as follows :—

I.E. (Sec. A) and B.E. (Professional)	}—9th July, 1934.
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I.E. (Sec. B) and B.E. (non-Professional)	}—17th July, 1934.
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XIII. PROPOSAL FOR INTER-UNIVERSITY DEBATES FROM NEW ZEALAND

The University recently received a letter from the New Zealand National Union of Students' Debating Committee enquiring as to the possibility of obtaining co-operation and support in arranging Inter-University debates with a representative New Zealand University Team. The committee expects to send a team of two experienced public speakers for the purpose which will visit Indian Universities during

the months of October and November 1934. The debates, it has been suggested, should be open to the public and an admission fee should be charged. An enquiry has been made if it will be possible for the Colleges to guarantee £4 10s. for each debate, the balance being met by the members of the team. Alternatively, it has been asked if it will be possible to guarantee any particular share of the proceeds of admission. The members of the team propose to give special lectures illustrated from what has been described as probably the finest collection of lantern slides in New Zealand.

The Syndicate have decided to issue a circular letter to the Colleges in Calcutta, asking for their suggestions as to the possibility of giving effect to the proposal. A copy of the letter has also been forwarded to the Y.M.C.A. for any action they may consider it possible to take. The New Zealand Committee has also been informed that if the team visits Calcutta, it should come between the middle of November and the middle of December, as the University will remain closed for the Pujah Vacation during October and the first half of November.

The usefulness of such Inter-University debates will be recognised by all and we hope it will be possible for the University and the Colleges to organise them in a befitting manner. We are, however, doubtful if the proposal for charging an admission fee will prove an attractive one.

XIV. LAW EXAMINATION RESULTS

The results of the Law Examinations are analysed in the following table:—

	No. of candidates.	1st Class.	2nd Class.	Percentage.	Last exam.'s percentage.
Preliminary	556	21	279	64.1	57.5
Intermediate	468	15	309	80.1	61.1
Final	592	30	317	80.5	40.9

XV. THE THIRD INTER-UNIVERSITIES CONFERENCE

The Third Inter-Universities Conference held its sittings in Delhi on March 6th, 7th and 8th. The Conference was opened by H. E. the Viceroy and was presided over by Mr. G. H. Langley, Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University and Chairman of

the Inter-University Board for the current year. The detailed resolutions passed at the Conference have not yet reached our hands though the proceedings were published in the news papers at some length. The resolutions, as far as we have been able to follow, are more or less of a general character. They could not but be so. Problems of University reconstruction vary so widely in different provinces that it would be next to impossible to formulate a uniform scheme and prescribe one infallible remedy for all our evils. A Conference like this is however extremely useful from some points of view. It affords us ample opportunities of exchanging our views on important matters of educational policy. It makes us realise that educational reconstruction is not the special need of any particular province but is one of the crying needs of the country as a whole. It provides us with an intimate knowledge of the difficulties with which other provinces have been confronted, of the manner in which they have succeeded to solve them or failed to overcome them. Such a frank exchange of opinions is of immense practical value. It appears there was general agreement on one line of reconstruction and that was the remodelling of the system of secondary education. A general resolution was adopted urging the immediate necessity of raising the standard of high schools. It was also felt that at the end of their school career, there should be institutions of varied types providing for a special vocational training, so that the students may be in a position to divert their energy in different directions instead of being compelled to pursue as at present the same uniform and unvaried literary course. It is not for the first time that such a view has been expressed but unfortunately no tangible results has as yet been achieved.

We know of people who are alarmed at the rapid growth of University education in this country. We do not share that view for we do not consider the number of students receiving University education (*viz.* 105,000 in 1932) is at all excessive when we bear in mind the vast area of this country and its numerous population. Indeed from that point of view, the number is undoubtedly small. At the same time we recognise that the system of education should be so re-organised as to be varied in type and properly adapted to the changing needs and conditions of the country. The fact that an increasing number of students is still anxious to enter the portals of the University shows the anxiety of the guardians to provide their wards with some educational equipment however defective. The time has now come for giving

effect to the resolutions which conferences like the one under discussion pass with so much readiness. What is wanted is not curtailment of educational facilities, but more and better education. It is for Government to take the lead and help in the establishment of special types of educational institutions in different parts of the province. Conferences and resolutions alone will not carry us far.

The Conference passed many other resolutions affecting University administration and re-organisation. One related to the possibility of the Universities acting in greater co-operation in the matter of higher technological training. The question of unemployment among the products of the Universities also came up for discussion but we are afraid the Conference cannot claim to have made any notable contribution towards its solution.

We hope to refer to the other resolutions when the proceedings are available.

XVI. PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN BENGAL

The Eighth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal contains much that is interesting and instructive. It is impossible to discuss here all the figures quoted in the review and to examine all the conclusions arrived at by the two experts employed by the Government of Bengal. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with quoting some of the most important findings without any comment or criticism. It appears from the figures so carefully culled by the official experts that there has been an all-round decline of students of all communities in the collegiate stage. During the five years from 1927-1932 the Arts Colleges in Bengal suffered a decrease of 11·9 per cent. in their roll strength and the professional Colleges experienced a still larger decline in their clientele, *viz.*, 17·6 per cent. This decline is not confined to the Law Colleges alone. We may have too many lawyers, but we could certainly do with more physicians. But even the Medical Schools and Colleges seem to have been affected by the general economic depression.

It is to be noted that the number of students belonging to the educationally advanced Hindus has undergone a steady decline in all stages. If we make allowance for the phenomenal increase in the number of girl pupils at the primary and the secondary stages, this decline will seem all the more striking. "On the other hand, the 'backward' Hindus are now fully awake to the need for education

For every one of their number at school in 1921 there are now more than 5. The advance of the Muhammadans is almost as startling ; they have nearly doubled their enrolment and the percentage has risen from 3·5 in 1921-22 to 5·2 in 1931-32. It may safely be predicted that any future spread of education in Bengal will be chiefly among those two Communities." This is quite satisfactory, but there is a fly in the ointment as the reviewers observe. "In Bengal literacy instead of spreading is, in fact, dwindling." "The fact is that most of the bhadralok classes attend secondary schools from the beginning and become literate ; the backward classes and Moslems constitute the bulk of the pupils of primary schools and they do not become literate." The Primary Schools in Bengal are far from satisfactory and the inspectorate is not efficient either.

The reviewers write, "We have schools which are not likely to make pupils literate; and secondly, we destroy whatever chance of literacy there may be by a system of teaching that is equivalent to a system of neglect." "The inspector is regarded by the teacher as an enemy come to spy out the land, to criticise, not as a friend to appreciate and encourage. This is the result partly of the hurried nature of the inspection, partly of a bad tradition, partly of the lack of proper understanding of their functions by the Inspectors themselves." They further add—"we find that Bengal spends the smallest percentage on primary education, that the contribution by public bodies to the total primary expenditure is lowest in this province, that the expenditure per head of the population is lowest, the expenditure per school is the smallest, the expenditure per scholar is the least, the average fee is the highest."

The High Schools are not better financed although Bengal possesses the largest number of secondary schools. "About half of all the high schools in Bengal receive no grant from public funds." "The most noteworthy reform has been the use of the vernacular since 1930 as the medium of instruction and examination in all classes below VII." At present a Middle school in Bengal serves an area of 46 square miles. "The average number of pupils per high school in 1926-27 was only 238 in Bengal." "In one division alone there were half a dozen high schools with less than 100 pupils each and one with only 75."

We are told that there is considerable wastage so far as Muhammadans are concerned. "The forces that retard the progress of education of the Muhammadans still remain the same. They are the general apathy—not antipathy of the Muhammadans—to the

culture which a liberal education, such as is imparted in ordinary schools gives, the scarcity of Muslim-managed high schools " and " the preference shown by Moslem guardians for special institutions like maktabas and madrasahs." " The Moslems are well represented on the inspecting branch, but the number of teachers in secondary schools and specially high schools is inadequate. No direct appointment to the general posts of Subdivisional Inspector, sub-inspector, assistant head masters of Government schools and normal schools and English vernacular teachers, in any division, is ordinarily sanctioned if the strength of the Muhammadan educational officers in the division is below 45 per cent. of the total."

The next important item is that relating to the Text Book Committee. For lack of funds the appointment of a whole-time reader and secretary and remuneration to ordinary and co-opted members for reviewing books could not be provided for. " No attempt was made to introduce new or better books " for primary schools and maktabas. " During the period out of a total of 5,692 books received by the Provincial Text-book Committee 3,608 were considered and 1,176 approved." " Government expenditure " (on education), we are informed, " has both absolutely and relatively declined."

XVII. NOTIFICATIONS.

(i) *Mokshadasundari Gold Medal, 1934 and*

Nalinisundari Gold Medal, 1934.

The *Mokshadasundari Medal* for 1934 will be awarded for best essay written in Bengali by a lady graduate of this University on the subject—

" Sir Asutosh Mookerjee " or " Yavan Haridas."

The *Nalinisundari Medal* for the year 1934 will be awarded for the best poem written in Bangali by a lady graduate of this University on the subject—

" Chitorgarh " or " Tajmahal."

Every candidate for each of the two aforesaid medals shall be required to submit not later than 30th November, 1934, an essay or a poem, as

the case may be, on the subjects specified above to the Controller of Examinations under a distinguishing motto. The name of the candidate must also be forwarded at the same time in a sealed envelope with the motto outside.

(ii) *Indian Police Service.*

The attention of students is drawn by the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, to the advantages and prospects of a career in the Indian Police Service, particulars of which are given below:—

The monthly rate of pay (subject to revision) in the junior scale rises from Rs. 350 to Rs. 700 in the fifteenth year with an efficiency bar at Rs. 550 in the ninth year. The senior scale begins from Rs. 650 in the 6th or any earlier year in which an officer comes under the senior scale and goes up to Rs. 1,350 in the 26th year. These include however the posts in the time-scale which cover the appointments of Assistant Superintendents of Police and Superintendents of Police. Besides these, there are a few appointments above time-scale which includes posts in the selection grade of Superintendents, Deputy Inspectors-General of Police, Calcutta, Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, and Inspector-General of Police, Bengal, their monthly rate of pay rising up to Rs. 1,450, Rs. 2,150, Rs. 2,500 and Rs. 3,000 respectively.

All officers enter on the "junior scale," but when they attain certain posts of higher responsibility, they are classed as coming under the "senior scale" and draw the basic pay thereunder so long as they hold such posts (whether officiating in them or appointed substantively to them). Travelling and other allowances are admissible under the Fundamental Rules. Officers are allowed leave under the Fundamental Rules. Leave cannot be claimed of right. An officer retires at the age of 55 years, but becomes eligible for the full retiring pension, which is Rs. 7,000 per annum, on completing 30 years' qualifying service. Besides the ordinary pension, an additional pension is also given for holding certain high appointments which involve a high and a marked degree of independent *administrative and professional* capacity.

Admission to the service is dependent on the results of a competitive examination held in the second half of each year. In order to secure admission, to the examination, candidates must fulfil the following conditions: They must (i) be male British subjects of Indian domicile; (ii) be of good physique and free from any physical defect; (iii) be

between the ages of 21 and 24 ; (iv) hold a University degree or have passed the Cambridge School Certificate Examination ; and (v) appear before and be passed by a Selection Committee as suitable in all respects for appointment to the service.

These conditions are, however, subject to such additions and alterations as may be deemed necessary by the Public Service Commission from year to year. The rules and syllabus of the examination are issued each year about May, and may be obtained from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to whom all communications with regard to the examination should be addressed. The candidates selected by the Selection Committee will be examined in the following subjects :—

(Section A—To be taken by all candidates.)

(1) English. (2) Geography. (3) Indian History. (4) Elementary Mathematics. (5) General Knowledge. (6) There will be a *viva voce* test in which marks will be awarded.

(Section B—Candidates are allowed to take up not more than two of the subjects named below.)

(7) Sanskrit. (8) Arabic. (9) Persian. (10) Latin. (11) French. (12) Physics. (13) Chemistry. (14) Botany. (15) Zoology. (16) Higher Mathematics. (17) Political Economy. (18) English Language and Literature. (19) Constitutional Law, (20) Criminal Law and Procedure. (21) British History.

(iii) Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.

Under the will of the late Thomas L. Gray, the Royal Society of Arts has been appointed residuary legatee of his estate for the purpose of founding a memorial to his father, the late Thomas Gray, C.B., who was for many years Assistant Secretary to the Board of Trade (Marine Department). The objects of the Trust are " The advancement of the Science of Navigation and the Scientific and Educational interests of the British Mercantile Marine." The Council now offer the following prizes.

A prize of £100 shall be awarded to any person who may bring to their notice an invention, publication, diagram, etc., which, in the opinion of the Judges appointed by the Council, is considered to be an advancement in the Science or Practice of Navigation, proposed or invented by himself in the period 1st January, 1929, to 31st December,

1934. Entries which have already been considered by the Judges in the years 1929-33 are not eligible for further consideration unless they have since been materially modified. In the event of more than one such improvement being approved, the Council reserve the right of dividing the amount into two or more prizes at their discretion. Competitors must forward their proofs of claim on or before December 31st, 1934, to the Secretary, Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, W. C. 2.

Another prize of £100 will be awarded for an essay on the following subject :

1. The carriage of heavy ore cargoes. Do such cargoes call for special treatment in ship construction, or alternatively should a special freeboard be assigned ?
2. Discuss deck and side openings and the dangers which may arise from defective means of closing and protecting them. Make any suggestions for increasing safety and protection. Candidates are expected to deal with both sections, and special consideration will be given to opinions based on personal experience.

Competitors must send in their essays not later than December 31st, 1934, to the Secretary, Royal Society of Arts, at the above address. The essays must be typed in English. They must be sent in under a motto, accompanied by a sealed envelope enclosing the author's name, which must on no account be written on the essay. A breach of this regulation will result in disqualification. Both competitions are open to persons of any nationality, but, in the case of the Essay Competition only, competitors must be past or present members of the seafaring profession. The Judges will be appointed by the Council. The Council reserve the right of withholding a prize or of awarding a smaller prize or prizes, if in the opinion of the Judges no suitable invention or essay is submitted. The Council also reserve an option on the copyright of the successful essay or essays, but do not claim any rights in respect of any invention to which a prize may be awarded.

A CORRECTION.

An unfortunate error crept in the title of the frontispiece of our last issue (March, 1934). The correct title should be *Bṛhannalā* and *Uttara* instead of *Bṛhannalā* and *Arjuna*.



THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE'S
BRONZE STATUE AT CHOWRINGHEE SQUARE, CALCUTTA
Executed by Mr Debiprasad Raichaudhuri
Unveiled by Sir Manmathanath Roychowdhury
On Sunday, the 25th April, 1934

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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THE PACT OF ROME : A TURNING POINT IN WORLD POLITICS

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS, M.A., PH.D.

I

MARCH 17, 1934, will be regarded as one of the most significant dates in the history of Italian Foreign Relations. On this date Signor Mussolini, Chancellor Dollfuss of Austria and General Gombos, the Prime Minister of Hungary, signed a Three-Power Pact—the Pact of Rome—which has been characterised as “an alliance of Italy, Austria and Hungary. Last year when the Four-Power Pact was signed by Italy, Great Britain, Germany and France, it was hailed as a great victory of Italian diplomacy and success of personal leadership of Signor Mussolini in the field of international politics. But the original draft of the Four-Power Pact had to be modified, owing to French insistence on bringing it into harmony with the League of Nations. In actuality the Four-Power Pact is of no vital importance ; because it cannot be easily invoked in settling difficult problems of European politics. However the Pact of Rome is a decided victory of Italian diplomacy ; because it established Italian political leadership in Austria and Hungary.

The Pact of Rome contains three distinct protocols. The first protocol is of a political character. It has been characterised as an

Calcutta : The University Press

alliance ; but at least it is a consultative pact of very far-reaching character between Italy, Austria and Hungary ; and it goes into immediate effect. The preamble and the text of the pact are as follows :

“ The three heads of the governments of Italy, Austria and Hungary animated by the intention to aid the maintenance of peace and the economic restoration of Europe, on the basis of respect for independence and rights of every state ; persuaded that collaboration between the three Governments in this sense can establish real premises for wider co-operation with other States ; undertake for the achievement of the above-mentioned objects .

“ To concert together on all the problems which particularly interest them and also on those of general character with the aim of developing, in the spirit of existing Italo-Austrian, Italo-Hungarian, and Austro-Hungarian treaties of friendship based upon the recognition of the existence of their numerous common interests, a concordant policy which shall be directed towards effective collaboration between the European States and particularly between Italy, Austria and Hungary To this end the three Governments will proceed to common consultations each time that at least one of them may consider this course opportune ”

The text of the pact is so general that the expression “ effective collaboration ” may mean anything. However the true significance of this pact should be estimated from the speech of Signor Mussolini, delivered in the Opera House of Rome on the 18th of March (the day after the signature of the Pact), before the Second Quinquennial Assembly of the leaders of the Fascist regime. In this speech, he made it clear that Italy will support Austria in every possible way to maintain her independence. He said :

“ Directly the war (the world war) was finished we pursued a policy of friendship with Austria with a view to preserving her integrity and independence. We were alone in that policy for a long time. When things took a dramatic turn the others woke up, but we shall continue our original line of conduct. *Austria knows that she can count on us to help her defend her independence.* ”

This means that both England and France and possibly other Powers are in agreement with Italy regarding the question of preserving Austrian independence ; and those Powers have agreed that Italy should take the leadership in this question. One may say that Signor Mussolini, by signing the Pact of Rome and by his declaration quoted

above, served a definite notice to Germany that any overt act on the part of Germany threatening Austrian independence will not be tolerated by Italy as well as Hungary and other great Powers.

From the speech of Signor Mussolini it becomes clear that he has given definite assurance to General Gombos that Italy will champion the cause of the revision of the existing treaty by which Hungary has lost certain portion of her Magyar-speaking territories to the members of the Little Entente—Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Roumania. He said:

“ Hungary has found in Italy the greatest comprehension of her aspirations. Hungary isolated and despoiled of essentially Magyar territories, demands justice. She asks that the promises and the engagements of the peace treaties be kept. The Hungarian people deserve a better fate.”

The spirit behind the political protocol of the Pact of Rome can be understood from the following comments published in the Italian Press which generally echoes the views of the Government. The *Popolo di Roma* says:

“ Austria has regained the consciousness of historic mission. She knows that she has still a future and her own road to travel. She has definitely emerged from the state of minority in which her condition of weakness at home and lack of friends abroad have kept her. *From now onwards there will be no longer an Austrian foreign policy, but in all problems which particularly interest Italy, Austria and Hungary there will be a great Italo-Austro-Hungarian policy.* This seems to us to be the salient point of the present agreement and the starting point in an entirely new era in the history and policy of Danubian countries.”

From this it becomes apparent that the political protocol of the Pact of Rome creates a new bloc of Powers—Italy, Austria and Hungary—in the Danubian area. It will follow a common foreign policy as the Little Entente Powers do. But Signor Mussolini has declared that “ the protocol does not preclude more ample collaboration with other countries.” Furthermore Signor Gayda, writing in the semi-official *Giornale d'Italia* says:

“ No new situation is created by the agreement. The continuity of Mussolini's policy is reaffirmed. It does not constitute the formation of a new block. It follows the policy long advocated by Italy at Geneva. There is no intention of isolating Austria and Hungary from general Danubian problems.”

To be sure the preamble of the protocol indicates that the agreement between the three states—Italy, Austria and Hungary—will “*establish real premises for wider co-operation with other states ; but as a matter of fact, none of the members of the Little Entente nor Germany will find it possible to subscribe to the Pact of Rome for the solution of Danubian problems unless they agree to accept the policy of Italy, Austria and Hungary. (It may be said that Italy, as the dominant factor, will determine the policy.)*” On this point the *Times* (London) of March 19, 1934, in its editorial entitled “The Rome Protocols,” makes the following significant comments :

“ The Italo-Austro-Hungarian agreement is not exclusive in its purpose, although, as our Rome correspondent says, the members of the new club have provided themselves with plenty of rules for black-balling of potential candidates..... ”

From a careful study of the speech of Herr Hitler delivered in Munich on the 19th of March, as reported in the *Times* of the 21st, it becomes clear that the aim of the German revolution will not be completed “*until the unification of the German people was complete.*” This means that Germany has not given up her aim of eventual Austro-German union. The press comment on the Pact of Rome, so far published in Germany, is not enthusiastically in its favor. Dr. Bensch supports Signor Mussolini's idea of Austrian independence but does not approve the Pact of Rome. The *Prager Press* and other papers from Little Entente countries are suspicious of the ulterior motive behind the pact. Bulgaria, as the *Mir* points out, welcomes Signor Mussolini's championing the revision of the Peace Treaty and acknowledges that Rome has become an important centre regarding the Balkan politics. It is the general impression that this political protocol of the Pact of Rome is a check against German aspirations for absorbing Austria and at the same time a counterpoise to the political influence of the Little Entente and thus directly affecting France and her allies.

The second protocol is economic in character and it is based on the principles contained in the Danubian Memorandum presented by Italy under the date of September 29th, 1933, and in harmony with the spirit of the decisions taken at the Stresa Conference. The text of the Second Protocol is as follows :

“ By Article I, the three Governments undertake to extend the scope of the accords already in force by increasing the facilities for reciprocal export and thus exploiting the complementary nature of the

respective national economies. To this end new bilateral accords will be concluded before May 15.

" Under Article 2 steps will be taken by May 15th at latest to overcome the difficulties felt by Hungary from the fall of the prices of grain.

" Article 3 declares that bilateral accords will be made at the earliest possible date to facilitate and develop transit traffic through the Adriatic ports.

" Article 4, sets up a permanent committee of three experts to follow the course of economic relations and to formulate concrete proposals for the development in the spirit of the protocol."

The third protocol supplements the second one and emphasises that before the 15th of May lists will be made for products which will receive special customs facilities and special concessions. It is understood that arrangements are being made so that Italy will allow Austria special privileges in the ports of Trieste and Fiume for export and import purposes. This is bound to hurt German ports of Hamburg and Bremen. It may on the other hand stimulate British export of coal to Austria. However the *Times* (London) of March 19, comments editorially that " Signor Mussolini must understand very well that even a much freer exchange of goods between Italy and the two Danubian States cannot restore prosperity unless the other Central European countries also come in with lowered barriers of trade."

II

The immediate effect of signing of the Pact of Rome will be bitter disappointment among a section of German statesmen who counted on full collaboration and eventual alliance between Germany and Italy. However Germany, under the present situation of world politics, will not be in a position to take any action against Italy. Furthermore she needs Italian support in her claims for her armament programme. In fact Signor Mussolini, the day after the signing the Pact of Rome, made a declaration in supporting German claims for re-armament. He said :

" The armed states which were not disarming were not executing the fifth part of the Treaty of Versailles and they could not logically oppose the practical application of that parity of rights which was recognised to Germany in December, 1932. There were no alternatives. To claim to hold eternally disarmed a people like Germany

was a pure illusion which would not be borne out by facts unless it was proposed to stop by force the eventual armament of Germany. But that would mean war..... and the lives of millions and the whole destiny of Europe.

" Signor Mussolini suggested the need for recognising the German claims to re-armament with regard to effectives and defensive material on the basis of the signature of a convention proposed by Italy which would re-establish among European Powers, both great and small, that atmosphere of understanding, without which Europe is precipitating itself into darkness." (*Manchester Guardian*, March 19, 1934.)

Signor Mussolini's above declaration has various significance of extending support to Germany and opposing France on matters of disarmament. Signor Mussolini's attitude to Germany is not merely due to justice of the German claim, but it helps Italy in safeguarding her interests. By supporting Germany's claim to maintain paramilitary organizations of the type of Storm Troopers which, according to France, have great value as military effectives, Italy maintains her position regarding her Fascist Militia. Furthermore moderate increase of military power of Germany becomes a check against the superiority of French military power and that of her allies. If Germany, supported by Italy and probably by England, maintains her claims for re-armament, then there will be a serious tension between France and Germany; and on that occasion Italy, like England, will be able to play the rôle of a mediator.

One must not forget that although the Franco-Italian relations are not as tense as it was a few months ago, there are many problems yet to be solved between the two nations. In this connection one should take into consideration what Signor Mussolini has to say regarding Franco-Italian relations of to-day and Italian expansion in Africa and the East. Il Duce has declared on the 18th of March:

" With France, our general relations have improved, but it must be said that none of the problems, large and small, which have existed for 15 years has been solved. I must add, however, that the moral atmosphere is improved and that this must be considered a favorable condition for future developments."

The question of naval parity between Italy and France is one of the most important disputes between these two nations; and the other questions in dispute are (1) status of the large Italian-speaking community in the French Protectorate of Tunis, and (2) the rectification of the frontiers of Italian territories and French colonies in North

Africa. Of these three questions, it seems that at the present time Signor Mussolini places greater importance on the last two. This is evident from the following passage of his recent speech :

“ There must be no misunderstanding upon this centuries-old task assigned to this and future generations of Italians. There was no question of territorial conquests—this must be understood by all both far and near—but of a natural expansion which ought to lead to collaboration between Italy and the peoples of Africa and the East. Italy could above all civilise Africa; and her position in the Mediterranean gave her this right and imposed this duty on her. She demanded no privileges and monopolies, but did not want earlier arrivals to block her spiritual, political expansion.”

Signor Mussolini really gave notice to the world that Italy will follow the policy of “peaceful penetration” in Africa and expand economically, politically and spiritually in Africa, without immediately annexing some sections of Africa. In this connection, one may remember that since the World War, Britain has ceded to Italy the territory of Jubaland and used her influence over Egypt to grant Italy sovereignty over the oasis of Jerabub. Furthermore through British support Italy has secured equal status to the British in the International zone of Tangier. Therefore it is clear that the next objective for Italy is not only the solution of the Franco-Italian problems in Africa but further expansion in Africa. The diplomatic correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, commenting on the Italian demand writes :

“ I should fancy, however, that Signor Mussolini was looking further afield than Tunis, more specially in the economic field. He is probably eager to secure new outlets in Africa for Italian emigration and enterprise and an assured share in the raw materials available there of which Italy has great need. This need is presumably responsible for the Duce's reference to Asia as well as Africa.” (*Daily Telegraph*, March 19, 1934.)

So long as Italy follows anti-French (pro-German) policy, France will not be willing to extend her support to Italy in securing eastward or southward expansion. France may be willing to accommodate Italy in Africa and in the East, provided Italy is willing to follow a policy which will be agreeable to French security. If Italy thinks that she will be able to extract concessions from France by using German pressure, then the ultimate and determining factor will be British

attitude in such an issue. So far there is something like an Anglo-Italian understanding on various problems ; but it is not conceivable that the present National Government of Britain would agree to adopt any programme of action which would mean coercing France by a joint action on the part of Britain, Italy and Germany.

Germany accepts the outcome of the Pact of Rome, because she is powerless to oppose it, at the present time. But she will, in course of time, assert her position in Central Europe either by unmaking the Pact of Rome or by creating a new alignment of Powers. It is quite apparent that until the successful conclusion of the plebiscite in the Saar, Germany must preserve her friendly relations with Italy and Great Britain. Furthermore, Germany cannot afford to do anything by which she might lose support of Great Britain and Italy regarding her present programme of re-armament. While concentrating on these immediate issues, she is already busy in creating a German bloc of Powers. The signing of a pact between Germany and Poland, and Germany's efforts to establish most cordial political and commercial relations with Jugo-Slavia are mere indications. In this connection one should notice that two days after the signing of the Pact of Rome General Göring, the Premier of Prussia, gave an interview to one of the correspondents of the *Le Jour* of Paris, pleading for a *Franco-German rapprochement*. "He is reported to have concluded the interview with these words: " *Do you think that there is a single Power in the world which could resist the will of France and Germany combined ?* " The *Times* (London), March 21, 1934. There was a time when some French statesmen discussed with German leaders about the possibility of a Franco-German-Russian understanding ; but fearing an Anglo-German-Italian combination against France, France has decided to be in closest possible relation with Russia, while attempting to revive the Anglo-French Entente. Therefore General Göring may not immediately have much success in his very interesting programme of Franco-German rapprochement.

The signing of the Pact of Rome has not solved the problems of Central Europe. It is the beginning of a new era in European diplomacy. It may be the beginning of a new era for co-operation among nations or may serve as an impetus for sharp rivalry among various factors—Italy-Austria-Hungary, the Little Entente Powers supported by France, Germany and Russia—It is certain that in any major development in European politics or world politics, Britain will be involved merely to protect her own interests. However the British Government is deeply interested in keeping itself free from any

entanglement in Europe. Britain is more concerned about what might happen in the Pacific, as an outcome of the growing Anglo-Japanese rivalry. Similarly Russia is trying her best to strengthen her position without taking any active part in the developments in the Danubian region. Russia feels, inspite of German and Polish protestations, that if she may be involved in serious difficulties in the Balkans or the Far East, she may be invaded by these two Powers. Furthermore, Russian statesmen feel that if Soviet Russia be entangled in a war in Europe, Japan may take advantage of that situation. Thus to offset any possible Polish-German combination against Russia, Soviet Russian statesmen are seeking support of France as well as Italy ; and to offset Japanese pressure the Soviet Russian statesmen are seeking British as well as American support.

Signing of the Pact of Rome marks a new era in world politics. Italy, from this date, becomes an active and very important factor in the re-alignment of Powers. It is expected that Italy will follow her traditional policy of co-operation with Great Britain. But time will determine, whether this Anglo-Italian co-operation would either develop into Anglo-Italian-German co-operation against France or it would develop into Anglo-French-Italian-Russian co-operation against a new, rejuvenated and powerful Germany. Of all the great Powers, the United States of America and Japan are fortunately placed and they can develop their independent foreign policy without being much influenced by rivalries among European Powers. They can follow a policy of "watchful waiting." However they are vital factors in world politics and they cannot be ignored by any real statesman, while deciding upon a programme of action.

Florence, Italy.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FORT WILLIAM COLLEGE

By PRAKASH CHANDRA, M.A., LL.B., PH.D. (LONDON)

VERY little attention has been hitherto paid to the exceedingly interesting subject of the relations between the Government of India and the Home Government. One has at best only a hazy notion of the control exercised by Whitehall or Leadenhall Street, and it is only when books like Morley's *Recollections* or the brilliant work of Curzon on the Government in India appear that the veil is partially lifted and the nature of that influence realised.

From 1784 to 1857 India was governed by the caprice of three separate and distinct authorities. There were, first, the Presidential Governments, each of which was independent in many ways, though the supremacy of the Bengal Government over the rest was to some extent recognised and enforced. There was the Court of Directors, who as the executive of the East India Company possessed the power of superintendence, direction, and control over the Indian Governments. And finally, there was the Board of Control set up by and responsible to, Parliament, whose duty was to exercise control over all the political transactions of the Court of Directors.

The respective powers of each, however, were not precisely defined. To some extent, of course, this was unavoidable. The means of communication not only between India and England but between one presidency and another were so slow that any system of unification and concentration of authority would have broken down at once. The omission to determine specifically the relation of the Court of Directors to the Board of Control must be accounted for by the considerable influence which the Directors possessed in Parliament and by the unwillingness of the ministers to exasperate their feelings. Hence the Act of 1784 proceeded to divide powers which were in reality indivisible, and to constitute two authorities with avowedly separate functions when in fact their jurisdiction was co-extensive.¹

¹ For a general discussion of the relations between the Directors and the Board see my article in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London, Nov. 1933. The specific problem of the appointment of Governors has been dealt with in my article on Lord Londerdale, *Journal of Indian History*, Dec., 1933.

It is obvious that where power was so divided, there should have been bitter and prolonged conflicts. Each had its own peculiar difficulties. The Local Governments had necessarily a keen and more adequate idea of the special problems which confronted them than could be realised by the Court of Directors at a distance of 6,000 miles. Yet to every measure their consent was necessary. But it is also true that the Governments were unduly sensitive on this score, and were willing to ascribe to fractious opposition what had been the result of honest disagreement.

If the Local Governments disliked intervention, there was on the part of the Directors no desire to relax their control. From the earliest times they had insisted on full recognition being paid to their dignity and their authority.¹ But conditions since then had considerably changed. The place of the factors, who came out to India as humble men, and who were disposed to carry out the behests of their masters, was now occupied by the Governor-General and Governors, who were often men of noble birth, distinguished in public life, and owing their position not to the magnanimity of the Directors but to ministerial influence. Another fruitful source of strife was the patronage continued to the Directors by the Act of 1784. Though all appointments were reserved to the Court of Directors, it was understood that they would appoint only the writers and cadets, and that their subsequent promotion was to rest with the Local Governments. Finance, however, formed the main fighting-ground. The Directors were unwilling to sanction expenditure unless it was absolutely necessary, and did not hesitate to interfere even where a paltry sum had been granted as allowance or gratuity. They were most particularly opposed to extension of territory, because the law forbade it and also because a war drained their treasury and swept off their dividends. And yet curiously enough, their Governments were always waging war either in self-defence or in pursuit of glory.

The position of the Board of Control *vis à vis* the Court of Directors and the Local Governments was as between Scylla and Charybdis. They had in their own person to reconcile two conflicting principles. As a part of the Home Government of India, it was their duty to support the Directors in enforcing obedience to their command; as a part of the British Government it was not the less their duty to subordinate the particular interests of the East India Company

¹ Sir William Foster, *The East India House*, p. 86.

to the larger interests of the British Empire and to safeguard the interests of the British people as a whole.

In a constitution of this type, it is clear that personalities mattered much. If the President of the Board of Control was a strong man, he could co operate with the Local Governments and bend the Directors to his will. Or again, if the Governor-General happened to be a man of marked ability and inclined to be pugnacious, he could carry all before him. This happened repeatedly during the administration of Lord Wellesley. His term of office, characterised as it is by the vast expansion of the Company's dominion and many important reforms, is not the less remarkable for the light it throws on the evils of dual government. Gifted with the ability to conceive large designs and to carry them out with vigour and success Wellesley belongs to that little group of master-builders who are rare in history. His despatches, in spite of their prolixity and the grandiloquence of their style, bear striking testimony to the ease with which he acquainted himself with the dry details of many things. Nor did he fail to turn his knowledge to good account. But he had the defects of his qualities. The same supreme self-confidence which ensured the success of any scheme he decided to adopt led him also to reject the contribution which others could make. He regarded the Directors' zeal for economy with open contempt. He was obsessed to an extraordinary degree with the idea of the government as an awe-inspiring pageant. Ambitious, vain, extravagant, intolerant of all opposition or interference, he was, however, fortunate in his time. The years of his office coincided with the stormy Napolionic era. It was essential to have a strong man in India, and to retain his services the Directors swallowed many a bitter morsel.

Naturally, many controversies ensued between the Governor-General and in his expressive phrase 'the cheesemongers of Leadenhall Street.' But the present article will confine itself to one. The history of the establishment of the Fort William Collège is interesting not only as detailing the peculiar circumstances under which a memorable institution took its rise, but also as throwing a flood of light on the simply incredible system of government which continued in India till the Mutiny.

The course of the controversy, briefly, was as follows. Lord Wellesley acting on his own initiative established the college in 1800. But when the measure came for the confirmation of the Court of Directors, they, feeling offended that they had not been

previously consulted, and also because in their opinion it was highly expensive and unsatisfactory in its details, disallowed it. The Board, however, intervened and expressed the view that for the time being the college might be allowed to exist, reserving final orders. The Directors, fearing that if the suggestion of the Board were adopted, its abolition in future would become difficult, did not accept it. Thereupon the Board claimed that they had constitutional powers to force the Directors to transmit their despatch on the subject. Legal opinion, however, did not seem to be in favour of the Board. The affair was settled by means of a compromise. The Directors forwarded the Board's despatch to India after some modifications, but at the same time compelled the Board to acknowledge that their present compliance was not to form a precedent for the future.

The question may now be considered in greater detail. The first intimation which Wellesley gave of his intention to found the college was in 1799 in a letter to Dundas, the President of the Board of Control.¹ He foreshadowed a college, where the civil servants on arrival in India would be educated for two or three years in the Hindu and Muslim law and the regulations enacted by the Governor-General in Council. But it is significant that he neither addressed the Directors on the subject nor indeed waited to hear what Dundas had to say about it.

Finally, he took the whole matter into consideration in an elaborate minute of July 10, 1800.² He mentioned the following reasons for his decision to found the college at once without waiting to obtain the previous sanction of the Directors:—(1) the immediate benefit to be desired from the early commencement of his plan, (2) the experience of the great advantages already gained from Mr. Gilchrist's Seminary, and (3) the Governor-General's anxiety to personally supervise the foundation of the college and observe its first effects.

Of these only the last appears to have been substantial. For if the administration of the Company had been carried on till now without a college, surely any delay which a consultation with the Directors could have involved would have brought no disastrous consequences. But to say this is not to dispute Wellesley's argument for a training institute. The writers who arrived from England had received education of a most perfunctory type. During the days when the Company was merely a trading corporation, perhaps the fact was not of much

¹ M. Martin, *The Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley*, II, pp. 181-82.
² *ibid.*, pp. 225-55.

importance.¹ But since then conditions had radically altered. The civil servants now had to perform the responsible and onerous duties of magistrates, ministers, and political agents. "The state of the administration of justice, and even of the collection of revenue throughout the provinces," Wellesley had written to Dundas, "affords a painful example of the inefficiency of the best code of laws to secure the happiness of the people, unless due provision has been made to ensure a proper supply of men qualified to administer those laws in their different branches and departments."²

By the regulations which Wellesley laid down, all the civil servants, no matter what presidency they were to serve in, were on their arrival in India to reside and study at the Fort William College for three years. But the curriculum which he drew up was more suited to a cultural University than to an institute manifestly designed to import professional training. Greek and Latin; Modern European and Indian languages; Natural History, Botany, Chemistry, and Astronomy; Mathematics, Economics, and Commerce; Ancient and Modern History; the Hindu and Mohammedan Law, Ethics, Civil Jurisprudence, the Law of Nations, English Law and the regulations of the Governor-General and Governors-in-Council—the list is sufficient to give an idea of the all-embracing character of the courses of study.

It was with undisguised feelings of surprise and disapproval that the Directors received the news of the establishment of the college. They appreciated the enlightened spirit of the Governor-General which had prompted the scheme, but remarked that under the existing financial stringency they could not sanction it, since it involved heavy and indefinite expenditure. They took the Governor-General to task for not having previously consulted them. Indeed the Directors felt that if they acquiesced in this measure, Wellesley would make it a practice to accomplish things on his own account. "The tendency of all such deviations," they observed, "is to weaken the authority which is constitutionally placed in this country, for when measures are once adopted which either pledge the faith of Government, or incur great expense the exercise of control in such cases is in effect frustrated."³ But there was a further consideration which made the Directors decide against the College and one sufficiently weighty. They were of opinion that whatever European education was deemed necessary for the civil

¹ The duties of the Company's writers had originally been 'to weigh tea, count bales, and measure muslin,' *Memoirs of Old Haileybury College*.

² Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-82.

³ India Office Records, MS. Draft-despatch to Bengal, dated December 24, 1801.

servants should be imported in England and that their studies in India should be confined to subjects properly Indian.

They accordingly directed the abolition of the college, the re-establishment of Mr. Gilchrist's Seminary on a more extensive scale, and further the sending back of the civil servants of Bombay and Madras, who were receiving education at Fort William, to their respective presidencies. They were of opinion that separate institutions were better than a central one. At the same time they mentioned their intention of setting up a college at home where mathematics, physics, and the elements of other sciences could be taught.¹

It is to be noted that the above objections of the Directors were set forth in their draft with equal emphasis. But when the draft came for the Board's revision, it underwent drastic mutilation.² Though the abolition of the college was allowed to stand, the Court's proposal to establish a college at home was struck off. Moreover, by the insertion of the phrase 'at present' at several places, the Board so altered the tenor of the despatch as to indicate that the only serious objection was based on the existing financial difficulty.

It was not with equanimity that Wellesley received the orders for the abolition of the college. He postponed its abolition till the end of 1803, and meanwhile wrote a letter of enormous length to the Chairman of the Company requesting that the orders might be withdrawn.³ Seizing the objection of the Directors as a handle, he argued that the financial position during the interval had considerably improved. He dwelt at length on the need of such an institution, which was unnecessary, since the Directors by their proposed despatch had already recognised it, though, of course, Wellesley was not aware of it. Further he reiterated his arguments for a central institution which would secure the uniform education and instruction of the whole body of the civil service derived from a common source.

At the same time fearing that his appeal to the Directors might not be favourably received, he sent a private communication to Lord Dartmouth, the successor of Dundas, asserting with childish impatience that he *knew* the College to be absolutely requisite for good government, and holding out his usual threat of resignation: "Your Lordship

¹ Thus the Directors took the earliest opportunity after hearing of the Fort William College to express their intention of setting up a college at home. Mr. P. E. Roberts' statement in his *India under Wellesley* that they did so only later when a controversy between themselves and the Board had already broken out is incorrect, and unfair to the Directors.

² Under the Act of 1784 no despatches could be transmitted to India without the Board's approval.

³ Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 640-666.

will feel that the injury which my authority has received by the abolition of the college, and by other obvious circumstances in the late despatches from the court must increase my anxiety to receive the fullest and most unequivocal assurances of support from His Majesty's ministers, as the only possible security for the discharge of my functions in the Government. Any want of this support must at once compel me to deliver over my charge to Mr. Barlow." Nor was this all, for he expressed his strong determination, should his pleading be disregarded, to come to England and to carry the battle into Parliament for the restoration of his measure.

The place of Dartmouth was shortly afterwards taken by Castlereagh on whom fell the task of handling this delicate business. It was obvious to him that there was a gulf between the Governor-General and the Directors which it was difficult to bridge. He decided to adopt the same tactics which Dundas had pursued in connection with the Permanent Settlement of Bengal: he himself drafted a despatch in reply to Wellesley's letter to the Chairman, and sent it out informally to the Chairman with a note, saying that whatever went out, he wished it to appear, as far as possible, to proceed from the court.

But his proposal was modest. He wanted the college to be continued till a suitable substitute had been found, and he also agreed not to fetter the Court's future discretion. The purport of the draft was that the college was allowed to exist, but it was to be investigated whether its expenses could not be reduced, and whether it was not more economical and advantageous to have separate seminaries for each of the three presidencies.

The tone of Castlereagh was conciliatory enough, and perhaps the Directors would have accepted his decision, were they not aware of the settled resolution of Wellesley to preserve the college intact. Accordingly, they rejected the draft when it was formally sent to them two months afterwards, and wrote a long explanatory letter to the Board.

They complained that the Governor-General by failing to abolish the college had disregarded their authority, and that to yield to his wishes would be a surrender on their part. "They cannot be expected," they said with offended dignity, "to lay the legitimate authority with which they are entrusted at the feet of any individual, be his rank or character what it may." ² They were unwilling to continue

¹ R. B. Pearce, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Marquess Wellesley*, II, p. 217.

² India Office MSS. Letters from the Court of Directors to the Board of Control, II, Letter dated July 1, 1803.

the college on the existing scale of grandeur and magnificence because it was unnecessary, and against "the genius and character of the constitution of the mother-country which is averse in all things from ostentatious display." ¹ And they attacked severely a proposal of Lord Wellesley by which the Governor-General was to be invested with the power of determining the presidency where a civil servant was to serve.

Indeed it is only natural that the Directors should have viewed this proposal with misapprehension. The three presidencies then were not, as they are now, on a uniform basis with regard to the pay and allowances of the civil servants. If they were given an option they would doubtless have all chosen the Bengal presidency. The right of allocation, therefore, was a valuable privilege of the Directors.

After thus criticising the scheme of Wellesley, they offered some constructive proposals of their own which are entitled to great respect. Wellesley had desired the writers to leave England at the early age of 15. But was it advisable that boys whose character had not yet been fully moulded should be allowed to go from home and face the temptations of a strange country? "I own," said Charles Grant, one of the most experienced and devoted servants of the Company, "my own observation of 30 years has led me to conclude otherwise." ² The Directors proposed that they should leave England at the age of 17 or 18. These two or three years they could spend in acquiring a knowledge of the European languages, literature, and philosophy either at the Universities or in seminaries specially established for the purpose. It is obvious that these subjects could be taught better in England than in India. After receiving this part of the education there, they were to be taught at presidential seminaries the local languages used in the transactions of ordinary life or in administration. The curriculum was to include also Indian History, Institutions, and culture. The Directors gave various reasons for their preference of local seminaries, the best of which was that they would raise the general tone of the presidencies. They finished by expressing the opinion that the college should be forthwith abolished and an enquiry held to form the basis of a new training establishment.

Faced with this opposition, the Board of Control while still insisting that their despatch should be transmitted to India agreed that an enquiry should be undertaken. And to conciliate the Directors they

¹ *Ibid.*

² H. Morris, *Life of Charles Grant*, p. 242.

made one big concession, namely, that if they wanted the civil servants of other presidencies not to receive instruction at Calcutta, they could add a paragraph to that effect.¹

It is difficult to see why the Directors should not have accepted the new proposal of the Board. But they remained obdurate. They even challenged the right of the Board to compose a despatch on the above subject. They expressed the opinion that by the Act of Parliament they alone were empowered to "originate all matters which relate directly or indirectly to the appointment of the servants of the Company ; to the creation of any new establishment or salary, or the granting of any pension or reward " ² and that the Board's power was confined to an absolute or partial veto.

After having set forth their powers in theory, they proceeded to substitute for the Board's draft one drawn up by themselves. In this they ordered the abolition of the college, and the establishment of a modest seminary. They repeated their old arguments which need not be recapitulated, but we might note in passing that they dwelt at length on the lack of discipline at the Fort William College.³

The Board took up the challenge, and on their side gave a detailed, and an unnecessarily long, interpretation of the law. They declared that they had complete authority to direct any new establishment to be created, which they considered conducive to the better government of India ; to prescribe the number of officers of which it should consist and even the salary which each should receive, but having determined this question which was strictly political, their functions ceased and it did not belong to them to decide by whom those duties were to be executed, or by whom those emoluments to be enjoyed. Their claim to these powers they supported by means of a negative argument. If it could be granted, they said, that the Board could not issue orders necessitating a new establishment then unless such orders were capable of execution by the precise number of officers then actually in existence, the functions of the Board were at an end, and their undisputed power of directing war to be declared, or peace to be made, which might eventually lead to the extension of the Company's possessions, and consequently an increase in their establishment sank to nothing.⁴

¹ India Office MSS. Letters from the Board of Control to the Court of Directors, II, Letter dated July 5, 1806.

² Letters from the Court to the Board, II, pp. 342-43.

³ In view of the controversy between the Board and the Directors regarding the abolition of the college, it is interesting to find the proposal for its abolition originally from the Board themselves in 1811 on the ground of the existing dissipation. " Previous Communications," A, India Office MSS.

⁴ Letters from the Board to the Court, II, pp. 150-69.

It might be noticed that the Board's interpretation of the law reduced the Directors to the status of the Civil Service Commission, and that the analogy between the establishment of the Fort William College and war conditions was hardly just, their control over the latter being distinctly recognised by the Act.

While the dispute between the Directors and the Board was yet continuing, the date had arrived by which at the latest, if the college was to be preserved, orders must be despatched to India. The Directors agreed to forward the Board's draft with some modifications. At the same time to enforce their contention, they forwarded the opinion of their Counsel to the Board.

The Counsel stated, firstly, that the Board had no power to create new offices with salaries attached, even if they related unquestionably to civil government, and, secondly, that the Directors could not be compelled to send the Board's despatch to India by the King-in-Council who had no jurisdiction over the creation of new offices.¹ The opinion of the crown lawyers was pretty much the same. While holding that the Board had not exceeded their legal power, they recommended that the question should be decided beyond a doubt in Parliament by means of a Declaratory Act. They agreed with the Company's Counsel that the matter in dispute did not lie before the King-in-Council, and that the only remedy was in an ordinary court of law.²

No wonder that the decision of the Directors was welcomed by the Board with unconcealed relief. But they felt perturbed at the legal opinion, and wrote the following letter to the Court which might be quoted *in extenso*, as it reveals the inherent weaknesses of Pill's India Act;—

“ The late instance is a pregnant proof how inapplicable proceedings at common law are to questions of state policy. The abolition of the college at Fort William under the orders of the Governor-General-in-Council is directed to take effect, on the 31st December next. The despatch suspending the abolition principally under a doubt as to powers, suggested by the Court, is delayed from 22nd June till the end of August, thereby rendering its arrival in India previous to the day on which the abolition is to take effect extremely problematical. Had unfortunately a difference of opinion with respect to those orders continued to prevail, no legal proceedings could have been instituted

¹ India Office MSS. The Home Miscellaneous Series, 487, pp. 573-74.

² Letters from the Board to the Court, II, pp. 173-75.

before the King's Bench (if in that court the remedy be found to which the Board are obliged to have recourse till the November term, and the delay in itself must have effectively defeated the object of the despatched." ¹

Of these doubts and searchings of heart, the Directors took full advantage, and openly demanded that, though they had agreed to forward the despatch, their action should not be deemed to constitute a precedent.

The Board proved unexpectedly compliant, and agreed to a proposition which must indicate that the final victory lay on the side of the Court:—

“ That the question of the authority of the Board and the Court shall be considered as remaining in the same state, as if the present subject had not arisen, and that the proposed act of the Court shall not be brought in precedent on any future occasion as going to decide the question of construction of the Acts by which the respective powers of the parties are regulated.” ²

Apart from this formal victory, the Directors also succeeded by subsequent despatches in seriously limiting the scope of the college, so that it was ultimately reduced to the status originally proposed by them.

There were many who regretted this mutilation of Wellesley's magnificent scheme.³ Mr. Brown, the provost of the college, deplored bitterly the exclusion of the Bombay and Madras students from the college, which was “ like opening a great artery which let out our blood and life.” ⁴ James Mill also in his evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee, 1831-32, criticised the conduct of the Directors in scathing terms. But it must be admitted that the responsibility for the failure of his scheme must rest largely on Wellesley himself. The Directors were alive to the deficiencies of their civil servants, and indeed it is very probable that they would have accepted Wellesley's plan, if it were only on a less elaborate scale. Charles Grant, who wielded considerable influence in the Court of Directors, admitted during the course of a private letter, when the scheme was first received, that its general idea was highly commendable and that it was capable of producing considerable effects, not only political but religious and moral.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-77.

² *The Home Miscellaneous Series*, 504, p. 371.

³ It is to be noted that in its first years the college did wonderful work for the development of the Urdu language and literature.

⁴ Sir J. W. Kaye, *Lives of Indian Officers*, I, p. 480.

⁵ *Morris, op. cit.*, p. 242.

But there were many objections to it. The college was needlessly expensive. From October 1800 to April 1803, a period of two years and a half, the cost of the establishment had amounted to the excessively high figure of £224,566. And if professors of high attainments and character from the British universities were to be induced to serve in India, it is clear that no large economies could have been effected. Moreover, if a probationer after his arrival in India failed to pass the tests of the college, his sending back would have cost much useless expense and botheration. Both of these difficulties could be avoided by the establishment of a college in England on the lines suggested by the Directors. Furthermore, conditions in India were hardly suitable for study. As Malthus, the famous economist and a professor at the Haileybury College, later remarked, the young civilian on his arrival was "surrounded by natives devoted to his will, discouraged from application by the enfeebling effects of the climate, and beset by every temptation and novelty, which can attract his imagination and divert his attention from serious pursuits."¹

Added to the force of these objections, which powerfully impressed the Directors, there was the bitterness of personal grievance. The Directors were most touchy about their trade monopoly. Yet Wellesley in his headstrong way undertook to break it, and thereby sealed the fate of his favourite college. "It is singular enough," Grant wrote to his brother-in-law, "that he himself inadvertently furnished the means of defeat. His letter to the Court on enlarging privilege of private traders arrived opportunely for that party to support their declining cause."² But though Wellesley was thwarted in his particular measure, he had done splendid service in focussing attention on the immediate need of a training institute. The Haileybury College founded in 1805 was no less the product of his efforts than the Fort William College.

Benares.

¹ In his *Letter to Lord Grenville* (1813).

² Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

AN ASPECT OF MODERN POETRY

By N. N. CHATTERJEE, M.A.

WE who are respectably nurtured by old adages are suspicious of modern poetry. We consider it an affair of endless trickeries and abstruse "difficulties." If we can help it we will have nothing to do with it, that is the general trend of opinion. Some of us hold with the ancients, 'Chaucer (or Shakespeare or Milton as the case may be) is enough for us,' and rest content with this self-assurance. Others distrust and say with an air of finality, 'modern poetry is no poetry at all !' In the language of the time of Shakespeare—this poetry is "modern, a wonder, a worthless novelty and nothing more."

It is not my idea to laugh away the "difficulty" of modern poetry; that is absurd. I also know this "difficulty" is as a dead-wall between many a lover of poetry and the works of the modern poets. I shall attempt here to lift at least one corner of the mist-curtain which overhangs modern verse.

The last Great War witnessed the end of many things. It witnessed, among others, the end of "national" poetry or Jingo poetry. When the stay-at-homes in England or Germany or France sent the flower of their youth to die in the front, they expected traditionally that some of them would sing rapturously of the delight of killing the enemies, "Hun" or "Frenchei" or "Anglaise" whatever they be, and would inspire others to do the same. But unfortunately this never happened. The young poets who fought and sang, could not sing in the Jingo strain. They wrote a poetry of bleak disillusionment, of protest against that scheme of things which sent them to an untimely death. There was no anger against the enemy, only a vast self-compassion and a protest. Do we know why this happened? The answer is: "*They knew.*"

Modern knowledge, clarified, enriched and intensified by science and touched into emotion here and there by philosophers like Bergson, killed all illusions in the heart of the young fighters. National cause, idealism was to end war, righteousness—nonsense! There were no such things—all meaningless terms, used cleverly by shrewd exploiters to deceive people. When the residuum of the young fighters came

back home, they knew only one thing, *viz.*, all men suffer equally, share in the glory or ignominy of human nature and human deeds equally. This was a universal conception which jarred with the petty schemes of international exploitation which were then being devised by the "peace-makers" at Versailles.

This is only one standpoint whence we can look at the "difficulty" of modern poetry. The "difficulty" is this: The technique of modern verse may be too tricky or discordant or errant, but that is not the thing. The real difficulty lies with what we call vaguely "the matter" of this poetry, its emotional and intellectual basis or source or inspiration. Poets are thought to be—it is a tacit understanding—the most traditional of all beings, in so far as they are expected to thrill into song over our fundamental notions of life and love and grief and death and the beauty of outward things. Now, modern poetry does nothing of the sort. It approaches all these problems from an altogether different standpoint. If we understand that standpoint a great deal of the "difficulty" of modern poetry will have vanished.

Let me first of all try to make one thing clear. Whom do I call "modern poets?" Mr. Rudyard Kipling who is still going strong, is he not "modern?" What about W. B. Yeats? What about Robert Bridges and Thomas Hardy who died only a few years ago? My answer is that when we are talking and thinking of modern poets, we should try to forget these great old worthies. Their outlook is not "modern," it is traditional. Nay, it will be better for us, if we try to fix our attention on the post-war poets mainly, or on poets who have done their best in the post-war day, because the war has been a very intense, agonising and formative influence in the lives of most of these modern poets, and has helped them a great deal to define their peculiar standpoint. And it is this post-war poetry with its peculiar standpoint which is thought to be "difficult" or in Shakespeare's language, "of modern seeming," and which is derided as "no poetry at all." No charge of difficulty or modernity is brought against Kipling, not even against Yeats and Bridges, who are, we feel, relieved at the easy solution, "mystical." And this "difficulty" of this modern poetry lies, we say, in its peculiarity, in its half whimsical way of approaching and expressing things. We shall see what it really is. Let me also put forth a few generalisations. Firstly, the modern poets are, mostly, young men, anti-traditional in their outlook, but not at all "romantic" or "absurd" or "rebellious." They are "young," not in so far as they are buoyantly amorous or glibly

adventurous ; they are young as the knowledge which animates their poetry is young or "new." Secondly, the percentage of female poets is almost equal to that of the male poets, and as a natural corollary, the theme of love, that is, of traditional love, has suffered considerably in their hands. Love poets are so few. Love as a knowledge, as a truth, as a transcendental fact is honoured, nay it is the "Life Force" that courses through the veins of the universe. But as a personal experience of illimitable value, with which man used to flatter the ignorant woman of old days and flatter his ego, is not "singled out, built in, and sung to." Thirdly, modern poetry, inspite of its endless experiments in technique and form, is in its spiritual intention, and not at all destructive, but daringly constructive. This I hope to establish in the course of this essay. Lastly, modern poetry is as great as Victorian or Romantic or any type of poetry, nay greater, if by the greatness of poetry we mean its "life-yielding capacity," its "significance in relation to life !" I know that this statement will be seriously challenged. But in order to forestall all misunderstandings, I should remind you that while this modern poetry is thoroughly "modern," for poets have a knack of understanding and thoroughly incorporating the spirit of their times in verse which others lack—we ourselves who deride modern poetry are not, many of us, at all "modern ;" we do not live our life, we are living the life dictated by dead ancestors and feeling proud in so far as we succeed in imitating or remembering Plato or Manu. To such of us, modern poetry is bound to be "difficult," "abstruse" and "of modern-seeming." But those of us who have cultivated a modern outlook, to whom physical science is as much a truth as Manu,—they will appreciate the tremendous significance of modern verse and be glad of it. Something in the nature of an apology is also needed here. We cannot deal with all the post-war poets, we must select, and while selecting, it is quite likely that we shall be led to emphasise one type of poetry ignoring other types. But really there is no such danger. What we have called "An Aspect of Modern Poetry" is not a casual or superficial feature. Modern poetry, whenever it is "modern," i. e., whenever it is not trying to echo dead poets and old rhyme, in its outlook and expression, bears inevitably this feature which we are stressing here. That is why I am leaving out poets like Aclens Colman, W. L. Courtney, Gibson, Laurence Housman, George William Russel (A. E.) and others. Lovers of old poetry, of Shakespeare, Milton, Chaucer, should not laugh at modern poetry but should try to understand the young modern poets with an amount

of sympathy. Complete understanding will come only with a personal realisation of "modernism" in each and every individual's life. The present-day critics are not very helpful in this matter. Due to the deplorable influence of journalism on present-day prose style, and the rising power of the "reviews" of all kinds, modern critics of modern poetry are apt to be too full of flashes and dashes and aimless rapier play. Their entire life is spent in pointing paradoxes and polishing epigrams. They know sanity does not pay and they are out to play conjuring tricks with their elastic language to bewilder the readers. The earnest seeker of truth and beauty is repelled, and if he is an outspoken man he curses heartily this criticism and this poetry. So, that traditional approach through critics and guides, is no good here. Each reader must get at the poems himself, and form his own opinion.

I have said that most of the modern poets have one special standpoint. I shall now make this standpoint clear by analysing some typical instances.

The Sitwells, Edith, Osbert and Scheverell, are well-known modernists with their experiments in *vers libre* or free verse.

Here is a poem from Osbert Sitwell's *Argonaut and Juggernaut* (1919). The title is "At the House of Mrs. Kinfoot":

" At the house of Mrs. Kinfoot
Are collected
Men and women
Of all ages,
To sing, paint, or to play the piano.
In the drawing room
The fire-place is set
With green tiles
Of an acanthus pattern.
The black curls of Mrs. Kinfoot
Are symmetrical;
Descended, it is said,
From the kings of Ethiopia
But the British bourgeoisie has triumphed.
Mr. Kinfoot is bald
And talks
In front of the fire-place
With his head on one side,
And his right hand
In his pocket.

The joy of catching tame elephants
 And finding them to be white ones,
 Still gleams in the jungle-eyes
 Of Mrs. Kinfoot,
 But her mind is no jungle
 Of Ethiopia,
 But a sound British meadow.
 Listen then to the gospel of Mrs. Kinfoot ;
 The world was made for the British bourgeoisie,
 They are its Swiss Family Robinson;
 The world is not what it was.
 We cannot understand all this unrest !
 Adam and Eve were born to evening dress
 In the southern confines
 Of Belgravia,
 Eve was very artistic, and all that,
 And felt the fall
 Quite dreadfully.
 Cain was such a man of the world
 And belonged to every club in London;
 His father simply adored him,
 —But never really liked Abel,
 Who was rather a milk-and-sop.
 Nothing exists which the British bourgeoisie
 Does not understand;
 Therefore there is no death
 —And, of course, no life.

The British bourgeoisie
 Is not born
 And does not die,
 But, if it is ill,
 It has a frightened look in its eyes.

The war was splendid, wasn't it ?
 Oh yes, splendid, splendid,
 Mrs. Kinfoot is a dear,
 And so artistic."

What is there in this poem ? If I say, there is in it a new cosmos
 looming up, would anybody believe me ? But indeed it is so.
 Please consider the title of the book, *Argonaut and Juggernaut* !

What have the Argonauts of Old Greece who followed Jason on
 the quest of the Golden Fleece, got to do with our Lord Juggernaut—

we may ask. This modern poet will answer, "Everything." And he will be justified. This modern poet who is living and writing—because he feels intensely a cosmic wonder which transcends the petty schemes of life devised by us—feels rightly or wrongly as a westerner that Lord Juggernaut with his chariot, the great old established deity worshipped by millions, who kills every year his devotees underneath his chariot wheels, represents the conservative, exploiting part of this cosmic life.

The modern poet also feels that the youthful Argonaut ever on the quest of a far-off "golden fleece" represents its dynamic part. This title is not simple; indeed if we spend some time in solving the riddles which modern poets are fond of putting forth in their titles, we would enrich our understanding of modern poetry. What, for instance, does Rose Fyleman's *Fairies and Chimneys* mean? And whoever thought of a *Rainbow Cat*? But that is indeed the title of another book of Mrs Fyleman! Now this poem which we have just read, though it reads like ordinary *Vers-de-socetie* is not simple to understand. What does the poet mean to say? He is highly ironical, and his meaning is not that—

" Nothing exists which the British bourgeoisie
Does not understand "

He means quite the contrary. He means that the truth of things has been monstrously reshaped by the British bourgeoisie, of whom Mrs. Kinfoot is a well-known figure, in order to fit everything into their petty scheme of things. He means something more. He means that the adorable, artistic lady with bobbed hair and a bland husband, Mrs. Kinfoot in whom the bourgeoisie mind has triumphed, has indeed in her "jungle-eyes" and in her "Ethiopian curls" a gleam of that truth. If you ask what that truth is, the poem supplies no direct answer. But it makes you feel that Mrs. Kinfoot is a part of this cosmic truth, with her "jungle eyes" and "Ethiopian curls," though she is depraved enough for all that. It also makes you feel that the vast veiled cosmos which is laughing in mockery at the petty bourgeoisie world, is known to the poet.

Let us take another example. This is from the pen of Mr. Edmund George Valpy Knox, a well-known satirist. He is a regular contributor to the *Punch*. The title of the poem we are going to quote is *Lost Innocence*.

It reminds one of the Bible and indeed it contains a truth as universal as any Biblical truth. The poet regrets that he has lost

that feeling of wonder at the sight of London which only the genuine rustic feels.

Here is the poem—in a half-mocking, half-serious vein :—

“ The hour of gold comes back to me
That time has pinched (he can't return 'em)
The well-remembered chestnut tree,” etc.

Then he reminds us—

“ 'Tis out of no bucolic whim
I promulgate agrarian measures !
But now that London's lure is dim,
And stale to me her storied pleasures,
I'd give a lot
To be like some of these to whom they're not.”

And who are they to whom the pleasures and grandeur of London are a wonder ! They are the good, innocent, ignorant rustics coming to see the city for the first time :

“ I see them rubicund and hale
Men whom the underground nonpluses,
Who cling convulsive to the rail
Of apoplectic motor-buses,
On fire to view
The splendour of St. Stephen's and the Zoo.”

The poet heaves a sigh of regret for all his mocking vein :

“ Ah, would that I could feel the thrill,
As once I felt, of urban clamour,
Could lose my heart to Ludgate-hill,
And re-experience the glamour
Of Oxford street,
The magic and mystery of the Fleet.

“ Could share the wild delirious sense
Of those who hie from havens stilly
And, flotsam on its seas immense,
Could pause again in Piccadilly
To ask some bland
Policeman, “Officer, is this the Strand ? ”

Let us ask like good school-boys—“ What is the moral of this poem ? ”

The moral is this : That feeling of wonder which the rustics possess, and of which we townsmen are bereft; that ignorance which makes

the rustic ask the policeman if the Piccadilly was the Strand, that very feeling has a close and direct connection with truth that is in the universe, while our polished urban disillusionment is a huge untruth. We also find a similar truth in Douglas German's *Expectancy*:

“ Whispering of traffic in a sleeping town
 Whispering of tea-cups in the afternoon
 Whispering of friendship!
 Set them against the all-engrossing night
 Where mammoths fight
 Beneath the pallidly insistent moon;
 Set them against the splendour of the sun
 That starts a flush
 Beneath the pallor of the spinster dawn
 Along life's placid hedgerows creep
 Intimate mists;
 That weep or smile,
 Subtly consistent with environment.
 What have they hidden in their silkiness?
 Tortoise and hare are baffled by the fog.

The meaning of this poem is simply this: Life as we have it, may be, and we expect it is, too subtle and profound. But really, it is all a fog in which the slowness or speed of human progress (tortoise and hare) are all hidden. Clear up this mist. The prehistoric times when mammoths fought under the moon were clearer, as the vast dawn is clearer. Against that cosmic setting modern life is a fog, it may be calm and placid, but it is calm “mist.” So everywhere, almost in every poem, you will find a clutch at a cosmic scheme and an attempt to adjudge the value of things thereby. This makes modern poetry intellectual for it has for its basis a world-knowledge. In most of the instances we have discussed the cosmos that spreads as a background to the thoughts of the poets is not explained in definite symbols. But here and there clear definition may also be found. The following stanza is from Mr. Charles Dalman's *Ancient Faith* :—

“ O never say that Pan is dead
 And every nymph and satyr fled,
 Though, in these days of faithless pride,
 Men seldom seek the countryside
 On simple pilgrimage to find
 The magic that Pan leaves behind ! ~ ~

There is no Keatsean, emotional regret for old-world glory and loveliness in it ; there is a logic in it, a logic which has discovered in the old world impulse of paganism, a cosmic wonder, and would fain ask men to feel it in these godless days. The above instances were somewhat simple ; there was no noticeable complication which modern science is always introducing in modern thought. We shall now discuss some instances where modern science weaves its own web of knowledge into the body of human thought and intensifies the cosmic wonder of modern poetry. Our examples will be taken mainly from what is known as objective poetry. The influence of physical science, its discoveries, as also of their splendid applications may be noted in this passage from Branford's poem *Man*.

" He walks the world with mountains in his breast,
And holds the hiltless wind in vassalage.
Transtellar spaces are his fields of quest,
Eternity is spirit's ambassage

" The uncared acre of the firmament
Under his hungry harrow, yields increase.
While from the threshold of dim continent
They beckon him, who bear the stars in lease."

The new tendency is to make man the centre of the universe, man the Mystery and Power. Man creates his gods also, they are nothing but his conceptions. This thought is harped upon by Maselfield, Thompson and a host of others who are not really "modernistic" but who have been variously influenced by the evolutionary theories of the later 19th century.

We find all these in Mr. Padriac Colum's poem *The Plougher* which was written long before the war. The problem Mr. Colum discusses is simply this—What is the difference between Man and his helper, the beast of the field ?

" Sunset and silence ! A man ; around him earth
savage, earth broken ;
Beside him two horses—a plough !
Earth savage, earth broken, the brutes, the
dawn man there in the sunset,
And the plough that is twin to the sword,
that is founder of cities !

when earthquakes were very frequent, ice came down from the Poles and covered whole continents from time to time. Yes, in the curling, twisting grey sand-marks of the desert the entire history of a mighty geological activity may be traced. And the modern poet must mention all these, he must carry his impression of the moment to the ultimate stretch of human knowledge ; must unite one image with a cosmic scheme, see in the sand-marks of to-day the waves of prehistoric rivers, reflecting stars and dancing in the moonlight. I am quoting another poem, this time Gerald Gould's *Earth-child*. In this poem we find all that modern science has taught about the indestructibility of "matter," the wayward life of infinitesimal molecules, the biological mystery of the appearance of life upon earth, and the sameness of so-called "inert matter" and sentient living organisms—

" Out of the veins of the world comes the blood of me,
The heart that beats in my side is the heart of the sea;
The hills have known me of old, and they do not forget;
Long ago I was friends with the wind; I am friends with it yet.

The hills are grey, they are strange; they breed desire
Of a tune that the feet may march to and not tire;
For always in the distance the thin roads wind,
And passing out of sight, they pass not out of mind.

I am glad when morning and evening alter the skies;
There speaks no voice of the stars but my voice replies;
When wave on the wave all night cries out in its need;
I listen, I understand; my heart takes heed.

Out of the red-brown earth, out of the grey-brown streams,
Came this perilous body, cage of the perilous dreams;
To the ends of all water and lands they are tossed, they are whirled,
For my dreams are one with my body, yea, one with the world."

This vast conception of a new physical cosmos is the teaching of modern science, and modern poetry has responded to it emotionally. We should note this. Modern poetry is never content to be purely objective; description of an object as it is never satisfies a modern poet. Because of his scientific knowledge, he must look beyond the object to its dim past, must note its evolution and adjudge its place and value in a final universal scheme. And when modern poetry is subjective we have already seen how it digs as it were into the universal.

As an instance of the influence of modern science through the medium of modern philosophy, I am quoting a poem by Robin Flower, *In the Train*:

" When they got in
I saw they did not care to have me there,
But just as I had marked the precious pair
I felt the train begin
Its two-hour journey. There we were, we three,
That awkward pair and me,
They sat down in the corner very prim
A foot or two of seat 'twixt her and him.
And she looked out at the window, while he stared
At me, who dared
By some malignant scheme
To come between a lover and his dream.
She was a pretty little thing."

So we understand the rather awkward situation. Then as the poet says—

" Of course, in such a case
One can't help feeling out of place,
Even looks are crime,
And so I hid myself behind the *Times*
And let the idyll run out to its end."

Suddenly, the poet had a cosmic vision as it were—

" Well, reading blindly at the Births and Deaths,
I felt their hands touch, knew their separate breaths
Were drawing each to other.
And in them yearning knew the mighty mother
Weaving the spells that she has woven of old
Since first the palm tree shone with dusty gold,
Since earth first felt in earth
Move a twin rapture and re-echoing mirth,
This is her cunning who eternally
Must live in things that die,
Who is the wine in vessels basely moulded
And in scrawled notes the song delirious folded,
Who labours without end
And none knows whither all her labours tend.

It may be that to her
 The very thrust and stir,
 The pulse and eagerness of love
 Crowns all the centuries she strove
 In fume and darkness till she moulded man
 And the ascent began,....."

So we see how the poet thrusts as it were his impression of the moment into the vast background of the Eternal, how he finds in the love-making of an ordinary couple the whole history of Creative Evolution, so to say. Modern poetry is always doing it.

I shall not give any more instances. But those who are interested in these things may notice in the poems of Sheila Kaye-Smith the direct influence of the interpretation of human character by modern psychology, in the poems of Walter De La Flare and Mrs. Fyleman, the sense of a hidden cosmos approached through wonder, and in the so-called Imagists like Aldington, a new positivism. Nay this is by no means an exhaustive list. Almost all the modern poets are influenced in their "objective" poems by the new cosmic theory taught by modern science, and in others, by a new modern spiritual outlook which adjudges a mood or a moment in its relation to an infinity. This by the way is no mysticism as it is based on material knowledge; it is not a transcendence of all knowledge, but is the very essence of modern knowledge. And, again and again, it tells us that the world we are living in and making so much of, is a veritable lie, a stuff for endless satire.

Now what shall our attitude be towards this poetry? Its "difficulty" is indeed great. In some of the instances quoted we must have noted the peculiarity of diction, style and rhythmic structure.

And in all of them we found sudden clutch at a hidden cosmos which by its unquestionable truth and vastness makes our individual-mannered ways of living and thinking, fighting and winning, loving and living and enjoying laughable indeed. Shall we not call this poetry constructive? For, there is no aimless iconoclasm in it, there is definite reference everywhere to a vaster and better scheme. Lastly, shall we not call this poetry great, though it not set us dreaming, and add a rainbow fringe to our view of life? It is realistic in a deeper sense, intellectual if even poetry

is intellectual, and faithfully recording the mighty advance of human ideas in this age. Those who feel pessimistic at the "soulless" materialistic tendencies of this age may study, to their benefit, what the modern poets have got to say about it. Then they will be convinced, I am sure, that the genuine "modernist" has long since found out the worthlessness of the more conspicuous aspects of modern civilisation, and is ever trying to fold human life and thought within a far vaster outline.

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THREE GERMAN SOCIOLOGISTS¹

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The object of this paper is to call attention to three of the leading exponents of sociology in Germany to-day. They are Prof. Ferdinand Toennies of Kiel (born 1855), Prof. Leopold von Wiese of Cologne (born 1876), and Prof. Hans Freyer of Leipzig (born 1887). It is not my intention to trouble the reader with a chronological list of all their writings; nor do I propose to summarize all their views concerning sociological problems. I wish simply to point out and to analyze their methods of approach to sociology as science. I shall merely examine why and in what sense each calls himself a sociologist, or in other words, what according to each is the subject-matter of sociology.

Rightly, it is being claimed that sociology is the scientific self-consciousness of our social reality, and that, because our present society is in the state of a great crisis, sociology has to find out the solution of those urgent social problems. As long as sociology exists, mankind has expected that from it.

It came into existence when the crisis of our modern western society came into being, when after the breakdown of the feudal order of society the bourgeois society arose, and with it the dissolution of social orders and the social uprooting of the lowest social classes. And sociology has become the more and more important and popular, the acuter the social crisis has become. But in spite of its importance, it is still far from being a clear and definite science. It is still asking for its essence, its purpose, its tasks, its methods, its place within the system of sciences.

I shall try to show what answer certain German sociologists give to those questions.

Toennies is the Nestor of German sociology. His writings do not appear as yet to have been translated into English. He is, however, not entirely unknown in the English-speaking world. The American historian of sociology, Barnes, has referred to him several times.²

¹ Adapted from a lecture at the *Bangiya German-Vidya Samad* (Bengali Society of German Culture), Calcutta, on March 27, 1934. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary was in the Chair.
² Barnes: "Social Reform Programs and Movements" in *Encyclopaedia Americana* (1919); *Sociology and Political Theory* (New York, 1924) pp. 85, 202.

Further, the Russian-American sociologist Sorokin, now at Harvard, has dealt with him in one of his most outstanding books in a spirit of critical appreciation.¹ Finally, I should not fail to mention Sarkar's series of eight articles on "Categories of Societal Speculation from Herder to Sorokin"² where he brought Toennies's differentiation between the community as a "natural group" and the society as an "artificial" group into bold relief.

Perhaps more known outside of Germany than Toennies is Leopold von Wiese. One reason may be the very close relation between him and American sociologists owing to the similarity of the way of their sociological thinking. His ideas were made known particularly by Sorokin who devoted a detailed discussion to von Wiese's doctrines.³ Another reason of his popularity in the English-speaking world may be the well-known quarterly journal of sociology, edited by him, namely, the *Koelner Vierteljahrshefte fuer Soziologie*. Wiese had been in India before and his sociological investigations with special reference to races and tribes may bring him to India once more in the near future. He is in regular touch with the social forces and philosophical currents in India.⁴

Hans Freyer, the third name, was my *guru* from 1929 to 1932. He is in my opinion the most typical German sociologist of to-day. It may be that this is the reason why his ideas have greatly influenced the German sociological and even political thinking, and why he is rather unknown beyond the German boundaries. The more worthy of note is that his most popular work entitled *The State* (1926) had already been made known to Indian scholars by Sarkar in 1928.⁵

Already this fact clearly indicates that in India German social thought is not something to be imported afresh. On the contrary, it gave me great pleasure when I recently learned⁶ that Indian students of anthropology, psychology, economics, etc., have been acquainted with German thinkers in different lines for a long time. It may not be out of place to mention this evening some of the most outstanding

¹ Sorokin: *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York, 1928), pp. 467, 489, 491-493, 496-498, 507, 526, 706, 740.

² Published in the *Calcutta Review*, October 1928—January, 1930.

³ Sorokin: *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York, 1928), pp. 489, 498-496, 507-509, 511, 753.

⁴ In one of the recent numbers of his *Vierteljahrshefte* (XI, I.) 1932, he published a paper by Sarkar on the social structure of the people according to the theories of *Sukraniti*.

⁵ *Political Philosophies since 1905* (Madras, 1928).

⁶ On account of close co-operation with the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics), particularly with its director of researches, Benoykumar Sarkar.

spiritual relations between modern India and Germany. So, for instance, I am thinking of Bengali philosophers such as Brajendranath Seal, Krishnachandra Bhattacharya, and Hiralal Haldar, who have been for more than one generation exponents of German 'Idealism' among Indian academicians. It is well known that our "old masters," Kant, Fichte and Hegel, have always been placed by Indian savants on the same level with the founders of the great Hindu philosophical systems of Yoga and Vedanta as inspirers of life and thought.

German sociologists of the last generation such as Gumpłowicz (1838-1909) and Ratzenhofer (1848-1904) have place in the sociological thinking of Indian scholars also. Indian psychologists are familiar with the psychological and group theories of both thinkers, with the experimental and folk researches of Wundt (1832-1920), of course, with the German-Austrian school of psycho-analysis, and the more typically German school of "*Gestalt*" (form) psychology too.¹ In this connection the attention should be called also to B. K. Sarkar's political and economical works which have dealt with the modern and contemporary German thinkers at length and have devoted much space to German speculation.²

To-day we distinguish in Germany two main groups of sociology, according to their perception of the essence and the method of sociology. We are speaking of a "formal" and an "historical" sociology.

A formal sociology wants to be a morphology of social forms, a science of forms, clearly distinguished from every historical science. It wants to order, to dispose, to classify the varieties of human relationship and intercourse, to catalogue the types of social behavior and social attitude, to formulate the laws of the structure of the group as such. Formal sociology is a catalogue of social facts, an attempt at searching for a timeless system underlying the social life, an eternal structure of

¹ See S. C. Mitra : "Experimental Psychology in Germany" in the *Calcutta Review*, February, 1934.

² See B. K. Sarkar's Bengali translations of Friedrich List's *Nationales System der politischen Oekonomie* as *Swadeshi Andolana O Samrakshana-Niti* (The Swadeshi Movement and Protective Policy), 1912-1932, as well as of Engels's *Entstehung der Familie, des Eigentums und des Staates* as *Parivar, Gostha O Rashtra* (Family, Clan and State), 1924-1926. In his "Categories of Societal Speculation in Eur-America with special reference to Economics and Politics from Herder to Sorokin (1776-1928)" published in the eight numbers of the *Calcutta Review* from October, 1928 to January, 1930 the following German thinkers have been exhibited in their most essential doctrines on the basis of original texts : Herder, Schlegel, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, List, Lorenz v. Stein, Schaeffle, Marx, Engels, Gumpłowicz, Ratzenhofer, Ammon, Nietzsche, Max Mueller, Wundt, Tönnies, Stein, Aschaffenburg, Stimmel, Freud, Oppenheimer, Krabbe, Spengler, Vierkandt, Meinecke, Freyer, Spann,

social relationship and group-life. It is the task of sociology—as the formal sociologists claim—to establish such a system of categories and valid generalizations and laws and to investigate, or better to divide, to classify the social life by means of this system.

Such a sociology is a formal sociology, because it tries to establish a timeless, static system which is composed of different *forms* (I emphasize: forms) of social life which have always been and will always be, and it takes no notice of the historical character of the subject-matter of sociology.

It is as an example of such a formal sociology that I want to present von Wiese. I should not however ignore the great precursor of his in this line, namely, Georg Simmel (1858-1918).¹ Simmel was a philosopher as well as a sociologist, a scientist as well as an excellent writer, and very far from being an abstract thinker. The more astonishing is it that he belongs to the group of the “formal” sociologists. But there is no doubt that he is a formal sociologist.

Simmel himself defines sociology as the science of social forms. According to him it is the task of sociology to establish a system of pure forms, or as he characteristically says, a “geometry” of social life. Again, sociology is a formal science, analysing and classifying social forms without taking into consideration the historical conditionality of the sociological subject-matter.

But, on the other hand, it seems to me very important and significant that Georg Simmel, with a firm instinct for the historical character of social forms, chooses just those social forms as subjects of his sociological analysis which undoubtedly are in a large degree timeless, for example, the social function of ornaments, the social phenomenon of the stranger, the social phenomenon of the letter, the secret, etc. And secondly, it is significant that he did not accede to his own demand for a sociological system. After all, he wrote only a series of essays, with the firm instinct that a timeless system of social reality is not possible.

¹ His chief work is: *Investigations into the Forms of Society-making* (1908). Simmel's work was introduced to the English-speaking world through the pages of the *American Journal of Sociology* in the first decade of the present century. It was however in post-war years that his ideas became better known. Barnes referred to him in connection with social groups at one or two points in *Sociology and Political Theory* (1924). A detailed survey of Simmel's categories was made by Spykman in *The Social Theory of Georg Simmel* (Chicago, 1925). Elaborate and critical discussion was later devoted to Simmel by Sorokin in 1928 (*Contemporary Sociological Theories*, pp. 448-489, 489-502, etc.). Simmel is not unknown in India. In Sarkar's *Political Philosophies since 1905* (Madras, 1929) the characteristic standpoints of Simmel have been brought out in a precise manner.

Such an instinct for the historical character of social reality can hardly be found in von Wiese's system of sociology. He attempts to put all social forms into a timeless formal system by establishing a deductive system of interhuman relationships. Von Wiese is a very logical and strenuous thinker. His chief work is *General Sociology* 1st Part. Theory of Social Relations, 1924, 2nd part, Theory of Social Forms, 1929.

Von Wiese has carried Simmel's standpoint to the farthest consequence. He begins his work with the aim of making a "distinct science" out of sociology. In his hands it is to be entirely separated from other sciences. But it is to be no less systematised and coherently organised than the other social sciences.

Human relations are in von Wiese's analysis nothing but "social processes." A great deal of his work consists in the logical classification of these relations or processes. In the first place, we are presented with a two-fold classification. The "relations between individuals" are distinguished by him from the "relations between groups."

In the second place, each of these categories is further sub-divided by von Wiese into a number of processes or relations. Thus there are to be observed three different kinds of relations "between individuals." First, the relations may be *toward* one another. Contact, approach, adaptation, combination and union are forms of such relations. Secondly, the relations may be *away from* one another. To this category belong the relations like competition, opposition and conflict. Thirdly, the relations may assume a *mixed* character. That is, it is possible to visualize relations which are in part *toward* and in part *away from* one another.

Corresponding to this tripartite classification of relations between individuals von Wiese has a fourfold classification of the relations "between groups." There is, first, what he calls the relation or process of "differentiation." Social promotion and degradation, domination and subordination, stratification, selection, and individualization are forms of this process. The second process or relation is that of "integration." Instances of this relation are uniformization, stabilization, crystallization and socialization. The third process in this line is that of "destruction," as embodied in exploitation, partial favouring, corruption, formalization, commercialization and spoliation. Fourthly, von Wiese mentions the relation or process of "modification and construction." As instances we have institutionalization, professionalization and liberation.

It is very interesting that in the aptitude for group-making and classification our German sociologist has affinity with the ancient and medieval logicians and social thinkers of India.¹ For, in von Wiese's *Tafel der menschlichen Beziehungen* (chart of human relationships) which is to be found at the end of his book, we are presented with 650 different forms of social processes. This vast number is, of course, derived from the logical breaking up into classes and sub-classes of the three "inter-individual" and four "inter-group" relations. Every social relation and social form will find its place in this detailed but closed system.²

In the case of von Wiese two dangers of formal sociology become obvious:

(1) The reality of human society is abstracted to such a degree that only a series of useful socio-psychological observations is left. And sociology becomes with him almost social psychology, as in the case of some other formal sociologists.

(2) The second danger of his formal sociology is that he takes the structure of the present society as the structure of all society, whereas present society represents merely an epoch of social development. What he is saying, for instance, about the social function of competition is taken more or less from the present capitalistic society and the physiognomy of the present era.

And now after having discussed formal sociology let us ask the question, "What is historical sociology?" It starts with the fundamental idea that it is not possible to separate social phenomena from their historical place in time and to systematize them merely as forms.

For instance, it is admissible to separate the Vedanta-philosophy of Sankaracharya from the historical situation, for it is more or less a timeless construction of thoughts. But it is not possible to separate the specific social order of the four castes from the time in which that social order existed.

And another more evident example is the sociological concept of the class. The concept of the class in a specific sense (*Klasse* in German) is not applicable to all forms of society, but it is linked up with a specific form of society, with the "class-society" of capitalism.

¹ As I learned from my contacts with Indian scholars.

² The present synopsis is based on Sorokin: *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, pp. 494-495, where he gave perhaps the most objective presentation of von Wiese's sociology in English. Von Wiese's work is now available in English as *Systematic Sociology* (New York, 1933).

Formal sociology makes 'the mistake of taking the historical character away from it, either interpreting it psychologically and taking it as an example for the problem of group-life, organisation, leadership, or speaking of the class as a timeless category, which always existed and will always exist. But the historical sociology claims that it is not admissible to wrench—as Hans Freyer, as representative of a typical historical sociology, says,—the nerve of time, meaning reality, of the social phenomena. The sociological concepts are historical concepts, or at least loaded with history. In other words: Sociology is an historical science.

A very well known German sociologist takes his stand between the two fronts, between an historical and a formal sociology. I am thinking of Ferdinand Toennies. His position is very interesting.

In 1887 he published his most important and most popular work entitled *Community and Society*. Already this title gives us—so to speak a short outline of his sociological theory. According to his theory the community and the society are the principal forms of social life. And every social process is a transition from the community towards the society. The community is an organism, a group of human beings based on a common feeling. The individuals are closely connected with one another. The society is a mechanism, based on the intellectual forces of the human mind. The society is a sum of individuals, perhaps with common intentions and interests but scarcely with a common "feeling."

So far, his sociology seems to be an abstract, formal system. But if we go further in analysing his position, we find that his two sociological concepts are ultimately historical concepts. After all, the analysis of society as one form of social life is the analysis of our present social order. The progressing mechanization is nothing else than the history of the last centuries. His sociology on the whole is, with reference to its ultimate intention, an analysis of the capitalistic society surrounding us and ruling us, and an analysis of the development of this society.¹

¹ I should like here to quote from a letter (28 Dec. 1939) which Toennies has written to the Director of the *Bangiya German-Vidya Samsad* (Bengali Society of German Culture), Prof. Sarkar. There he describes himself as an "urverwandte Hindu," i.e., a Hindu by original relationships. He refers to his work entitled *Community and Society*, and says: "Perhaps I was the first man guilty of having declared some fifty years ago what later has been called the decline of the West. I did not, however, draw any practical conclusion from my thesis. But I still stick to my theory, namely, that an excessively urbanized civilization can hardly permit the steady growth of a people's life. I am therefore of opinion that in the course of the next thousand years the population of Asia will still have a

This immanent intention of Toennies was the frank and conscious intention of one of the first German sociologists: Lorenz von Stein (1815-90)¹ He analyses the present society and its inner dynamics. It is an historical category, a link in a chain of social forms. What is the inner structure of this society? That is the question of this early German sociologist. Separation of property and labor, the beginning of a social revolution, the struggle of the classes for the state: these are the themes.

Hans Freyer refers to von Stein in his theory of sociology which in my opinion is the most outstanding theory of historical sociology. He is one of our most influential thinkers, not only as sociologist, but also as philosopher and educator. He proceeded from the systems of German "Idealism" which used to be a living force among the philosophers in the middle of the last century, and came under the influence of Hegel's philosophy. His chief work is *Sociology as the Science of Reality* (1930), which is an excellent logical inquiry into the essence of sociology as science.

Already, at the very beginning, it is necessary to stress that his theory of sociology is not only a theory and methodology of sociology, but at the same time a system of the science on the whole. With that he stands in a long history of the theory of science which begins with Kant. Freyer shows us the body of science on the whole and the particular place of sociology in it. He distinguishes three logical levels: first, the science of nature, such as mathematics, physics, chemistry; secondly, the sciences of the *Logos* in the Aristotelian sense, or the science of the objective spirit in the Hegelian sense, the *Logos-wissenschaften*, as Hans Freyer says, such as the science of law, the science of art, the science of language, the science of economy, the science of science, etc.; and finally, on a third level, the sciences of the human being as such, such as history, psychology, and sociology.

It is very characteristic for the present situation of the theory of sciences in Germany that with Freyer the gap between pure science

great and increasingly growing importance." Toennies also believes like Sarkar that the "world-economic depression through which we have been passing appears to be but a station in the transition of entire mankind to a somewhat higher level of life and thought." He would not "dare speak of the present state of things as indicating a rejuvenation." An "extensive intermixture of races, languages, religions and modes of thought stays," according to him, "before us." "In the long run, of course, one may expect a rejuvenation out of this." "In any case," he believes, "a very important and interesting period is opening up for the next generation."

¹ See Nitzschke: *Die Geschichtsphilosophie Lorenz von Steins* (Lorenz von Stein's Philosophy of History), Munich, 1932, pp. 9, 124, 184-187.

and sociology is more or less complete. That sociology is not a science of nature (a pure science) is no longer a problem, but the real problems are to be found in the logical distinction between *Logoswissenschaft* and sociology and the logical affinity between sociology and history. He is going out from the viewpoint that the subject-matter of the *Logoswissenschaften* is furnished by the products or consequences of human activities, objective spirit in the Hegelian terminology, but not life as such. It is another logical level than human life where the factor, time, may be eliminated to some extent. Here on the logical level there are specific systems, such as the system of law, the system of art, the system of economy, of language, of technique, of science, etc. Here it is possible to establish an organized system of categories and valid generalizations. Here the sciences are systematic formal sciences.

It is—according to Freyer—the mistake of the formal sociology that it wants to write a grammar of social phenomena, as the *Logoswissenschaft* writes a grammar of a language, whereas the social forms are not products of life like art, or language, or science, but life itself.

So Freyer comes to three logical premises of sociology as science, namely, the following:

(1) The social forms are forms of life. The human beings are the material of which they are built up. And the identity of material and the scientist is the consequence of that. When we look at the bottom of the social phenomena, we always find ourselves. Therefore (because of the identity of the material and the sociologist) the attitude of the sociologist cannot be only a theoretical one.

(2) The social forms are forms of life. And because all human life is historical life, ultimately the subject-matter of sociology has to be the human history in its growing and disappearing. This means that all sociological concepts have to be dynamic, historical concepts; not only sociological categories like free competition, slavery, etc. The epoch to which the different categories but also very general concepts like class, city, town, community, etc., are applicable may be very long but the linking to time can never be missed.

The social forms are—as has just been pointed out—not separable from human beings and time. From this Freyer concludes:

(3) That sociology like no other science is a so-called *existentielle Wissenschaft*. This means that the social reality is felt as present fate and present decision. And sociology is the scientific self-consciousness.

of the present society, the theory of an existence. This logically founded assertion gets an historical justification from the fact that sociology has come into being only after the feudal era, for only at this time the central problem of sociology, the bourgeois society, came into being.

And now it is necessary to deal with the distinction between sociology and history, for there is a difference. Although sociology is an historical science, although the sociological concepts are dynamic concepts, sociology is not simply history.

Without going into details about Freyer's logical and, as it appears, rather unfinished inquiries, let me make myself clear by some examples such as are likely to indicate the distinction. Sociology is not interested in investigating the history of Nuernberg, for instance, but in investigating the social category of the medieval town. It is not interested in special guilds of the Middle Ages, but in the social phenomenon of the medieval guild, of its structure and its changing. It is not interested in special strikes in the nineteenth century, but in the social category of class struggle of the nineteenth century, and of its structure and its changing.

In other words, history is particularly interested in single events without being interested in the structure of social processes. Sociology is particularly interested in the structure of social processes, without being interested in single events. It goes without saying, of course, that the problem of historical sociology includes many other problems, for instance, the relation to psychology, the question of valuation, the problem of human will as a logically necessary factor of such a historical science, the relation to politics, etc.

Let me now ask the question: What is the concrete task of sociology, according to the viewpoint of historical sociology? It is not its task to deal with timeless forms of social life, such as group-life, problem of leadership, family as such, marriage as such, competition as such, etc. These are problems which either have to be placed at the margin of sociology, or belong even to the domain of social psychology.

It is rather the task of sociology to deal with the history of the changing society, to find out the different social epochs and to analyze them in order to find the basic social structure of every epoch. But the most important task is to analyze the present order of society to investigate its inner dynamics and to find out its inner structure. Themes and questions of such a sociology of the present would be, for instance, social uprooting of human beings, dissolution of social

orders, predominance of the contrast between capital and labor among social problems, rise of the proletariat and formation of labor movements. How have the labor movements changed their character, and why? What is the social position of the farmer and artisan in our modern society? Which type of social order will supersede our present mechanical structure of society?

A science which answers these questions, undoubtedly is one of the most important and most responsible sciences in a society which not only has to solve social problems besides other problems but in which the social problems are the most urgent and most difficult ones. Perhaps Freyer is right if he claims that sociology will play the same part in the near future which philosophy played in Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century. At that time every science got instruction, guidance and direction from philosophy which functioned as the leader and guide in the realm of thinking. It may be that sociology will become this leader among the sciences, as well as the guide in our social life towards a sounder social order and a happier future.

Calcutta.

THE CHARTER OF AL-MADINAH

By S. SHARAFU-'D-DIN, M.A., B.L.

MUHAMMAD has been universally recognised as one of the greatest men of the world. He established a great religion and led the way to the foundation of an equally great empire. His wonderful genius may be traced in a charter which he drew up in writing after his flight to al-Madinah. 'It reveals the Man in his real greatness—a master-mind not only of his own age, as Muir calls him, but of all ages.' ¹

Al-Madinah and its surroundings were then inhabited by five parties.

(i) The Muhajirun or Refugees fled from their homes at Makkah for their faith and took refuge at al-Madinah. They were extremely devoted to the Prophet.

(ii) The Ansar or Helpers were the Madinite converts who gave shelter to the Makkan Refugees. They were equally devoted to the Prophet and pledged themselves to defend the Prophet and the Refugees in al-Madinah against foreign attack. Many of the Ansar belonged to the tribes of the Aus and the Khazraj.

(iii) The Munafiqun or Hypocrites. Among the converts of the Aus and the Khazraj there were certain men who being overcome by the prevalence of Islam embraced the faith outwardly but in fact they were confirmed in the heathenism and unbelief of their forefathers and in secret they wore traitors.² These lukewarm converts professed the faith in the hope of worldly gain. They were headed by a Khazrajite chief Abdullāh b. Ubayy, who had aspired to the kingship of al-Madinah and expected to take advantage of the new movement, but was utterly disappointed at the great influence and popularity that Muhammad acquired within a very short time.

(iv) The Yahud or Jews of the tribes of Banun-Nadir, Banu Qurayzah and Banu Qaynuqa lived in the vicinity of the city.³ There were also the Jewish proselytes from the Aus and the Khazraj tribes or the Jews who had simply attached themselves to these two tribes. The Banu Qurayzah and Banun-Nadir sided with the Aus

¹ Ameer Ali.

² *Ibn Hisham*, Part II, p. 106.

³ *Futuhul-Buldan*, p. 18.

and Banu Qaynuqa with the Khazraj in the internal feuds of al-Madinah. The Jews who found the religion of Muhammad to correspond in many respects to their own expected him to be their Avenger, a defender of Judaism and restorer of the kingdom of Judah and at first received him with some favour.

(v) The Mushrikun or Heathens who may be said to form the fifth party appear to be comparatively small in number consisting of a few families.

The city often formed a scene of wrangles and strifes while the Quraysh of Makkah were making preparations for war against the Prophet.

Muhammad's first care was therefore to ensure the safety of his followers and introduce law and order in the newly formed state. It was an urgent necessity to suppress old tribal feuds, the general lawlessness and the mischievous activities of the Hypocrites as well as to save the newly formed state from any foreign attack. In these circumstances it was but natural that the prophet should desire a federal union with mutually hostile parties and specially the Jews and enter into a binding union with them.

With this object in view shortly after his arrival at al-Madinah he entered into a formal treaty by drawing up in writing a charter between the Refugees and the Helpers, in which charter he embodied a covenant with the Jews confirming them in the free practice of their religion and in the secure possession of their properties, imposing certain obligations upon and granting certain rights to them.²

The Quran, the Apostolic Traditions, the Sirat by Ibn Hisham, the Kitabul-Maghazi of al-Waqidi (322 A.D.), the Tabawat of Muhammad b. Sa'd (844 A.D.), the general history of at-Tabari (922 A.D.) are the earliest extant sources of the biography of the Prophet. But this remarkable document that brought together the different factions of al-Madinah and placed the refugee Prophet Muhammad at their head, is preserved only in the Sirat of Ibn Hisham (828 or 833 A.D.) which is based, mainly, on the work of Ibn Ishaq (768 A.D.) the oldest extant biography of Muhammad. Ibn Ishaq's work was generally regarded as a sure and trustworthy authority on the subject and in consideration of the fact that other quotations of Ibn Hisham tally almost word for word with those of at-Tabari from the same author we may reasonably conclude that he quoted this charter from his author faithfully and accurately.

¹ *Ameer Ali; Shabih.*

² *Ibn Hisham, Vol., II, p. 94, Egypt Edition.*

As regards the date of the charter it may be safely placed before the battle of Badr which took place 18 months after the emigration. Ibn Hisham who has fully preserved the document has placed it just after the first Friday sermon of the Prophet at al-Madinah. Tabari has not preserved the document but he clearly states that "before this (battle of Badr) the Prophet had entered into a treaty with the Jews on his arrival at Madinah stipulating therein that they should not assist any one against him and that if his enemies attacked him within the city they should help him.

The Charter is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the rights and obligations of the Muslims *inter se*, though the Jews and Heathens come in incidentally, and the second part deals with the rights and obligations as between the Muslims and the Jews. So it looks like two separate documents supplementing each other.

I. (i) Beginning with the usual formula, "In the name of the Beneficent and Merciful Allah," the Charter proceeds thus—"This charter is granted by Muhammad the Prophet to the Mu'mins and Muslims of the Quraysh and of Yathrib (later on al-Madinah) and all other people who follow and join them making common cause with them and these shall constitute one nation to the exclusion of other people." This short introduction forms the gist of the whole document. The Believers and the Jews and such other people as join them are thus formed into one nation as against the whole world—an idea which is at once novel and strange in a country like Arabia where disintegration was the normal condition of society. Here we find the seed of a mighty nation sown, although apparently it is intended to deal only with the problems of the day. The words Mumins and Muslims are significant including the true Believers and the Hypocrites who though of diseased hearts passed for believers.

(ii) Then one by one the charter enumerates the various Muslim groups—the Quraysh Emigrants, the Helpers of the tribes of Banu 'Auf, Banu Saidah, Banu l-Harith, Banu Jusham, Banu n'Najjar, Banu, Amr b 'Auf, Banu n-Nabit, Banu Aus,—and regulates the payment of blood-money according to previous custom. It also adds that the payment of ransom for prisoners shall be made by every clan with equity and justice among the believers (all members of these clans not having yet accepted Islam).

(iii) By the next two clauses the believers are under obligation not to forsake an overburdened believer but to help him fairly in paying ransom or blood-money and a believer is prohibited from taking away the client of an inferior believer. Thus they encourage the

believers to help their less fortunate brethren in faith and check their instinct for self-aggrandizement to the detriment of others. These obligations are more of a moral and social nature than legal but the charter gives them the force of law in order to safeguard the interest of the weaker believers—a step so essential and indispensable for the preservation and growth of a community at the beginning of its existence.

(iv) All the believers shall rise as one man against any one of them—however closely related he may be—who covets power, seeks to commit oppression or crime or transgression or raises discord among the faithful. This clause compels the believers to stand by a right cause and to help the oppressed,¹ and in doing so he is compelled to rise against his nearest and dearest relative, if necessary. It strikes at the root of the perverted sense of honour among the Pagan Arabs which required that a man should follow his own people even against his better judgment and that whenever sought, help must be promptly given to kinsmen without going into the merits of the case. As Durayd b. Simma says—

“ I am of Ghaziyya : if she be in error then I will err ; and if Ghaziyya be guided right, I go right with her.” ²

(v) Allah's protection is common to all. It is the bounden duty of the believers to protect even the lowliest of them against the infidel enemies and therefore no believer is to be put to death for an infidel and an infidel must not be assisted against a believer. Moreover, all believers are pledged to help one another against the whole world.

This is one of the most important reforms of the Prophet. Hitherto the only protection of an Arab was that of his tribe or that of his patron or he had to rely solely upon his own power to take vengeance. But the Prophet's genius gave a death-blow to that time-honoured custom. Old ties were dissolved, old barriers broken down, ‘ the blood-feud or tribal responsibility for homicide, whereby one death regularly led to protracted wars ’ ³ was abolished, and the centre of power was shifted from the tribe to the entire community of the believers. The change, though revolutionary, was nevertheless a

¹ The origin of this provision may be traced to a clause in the rules of a pre-Islamic league, *Hilful Fuzul*, originated by az-Zubayr, one of the uncles of the Prophet, according to which several Qurayshite families bound themselves by an oath to stand by the oppressed within the city of Makkah. Muhammad was present at the oath and became an enthusiastic member of this league. In after years he used to say, “ I would not like to give up that league in exchange for the best camel in all Arabia. (*Ibn Hisham*, Part I, pp. 125-26, yet ed.).

² *Hamasa*,—*Nicholson's Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 83.

³ *En. Brit. Art. Mohammed*.

cautious and tactful step, for the clans were entitled to realise blood-money according to the previous custom, but under a far more effective system of guarantee.

But the Jews who make a common cause with the Muslims are excepted from the general body of infidels. They must have every consideration, aid and succour against all mankind, for, they are pledged to be one community with the believers. Here the friendly Jews are brought in incidentally as an exception to the general rule.

The pagan citizens of al-Madinah were very differently situated. Their number was at this time comparatively small¹ and it appears that they were included in this treaty as a party only by sufferance. They had not yet submitted to the Prophet's claims. They were indirectly brought within the covenant and were given protection as long as they remained harmless. It was provided that

- (a) they should not give protection to the pagan Quraysh of Makkah in person or property, and
- (b) they should not help them against the believers.

As for the Jews, they stand on a different footing, and the second part of the charter is practically a document exclusively granted to them although some of its provisions were already embodied in the first part. The enumeration of their various tribes one by one, details of their rights and obligations and specially their complete freedom in the exercise of their religion, and possession of their properties—extending to their clients, allies and adherents, constant repetition that fairness and honesty in dealing must be observed and that whoever commits a crime shall do so at his own risk and that of the members of his family, that there must be mutual counsel and goodwill among the parties—all these lead but to one conclusion that the Jews gladly accepted this pact as a sure measure of defence against their old enemies as well as on account of the irresistible character of the new movement.

As to the other parties of the believers, their voluntary adhesion to the pact is beyond question. Therefore Wellhausen's remark that "It was not a solemn covenant accepted and duly ratified by the representatives of the parties concerned, but merely a decree of Muhammad based upon conditions already existing which had developed since his arrival in Madinah" seems beside the point.

(vi) The state of peace and war shall be common to all believers. No believer shall conclude a peace with the enemy to the exclusion of

¹ The only families still sticking to idolatry were those of Khatmah, Waqif, Wgil and Umayyah (*Ibn Hisham*, pp. 840-41).

another believer and the same is the case with all the other parties engaged in this pact. When peace is concluded with the enemies all the parties shall participate in it alike and in a state of war with them the armies of all the parties shall come together and take part in it.

(vii) The murderer of a believer shall be killed in retaliation unless the heir of the murdered believer is pleased to pardon the offender or to accept blood-money. In case the heir is not pleased to pardon the offender or to accept blood-money from him it shall be the bounden duty of all the believers to rise as one man against him. None shall harbour such a criminal. And if there be any to harbour such a criminal then it shall be unlawful to help and give protection to the harbourer. But one who still continued to give protection to the harbourer of a homicide, may escape detection in this life but he ceases to be a believer altogether and shall meet with the wrath of Allah in the day of Resurrection. Thus religious and moral pressure has been applied here as in all other undetected cases.

(viii) Under Allah the Prophet shall be the supreme Judge to decide all matters—religious, social and political—arising among the believers.¹ This clause besides affording Muhammad the unique position of the sole dictator in all matters concerning his followers enabled him to detect the Hypocrites who passed for Muslims but were traitors at heart. As a matter of policy no mention has been made of the Munafiqun (Hypocrites) in this charter but provision has been made here as well as elsewhere to detect them, for complete submission to the Prophet's decision was required of his followers. We know at least of three persons, viz., Mu'attab b. Qushayr, Rafi' b. Zayd and Bishr, who in a case of dispute between themselves and some Muslims of their tribe were called to the Prophet for decision but apprehending that the decision of the Prophet would go against them called the Muslims to the judges of the pagan days² and were thus detected.

II. (1) The Jews of various tribes of al-Madinah Banū 'Auf, Banu'-Najjar, Banu-'l-Harith, Banu Sa' idah, Banu Jusham, Banu-'l-Aus, Banū Tha 'labah with their under-tribe Banu Jafnah and Banu Shutaytah, along with the clients, allies and adherents of these tribes³ shall form one party with the believers.⁴ And therefore they shall

¹ Quran, IV, 59.

² Ibn Hisham, Vol. II, p. 116.

³ These are said to be Jewish proselytes from the Aus and the Khazraj (Muir). The Jews of the Banu 'an-Nadir, Banu Qurayzah and Banu Qaynyqa, are not mentioned here. These Jewish tribes who had settled outside al-Madinah "were not at first included in this charter; but after a short time they, too, gratefully accepted its terms" (*Spirit of Islam*, p. 59).

⁴ This is practically an amplification of provision (i) in Part I.

enjoy as complete freedom in the practice of their religion and the possession of their property as the believers. But the oppressors and criminals shall, of course, be punished for their misdeeds.

(ii) As members of the same community the Jews shall contribute with the believers as long as they will be fighting against a common enemy, and each party shall be responsible for its expenditure.

(iii) None shall go forth to war without the permission of Muhammad but none shall be restrained from lawfully retaliating a wound.

This clause makes the Prophet supreme authority in declaring war against the enemies and checks the inflammable Arab character ever prone to attack at the least pretext. The clause of exception may seem dangerous in the present constitution of society but concession must be made to the age and the circumstances of society.

(iv) Among the Jews, in conformity with their old custom, whoever murders any one treacherously and without being first oppressed shall do so at the risk of his own life and that of the members of his family. But an oppressed person must be helped.

Islam declares personal responsibility for crimes but allows the Jews to retain their old custom of family responsibility. At the beginning of his al-Madinah career the Prophet gave his decisions according to Jewish custom among the Jews but later on only the Qur'anic law was enforced at court,¹ and where the Jews were not willing to submit to Muslim law they were given the choice to follow their own custom in civil matters concerning themselves.

(v) The interior of Yathrib (al-Madinah) shall be a sacred place for the engaging parties and they shall therefore all combine and help one another in defending the city against all foreign aggression and there shall be mutual counsel and good will among them.

(vi) One who has been received in protection shall be respected as the protector himself if he is not harmful or guilty. But a female shall not be received in protection except with the consent of her kindred.

The heathen Quraysh of Makkah and their helpers, shall, on no account, be given protection.

(vii) In case of any casualty or quarrel among the parties from which trouble is apprehended, the matter shall be referred to the Prophet for decision.

¹ Quran, V, 44-45, 48-50.

Here the Prophet is accepted as the final authority, by all the parties whereas in the first part of the charter he is the sole dictator of the believers only in all matters—social, moral and political.

(viii) When the Jews are invited to a treaty which the believers have concluded and adopted (with an enemy) they shall accept it and when the Jews invite the believers to the like of that (*i.e.*, treaty) the believers shall have towards them the same duty except him who has to fight for the sake of religion. All parties and their clients shall have equal interest in the treaty.

Here the war that has become inevitable for believing in a particular religion has been placed above all else by the clause of exception. Islam is always for freedom of conscience. Soft argument and mild persuasion are the surest and most effective weapons, declares the Quran, for waging war against barbarism and unbelief and so there should be no compulsion in propagating religion. But where the belief in pure monotheism brings in its train persecution, loss of home and property, where might becomes the sole judge of right, utter desperation goads the weakest sufferer to take up arms against the tyrant.

Jihad or war for the sake of religion is thus established as incumbent for all Muslims.

Critics have found in this charter anticipatory allusions to a war of vengeance against Makkah. (We must bear in mind the racial characteristics of the Arabs specially the Arabs of Muhammad's time. With them vengeance was "almost a physical necessity, which if it be not obeyed will deprive its subject of sleep, of appetite, of health." The following verse from *Hamasah* expresses the true Arab feeling :

" With the sword will I wash my shame away
Let God's doom bring on me what it may." ¹

Islam changed much of the fierceness of Arab character but this supreme master-passion of the Arab could not have died from the hearts of the Prophet's followers all at once. Moreover, we cannot expect the Prophet himself to be altogether regardless of this racial characteristic. Personal and private injuries had, on many occasions, been patiently borne by him and his followers. History is full of their noble acts of forgiveness even towards the most inveterate enemies. But public injuries stand on a wholly different footing and must be avenged on the offenders according to all canons of morality. If vengeance was the guiding passion of the Arabs it was to be used as

¹ *Hamasah—Nicholson's Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 98.

required for a just cause and according to the highest ideals. Here it must be said to the credit of Muhammad that he made the best use of the roughest materials that were placed at his disposal and there lies the genius of a prophet.

(ix) This charter guarantees security to all, within or outside the city, who come with clean breasts ; but to the guilty it gives no protection.

Muhmmad is the Messenger of Allah.

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MODERN SCIENCE AND SPIRITUALITY

By ANILBARAN RAY, M.A.

I

MATERIALISM AND SCIENCE.

MODERN Science has cut away the basis from a purely materialistic view of the world. It is not that hitherto Science, even in the West, has always been materialistic. The perception of law and order in the universe, which is the beginning of Science, has always been regarded as an evidence of the existence of a conscious being as the source and master of the world. Referring to very ancient times, Plato writes in his *Laws* that even at that time "some ventured to hazard the conjecture that mind was the orderer of the universe." He himself argues that if the sun and the stars "had been things without soul, and had no mind, they could never have moved with numerical exactness so wonderful." We find that even Kepler and Newton had been greatly influenced by their theological ideas. Still Science as such tended more and more towards a materialistic view until it produced a mentality which has become the basis of modern civilisation and culture.

Materialism as a metaphysical doctrine holds that matter is the ultimate reality and that mind and consciousness are derived from matter; as the liver secretes bile so the brain secretes thought. This view is against all religion and spirituality which assert that an infinite conscious being is the ultimate reality of which the material world is a creation or manifestation. The investigations of Science supported materialism chiefly in two ways. Science regarded the world in a frame-work of space and time. At the beginning of his *Principia*, Newton proclaims absolute space and time as the entities that are at the bottom of all laws of nature. Thus special extension was regarded as a fundamental attribute of reality. But as consciousness does not occupy space like matter it was regarded as less real. Another way in which Science gave support to materialism was its adherence through centuries to a strictly deterministic position. Determinism implies that the state of the world at one moment defines by strict mathematical laws its course during all past and future time. Whatever happens happens by strict inexorable

laws. When Napoleon asked Laplace what was the place of God in the universe, the latter replied that he saw no such place. Curiously enough, this position has found favour with dogmatic Christianity. The world cannot be changed now, but at the beginning God could have set up the natural order in innumerable ways. He chose the present one to suit his purpose. In this way Descartes reconciled mechanical necessity with Divine Predestination. But this position is not logically tenable. If Nature and her laws can explain everything, why presuppose a God in addition? So God became an unnecessary and discarded hypothesis.

This was the position up to the close of nineteenth century. But two great scientific discoveries, with one of which the present century was ushered in, have entirely changed the outlook of Science. When we interpret natural phenomena in the light of the theory of relativity we find that "space means nothing apart from our perception of objects, and time means nothing apart from our experience of events. Space begins to appear merely as a fiction created by our minds, an illegitimate extension to nature of a subjective concept which helps us to understand and describe the arrangements of objects as seen by us, while time appears as a second fiction serving a similar purpose for the arrangement of events which happen to us" (*The New Background of Science*, by Sir James Jeans). Thus modern Science has come round to the metaphysical view that time and space have only a conceptual and no real existence. From the spiritual standpoint, it is a movement of consciousness which constitutes time and space. These two are merely two aspects of the universal force of consciousness which in their interaction comprehend the warp and woof of its action upon itself. Time and space are the one Conscious Being viewing itself in extension subjectively as time, objectively as space. Space cannot be considered separately from but has to be connected with time, and it is by doing this that the theory of relativity has been able to interpret experiments.

"Nature is such," says Sir James Jeans, "that it is impossible to measure an absolute velocity by any means whatever. In brief Nature is concerned only with relative velocities, there is no fixed background of points against which motion can be measured in absolute terms, and consequently no absolute flow of time against which intervals of time can be measured." The *Isa Upanishad* thus describes the ultimate Spiritual Reality:

One unmoving that is swifter than the Mind, That the gods reach not, for It progresses ever in front. That, standing passes beyond

others as they run. In that the Master of Life establishes the Waters.¹

That moves and that moves not; That is far and the same is near;
That is within all this and That also is outside all this.

The obvious suggestion of this language of the *Upanishad* is that our ordinary notions of space and time, of motion and rest, are quite inadequate to describe Reality; and this is exactly what the theory of relativity is teaching us to-day. Science gives an account of this reality in mathematical formulas which are admittedly nothing more than symbols which serve to correlate natural phenomena. "In the natural sciences," says Prof. Herman Weyl, "we are in contact with a sphere which is impervious to intuitive evidence; here cognition necessarily becomes symbolical construction." The *Upanishads* also use symbols in their own way to interpret and correlate facts of inner experience. They deal with the same Reality, but from different sides and for a different purpose. Science deals with knowledge which is helpful for the external organisation of life; the *Upanishads* deal with knowledge which is indispensable for the organisation of the inner subjective life of man; and both kinds of knowledge are necessary for his integral perfection. One of the most striking findings of modern Science is the principle of economy in nature. All light takes the quickest path from point to point, and in this respect all moving bodies behave like light; always there is the least time, or, in the more precise language of relativity, the least interval. In the matter of knowledge also, nature has followed the principle of the "least interval." The East specialised in the inner spiritual knowledge, and has found by experience that by itself it is not sufficient. The West specialised in the outer scientific knowledge and is fast coming to a similar conclusion that it is not sufficient by itself. In the language of the *Upanishad*, "Into a blind darkness they enter who follow after the *Avidya* (the outer knowledge), they as if into a greater darkness who devote themselves to the *Vidya* (the inner spiritual knowledge) alone." The West, whatever its defects, is struggling to overcome them and rise to a better order of life;

¹ The Waters, otherwise called the seven streams or the seven fostering cows are the Vedic symbol for the seven cosmic principles and their activity, three inferior, the physical, vital and mental, four superior, the divine Truth, the divine Bliss, the divine Will and Consciousness, and divine Being.

but India has fallen into a deep slough of despondence and lifelessness which is certainly a greater darkness. Nature now points to a synthesis of the inner and the outer knowledge, of the East and the West, so that her goal of a perfected humanity on the earth may be speedily realised.

II

DETERMINISM AND EVOLUTION.

The deterministic position of science which was the other main prop of materialism has been definitely abandoned by the Quantum theory. "The only determinism of which modern physics is at all sure is of a merely statistical kind. We still see the actions of the vast crowds of molecules or particles conforming to determinism—this is of course the determinism we observe in our everyday life, the basis of the so-called law of the uniformity of nature. But no determinism has so far been found in the motions of separate individuals, on the contrary, the phenomena of radio-activity and radiation rather suggest that these do not move as they are pushed and pulled by inexorable forces ; so long as we picture them as in time and space, their future appears to be undermined and uncertain at every step. They may go one way or another if nothing intervenes to direct their paths ; they are not controlled by predetermined forces, but only by the statistical laws of probability." (*The New Background of Science.*)

If the physical forces had been left to their random interplay, life and mind need never have appeared on the face of the earth. Some new principle or force came to direct the movement of the material particles and energy in a particular way so as to produce the phenomena of life. It did not circumvent the laws of nature but the laws of probability. Living beings do not violate the laws of physical nature. I, for example, can only impart momentum to my body by pushing off from other bodies, which thereby take on an opposite momentum. Still there is something mysterious in a living body which is absent in the inanimate. A clump of clay may possess all the atoms necessary to build up a lotus, but left to itself its dream of the lotus will never be fulfilled. The potentiality of life is there in matter, but it requires a new principle, the pressure of some new force to develop that potentiality. That principle or force is called the vital which has changed the whole face of the earth by its operation ; and

it has acted not by interfering with the laws of physical nature, but by giving a new direction, a new organisation.

It was maintained that the operation of the vital principle also was deterministic and mechanical. Darwin and Lamarck tried to show that the process of evolution in the animal world can be explained by the mechanical principle of natural selection. But such phenomena as sport or mutation and metamorphosis conclusively show that biological evolution cannot be explained by a theory of mechanical variation and adaptation to environment. "A very inferior organism," says Bergson, "is as well adapted as ours to the conditions of existence, judged by its success in maintaining life ; why, then, does life, which has succeeded in adapting itself, go on complicating itself and complicating itself more and more dangerously ? Why did not life stop whenever it was possible ? Why has it gone on ? Why, indeed, unless it be that there is an impulse driving it to take ever greater and greater risks towards its goal of an ever higher and higher efficiency ? "

The adaptation of means to end, which is so apparent in the vital world, shows that the guiding principle has intelligence which is a mark of consciousness. That consciousness may not be of the same order as our waking consciousness. But modern psycho-analysis has shown that our ordinary waking consciousness is only a small part of our conscious life ; many important processes go on in the subliminal part of our consciousness, in the subconscious. The consciousness that operates in plants and trees is of this subliminal kind ; there is not only an intelligent adaptation of means to end, there is also a crude feeling of pleasure and pain, as has been experimentally shown by Sir J. C. Bose. Plants and trees try in their own way to seek pleasure and avoid pain, and their dominant impulse is to preserve and continue themselves so that they may have the joy of existence, pain being associated with destruction or death. Thus the search for immortality is not the monopoly of human beings only ; life from its very beginning shows an urge towards it, and it has actually achieved some sort of immortality on the earth. The individual dies but the seed takes up its life and develops it through innumerable generations.

If we go lower in the scale, we find evidence of consciousness even in material bodies, in their constituent electrons, protons, and photons. Science is showing how they obey laws which can be mathematically stated. It is the consciousness in them which enables them to obey the laws, but that consciousness does not find a suitable organ there to manifest itself and thus remains behind. In the vital

world that consciousness has found some instrument of manifesting itself but still the manifestation is simple and crude. It is when life developed into animals and lastly into men that consciousness could come more and more to the front ; and for this further step in the terrestrial evolution, another new principle was necessary, the mental. Bergson does not make a distinction between the vital and the mental principles ; according to him both mind and life are operations of the same principle which he calls the *elan vital*. In a sense, not only life and mind but also matter is an aspect of the same reality ; they are all parts and functions of universal nature. Modern science is approaching more and more the ancient Vedantic doctrine that reality is essentially one. The living organism reacts as a whole ; its functions are not additive. According to quantum physics, the same applies to inorganic nature. The state of a system consisting of two electrons, determines the states of both electrons, but the converse does not follow. This shows that electrons and protons belong fundamentally to the same order of nature to which plants and animals are subject. Still there is a differentiation in the same reality as it manifests itself in the world. As the vital principle is differentiated from the physical, so the mental is differentiated from both of them ; and the appearance of mind has brought forward an altogether new organisation of life and matter, the acme of which we see in man and his civilisation. Spiritual experience reveals the existence of different planes of existence, of graded worlds, which act and react on each other. "The material world has evolved life in obedience to a pressure from the vital plane, mind in obedience to a pressure from the mental plane. It is now trying to evolve supermind in obedience to a pressure from the supramental plane.

Indeed there is no reason why terrestrial evolution should arbitrarily stop with man and his mind. Has its goal of perfection been reached ? As the mind can only search for knowledge but can never possess it, so it has high ideals which it pursues but can never realise. There is nothing in modern science which goes against the probability of the emergence of yet another principle, which may be called the supramental, which will bring the organisation of mind, life, and matter to a still higher order where alone all the idealistic dreams of man can be fulfilled. And the highest spiritual vision to-day sees in the travel of mankind the birth-pangs of such a higher order of life, of a new race on the earth, as the last fulfilment of her long evolutionary process.

The evolution in nature went on by a subconscious urge until in man she has risen to a mental consciousness. The next step is to be taken consciously by man. This conscious process of self-perfection in man is called Yoga. But has man any real freedom thus to achieve his perfection? In what way can man help or hinder the evolution of his nature? "Honestly I cannot understand," says Einstein, "what people mean when they talk about freedom of the human will." Yet people have been talking about it since the beginning of civilisation and culture. Every human being somehow feels himself to be a free agent. Wherein consists his freedom and how far does it go? Indian spiritual philosophy has solved this problem by making a distinction between *Purusha* and *Prakriti*, which is made the basis of all Yogic practice. The *Gita* states almost in the language of Einstein, "While the actions are being entirely done by the modes of Nature, he whose self is bewildered by egoism thinks that it is his "I" which is doing them." *Purusha* in *Prakriti*, soul in Nature, is the formula of man. Nature is doing all action by her modes; the Soul is the Sakshi, the observer. But it is also the giver of the sanction. The play of *Prakriti* will cease if the *Purusha* does not support her by his sanction. *Purusha*, by withholding his sanction from, or giving it to, particular modes of Nature can exercise a selective effect. As we have already seen, such a selective action on the processes of Nature is admitted as possible by modern science. We can only mention here the intelligent microscopic being introduced into science by the Cambridge physicist Clerk Maxwell, as is generally known as "Maxwell's demon." "Although the demon does not interfere with the operation of the laws of nature, yet he exercises a selective effect, and by this alone he can cause any system to pass to a lower entropy."

There are a higher and a lower play in our human nature. One leads towards knowledge, peace, harmony, joy; the other leads towards ignorance, strife, sorrow. The soul in us has to observe with detachment the play of the different modes of nature in us, withhold its sanction from the lower play, and give its sanction to the higher. In this way our human nature will be disciplined and purified as a preparation for its ultimate transformation into the divine nature. But this last transformation is beyond all human effort; it can be achieved only by the divine Grace. That is why there comes in as the last movement the necessity of an absolute self-surrender. We have to offer our whole being, our mind, life, and body to the Divine in an

absolute self-consecration so that they may be filled with His Light, Peace, Power and Bliss. That is Immortality, and that is the goal towards which all humanity is marching consciously or unconsciously. To hasten that march by conscious effort, by an unflinching faith and a fixed and unfailing aspiration is the whole meaning of spiritual practice or *sadhana*.

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DYNAMIC IDEALISM

By FRANK C. BANCROFT

NOWHERE so flagrantly as in the realm of metaphysics do words reveal their disposition toward treachery. Commending themselves to our service as stewards, they slowly but inevitably usurp powers which eventually exalt them into tyrants of the most despotic order. It would almost seem that the more important a word is, the more it lends itself to the thwarting of straight thinking, profitable discussion and sound judgment. This especially appears to be the case with the term "idealism," for it would indeed be difficult to find another with a similar variety of connotations which so willingly lend themselves to confusion. The purpose of this article is to place side by side several conceptions of the meaning of idealism which are widely divergent and to attempt a statement of its most important and most innocent meaning.

There is an emotional tendency, most commonly observable in the young and healthy, which goes by this name. It lies behind and within most of the youth movements, whether religious or secular, which have become conspicuous in the present century. With one or two notable exceptions, such as China and Germany, in which national disintegration has placed a premium upon almost any concerted movement, this type of agitation has had only a negligible effect upon the national life as a whole. The reason for this is not far to seek. Based, as nearly all of them are, upon an unreasoned and undigested emotional reaction to some outer demagogery or some inner revelationism, they do not carry over into adult life. The student, during his academic years, cannot, in the very nature of the case, play a very important part in the life of his nation. In the first place he has come into his college years through a long academic process which has skilfully shielded him from any telling contact with the actual workings of the world. And secondly, if, by some unusual set of circumstances, his judgment has actually been mellowed by a measure of ordinary experience, he enjoys no position of power or confidence through which to exert his influence upon a wider circle of Society. Consequently he is restricted to the arena of holding meetings, drafting resolutions and writing occasional articles.

In the heat of the day (i.e., when the student "idealist" comes to middle years and has worked himself into positions of responsibility and power) this type of idealism usually becomes extremely attenuated. From the beginning it was without adequate foundation. Based, as it was, principally upon healthy animal spirits and the natural youthful propensity toward "new deals," it was almost inevitably doomed. To be sure, it is never quite forgotten, and it no doubt produces in the individual a tendency to be a trifle less grossly materialistic in his attitudes and dealings than those who have not enjoyed its stimulus. But for the most part, it finds its principal outlet in after-dinner conversations, as a sort of pleasant overtone to coffee and cigars, and is seldom seriously brought to bear upon public affairs. This produces in the middle-aged, *quondam* "student-mover" a subconscious defeatism which does precious little to enhance his happiness or usefulness.

Somewhat allied to this, but decidedly more important, is what might be called genuine prophetic idealism. This is characteristically to be found in social, economic and political reformers. It produces the fiery eye and the sternly set jaw and it sometimes produces effect. But, as student movement idealism is insufficiently based in emotion, this type is too often exclusively volitional. It characteristically lacks understanding of the complexity of human life and the ability of effective adjustment. Most outstandingly, it almost always lacks depth of intellect; and (a point which will be more adequately treated later) it seldom is founded upon a satisfactory spiritual foundation.

The cynical derelicts of this attitude are to be found strewn all along the path of high human endeavour. Starting out along the road with a rigid blue-print of how society *must* become within five or ten years, in the initial stages it whacks away bravely at the intrenched strongholds of the *status quo*. First comes a type of cynicism which takes the form of an assumed superiority of the prophet and his particular group over benighted and egocentric humanity as a whole. For a limited period the glow of this self-satisfaction sustains the pilgrim. But, as his comrades fall away one by one and as the ineffectuality of his own efforts begin to reveal themselves, the disillusionment grows deeper. Finally, toward the end, he loses faith in the ideal itself and resigns himself to cultivating his own garden. Thus, while the idealism of the student-mover, which has never been put to the shock of experimentation, terminates only in attenuation, that of the social prophet comes to the nadir of cynicism.

A third and more technical meaning of the term is the metaphysical position known as Monism or absolute idealism. It has been set down in the West by such men as Berkeley and Croce and is one well-known strand of Indian speculation, where it is best enunciated in the *Advaita* philosophy. Its basic position is that, behind the apparent multiplicity of impulses, of persons, of nations, and even of the physical and spiritual, lies a single reality, and that only illusion, in one form or another, prevents us from realizing this fact. For those who perceive this mystically or feel it emotionally, such a conviction often has great value. The unfortunate fact, however, is that most of its proponents are arm-chair philosophers who come to it only in sheer desperation after fumbling the principal problem of philosophy, *i.e.*, that of the one and the many. For these it seldom eventuates in any effort to realize dynamically and on earth the unity which their philosophy propounds. For some it spells a rank materialistic monism which implies the scouting of all moral or aesthetic values ; and for others a contented solipsism which enjoys "the totality of things" for itself and leaves the rest to its own resources. This is because of the fact that, like the two forms dealt with above, it is based insecurely upon only one of the human faculties, that is to say, the intellectual. And if there is anything to choose among attenuation, cynicism, and solipsism, the last must be especially eschewed because of the intolerable pride which accompanies it.

Fortunately, these perverted forms do not, either singly or in combination, delimit the possibilities of idealism. There is also idealism which is based upon the full tripod of human nature with a plus. In other words, it stands upon thought, feeling and will synthesized and sublimated by spiritual experience. This is the only form which stands true as an inexhaustible resource for the individual and which permanently fits him for a life which tells. It is a perception of unity which has a strong double reference—one out and up into spiritual reality itself and the other out and down into the arena of terrestrial life as it is lived. If, for any protracted period of time, either of these couplings is disengaged, the current ceases to flow and the idealism deliquesces into the perverted forms already described.

A brief word remains to be said about the nature of this idealism and its appropriation. Nearly all of our idealisms in the past have been static, *i.e.*, they have started with a dogmatic assertion that all is one. At this point many earnest and naturally "idealistic" persons were lost, for they had no adequate basis of experience upon which to rest such an assumption. Their minds had not succeeded in working

their way through to a mental understanding of any such fact. Their emotions had not driven them to its acceptance on faith. And their mystical faculties were not so constituted as to vouchsafe to them any immediate perception of the unity. And so they simply foundered or muddled through with an idealism which was doomed to despair. But to-day it is a significant fact that thinkers of widely varying stripes are coming to realize that it is the function, the *dharma*, of man to venture. In the practical details of life we are constantly called upon to act before we are completely certain. Upon such a basis we go into business or into matrimony. The truth of the matter appears to us increasingly during the process of dealing with it. Similarly, in the matter of idealism, many of us feel that we have had hold of the wrong end of the stick. Whatever may or may not be the ontological nature of the universe as such, we perceive within it a unifying principle which seems to be its principal meaning. We want unity in our own lives, workaday, intellectual and spiritual. We want unity in our national lives, social, economic, political and sectarian. And we want a unified world. What is incumbent upon the idealist is that he must resolutely start out upon the quest for the unity which he claims to love.

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CONVERSIONS AND RECONVERSIONS TO HINDUISM DURING MUSLIM RULE ¹

By SRI RAM SARMA, M.A., F.R. HIST. S. (London).

THE author of the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* writing in the reign of Shah Jahan mentions several interesting instances of the conversion of the Muslims to Hinduism and their acceptance in their adopted faith. He was known to the Seikh Guan Hargobind and was on terms of intimacy with several Hindu saints. The cases that he records seem to be based either on his own information or on reliable authorities usually accruing in the reign of Akbar, Jahangir or Shah Jahan.

19. Gosain Chatrapab who was a Nagar Brahman from Gujerat and died in 1637 A.D. taught the author of *Dabistan* the Hymn of the Sun and asked one of his disciples, Ganesh, to teach him the elements of Hindu religion. The author of the *Dabistan* was not a born Hindu and naturally what Gosain Chatrapab did was equivalent to conversion. This Gosain seems to have been one of the foremost Hindu saints of his times. Jahangir and Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan were among those who respected him.²

20. The author of the *Dabistan* met another Hindu saint, Kaliyan Bharti, in 1643 at the town of Kiratpur in the present district of Hoshiarpur in the Punjab. He was a *Sanyasi*, yet he had travelled in far off Persia, lived among Muslims, returned to India and was still respected as a great Hindu saint. There is reason to believe that when he lived in Persia he had become a Muslim. It was only the licentious life of Shah Abbas Sofwi the Great (1583 to 1628 A.D.) that made him give up the religion which permitted such misdeeds. His return and consequent acceptance among the Hindus is therefore significant.³

21. But probably the greatest of Muslim converts to Hinduism is Kabir. Born of Muslim parents or adopted by them, this Muslim weaver lived to found a Hindu sect. The faithful have tried to make him a miracle child born of a widow daughter of a Brahman of Benares whom Swami Ramanand blessed with a son not knowing that

¹ Continued from our issues of February and March.

² Pp. 184 to 186.

³ Pp. 186 to 187.

she was a widow When her father remonstrated, we are told, Ramanand refused to modify his blessing. In due course the miracle child was born. But the Brahman was not sure he would be able to persuade the sceptics and the scoffers that the birth of a child to a widow was the result of a miracle rather than an offshoot of sin. He tried to drown the boy who however was discovered by a Muslim weaver and his wife who took him home and brought him up as a son of their own. The faithful and the less believing are all, however, agreed that Kabir was brought up as a Muslim.¹ His Muslim contemporaries claimed him as one of themselves and were prepared to fight the Hindus on this issue. But he was accepted as his disciple by Ramanand, the great Hindu saint of Benares, whose greatest disciple he lived to be.² It was however not Ramanand alone who claimed him as a Hindu. The contemporary Hindus knew him as their leader and a member of their faith. The story of the quarrel between the Hindus and the Muslims for performing his death rites according to their religious faith as recorded by Abul Fazal in the *Ain-i-Akbari*³ proves that Kabir was known to be a Hindu to his contemporaries. Of course one can understand the Muslims trying to bury one born into their faith, but the Hindus could not have claimed to cremate him had they not accepted his conversion to Hinduism. Tradition further records his persecution as a Hindu saint at the hands of Sikandar Lodhi, king of Delhi.⁴ Further a large number of his Hindu followers are found even to-day in different parts of India, particularly the United Provinces and the Punjab. In the latter province the Kabir Panthis, as his followers are called, have been admitted by the Punjab government as caste Hindus.

Thus here is an example of the Hindus converting a Muslim and raising him to the rank of their religious leader. He is reckoned among the great Hindu devotees by Nabbaji, the author of the famous *Bhakt Mal*, the book of Hindu saints written in the seventeenth century and commented upon the Priya Dass soon after. No greater proof is needed of the catholicity of a religion that could raise a Muslim convert to touch a high position. All honour to Swami Ramanand who admitted this Muslim to the Hindu's faith. And equally liberal were the contemporary Hindus who raised him to such a high status.

22. The *Dabistan's* list however does not end here. We are told that a large number of Muslims were converted to Hinduism and

¹ *Dabistan*, p. 200.

² *Ibid.*, p. 201.

³ Vol. II, p. 120, 171, 182, *Dabistan*, p. 292.

⁴ Macauliff, *The Sikhs*, VI, p. 182.

admitted as *Vairagis*. The author speaks as if he knew of these cases himself. Two names are mentioned as that of Muslim nobles who were admitted as *Vairagis*—Mirza Salih and Mirza Haidar.¹

23. Another case that smells of the conversion of a non-Hindu to Hinduism is that of Keran who became a *Vairagi*.²

24. The enslavement and conversion of a large number of Medaris and Jalalis is mentioned by the *Dabistan* this time through the efforts of the *Sanyasis*. Jalalis were the disciples of Sayid Jalal, a Muslim saint buried at Uch in Sind. They were Shiahhs. The Medaris are Sunnis. Once it so happened that these Muslims tried to sacrifice a cow at a place of Hindu pilgrimage where *Sanyasis* were assembled in large numbers. The *Sanyasis* rescued two cows by paying exorbitant prices for them, but the Muslims brought a third and sacrificed it. A battle followed. The *Sanyasis* killed seven hundred of these Muslims and defeated them. Their children were enslaved but were apparently brought up in the Hindu faith.³

25. The *Sanyasis* were not the only Hindu sectarians who admitted the Muslim into the Hindu faith. The Vaishnavas also admitted Muslims to the Hindu's faith and converted many of them.⁴

26. When Guru Hargobind returned to Kiratpur⁵ he succeeded in converting a large number of Muslims in the neighbourhood of his place of residence so that not a Muslim was left between the hills near Kiratpur and the frontier of Tibet and Khotan.⁶ This happened before the conquest of Kiratpur by the Mughals in 1645.⁷

When we come to Hindu authorities we are surprised to find them describing the re-conversion of countless Hindu converts to Islam. Let us start with rather a conservative authority, the *Bhavishya Purana*.

27. In the concluding verses of the *Bhavishya Purana*, Volume II, Book III, Part III, Chapter III, f. 36 b, we are told of Raja Ganga Singh. The first three verses of Chapter IV make him the tenth sovereign after Bhoj and place his accession 500 years after his death. We are then told that he was a contemporary of Raja Jai Chand of Qanoj and Anang Pall of Delhi. Under him Mlechhas began to perform all the duties of the Aryas (verse 10), so much so

¹ P. 208.

² P. 208.

³ P. 217.

⁴ P. 218.

⁵ See above.

⁶ *Dabistan-i-Masakh*, p. 235.

⁷ *Dabistan*, p. 235.

that Kali was at last frightened and went to Krishna in order to remonstrate with him for this sorry state of things, the prevalence of so much religion in an age which he had been assured would be particularly dominated by absence of religion. Again in his lament we come across a very significant phrase. His sons, the Mlechhas, he laments, have adopted the Aryan religion (verse 15, f. 87a).

27. A little later on we find the *Bhavishya* recording traditions of the re-conversion of Hindu converts to Islam *en masse*. Chapter IV of Part IV of the third book in the second volume (f. 122 b, Part II, Volume II), describes first the conversion of a large number of people in different cities of Dudia to Islam. This, we are then told, evoked a reaction (Verses 52 and 53). The Aryans felt depressed. But they soon found out a remedy. The disciples of Krishna Chaitanya took upon their shoulders the hazardous task of reconverting their lost brethren. Then follows a string of names of the preachers with the locality of their ministry. Disciples of Ramanand went to Ajodhya and converted the Mlechhas to Hinduism. Sanyogis were also admitted to Ramanand's creed. Nimbaditya with his disciples went to Kanchipur. Vishnu Swami went to Haridwar. To Muttra proceeded Madhavacharya. Ordered by Ramanuj Sankracharya of Saiva persuasion went to Benares. Ramanuja went to Kanoj. Dhanvantri chose Allahabad as his centre of activities. Bhatoji, Jai Dev, Kabir, and Sadhana helped in this good work. The efforts of the Muslims were thus undone. Large numbers of adherents were secured by Vaishnavas, Saivas and Saktas.¹

A very interesting part of this description in the *Bhavishya* is the different types of *Mantras* these teachers gave their followers, the varying shape of the mark on the forehead (*tilaka*) that they employed, the necklace that they asked their disciples to wear. All the outward emblems of Hinduism have been exhausted in order to prove that the Mlechhas (Muslim) or Hindu converts to Islam were thus regularly and formally admitted into the Hindu fold. A rather intriguing word in this description is *Mlechha Yantra* which my friend, Pandit Raja Ram Sastri, would translate as the Muslim call to prayers, but which may probably be better rendered as mosques. We are told these *Mlechha Yantras* were destroyed in the course of these attempts.

What exactly is the value of these facts recorded by the writer of this part of the *Bhavishya*? We would at once concede that all the

¹ *Bhavishya Purana*, Vol. I, II, Book III, Part IV, Chapter IV, verses 52 to 81.

facts mentioned here need not be historically true. We admit that the preachers lumped together here were not all contemporaries. We further recognize that several of them were not disciples of Chaitanya. What, one may very well ask, is then left. The answer is simple. When all allowances have been made we are left to face the fact that the writer of the *Bhavishya* knew of an old tradition when several Hindu preachers in different localities counteracted the growing power of Islam by reconverting Hindu converts to Islam back to the Hindu fold as also by admitting the Muslims to the Hindu fold. He may have confused the tradition, played havoc with its chronology and transplanted preachers and places. What is still more important this time his sympathies are with the reformers.

Unlike the first extract cited, he does not look upon the admissions of Muslims to the Hindu fold as something strange and lamentable. This is important when we remember the fact that the age of this part of the *Bhavishya* is uncertain. It may indeed be modern. But all this does not destroy the fact that the writer knew of earlier traditions of conversions and was content to record them. *

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" UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT " : ITS LESSONS FOR INDIA

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Toynbee Hall in East London is symbolic of a great movement whose influence is no longer confined to London, nor to England alone. It has spread far and wide, even to far off Japan. The Settlement Movement fittingly arose in England, the first home of modern industrialism, out of the impact of the rising social conscience of the nineteenth century with the evils of the rapidly developing industries—injustice, poverty, filth, disease and degradation. In the seventies Samuel Barnett fresh from Oxford had deliberately chosen one of the poorest parishes in London for his life's work. It is here that he first came in contact with the industrial proletariat and Miss Hill's study on "The House of the London Poor" published at this period owes its completion to his co-operation. It "was recognised as a classic by all who were seeking to pass beyond the relief of distress to its prevention." It was precisely the latter which became the corner-stone of the movement that Barnett was about to initiate. In a paper read before St John's College, Oxford, in 1883, he developed the idea of settlement work. His idea was to attract University men to settle down in poor neighbourhoods in London in order that their superior attainments might be brought to bear upon their less fortunate fellow citizens. Barnett was a firm believer in creative co-operation, or as he put it, in "bringing helper and helped into friendly relations." He wrote "Vain will be higher education, music, art, or even Gospel, unless they come clothed in the life of a brother.....Vain too, will be sanitary legislations and model dwellings, unless the outcast are by friendly hand brought in one by one to habits of cleanliness and order, to thoughts of righteousness and peace."

The idea fell on fertile soil. Shortly afterwards a house was built in Whitechapel and christened Toynbee Hall in memory of Arnold Toynbee, also an Oxford man and an ardent spirit in the cause, who had just died. The Hall was formally opened to residents on Christmas Eve, 1884. Many similar institutions have sprung up since all over London and elsewhere.

The settlement idea is a fruitful one. It is not primarily religious. To be sure, its later development has generally been on secular lines. Its essence lies in Service through neighbourliness and co-operation between groups of University students or others given to social service and the people among whom they take up their residence or work. This active co-operation takes manifold forms, educational, cultural, hygienic and vocational. To begin with, it is of a complimentary character. It steps into the gaps, as it were, to provide services which the State or Municipality has neglected or only imperfectly fulfilled. Indeed, its aim should be, as someone aptly said to make itself superfluous in time. With the development of public institutions the field of voluntary service becomes narrower.

The *raison d'être* for a similar movement in our own country need not be emphasised. Nor need it be restricted to industrial populations. For not only will this inaugurate institutions which will reflect in miniature all the activities which a modern State or Public Authorities should provide for its citizens—an education in itself, but at the same time

be a training ground for our future educationists, social workers and politicians.

The heavy responsibility for the future of our country that lies on all of us can only be brought home by the living contact with the varied problems that daily confront men, women and children in all walks of life. It is only by grappling with these difficulties in our youth that we shall be the better fitted for properly discharging our public functions in later life. Settlement work is the best antidote to amateurishness in public life. Indeed, no public policy can be fruitful unless it is built on solid data garnered in the course of one's personal experience. To students of the social sciences especially this type of work should have a particular appeal, for it will provide them with material for research which no book or report can supply. It is only by such painstaking work, which in every Western country has been the prelude to social reforms, that the social conscience can be aroused. Our prime requisite is knowledge, more knowledge and yet more knowledge of our economic and other social problems. As Comte said: "*Savoir pour prévoir et connaître pour améliorer.*"

In this brief outline, an attempt has been made to present the necessity of settlement work among our students from three different angles: firstly, its place in the scheme of social service scientifically approached; in the second place, its cultural value in the quickening of group life, in education, music, art, hygienic living, etc.; and finally, its educative value for the students themselves for their future public careers. The difficulties in the way of settlement work in our country are many. But the only hope lies in the fact that opposition from whatever quarter it may come may in the fulness of time yield on the proved value of the work.¹

London.

¹ Those who are interested in the subject will find the following useful: R. A. Woods and A. J. Kennedy: *The Settlement Horizon* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1922); *Settlements and their Outlook—An Account of the First International Conference on Settlements, Toynbee Hall, London, July, 1922* (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London).

COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION *

By DR. W. S. URQUHART, M.A., D.L., D.LITT., D.D.

It is a great honour to be asked to preside over this the ninth annual Conference of the All-Bengal College and University Teacher's Association, and I thank you for the privilege and opportunity you have given me. This is my second visit to Faridpur. On the first occasion, during my Vice-Chancellorship of the University,—the occupations of a Vice-Chancellor being many and various,—I came to open an Agricultural Exhibition ; on this occasion my business is to preside over a College and University Teachers' Conference. I do not know that the occasions are so diverse as at first sight they appear to be. Something of symbolism may be extracted from the coincidence. University teachers ought not to be out of touch with the problems of the rural development of a province where the great majority of the inhabitants are still engaged in agricultural pursuits.

The fact that you are holding your conference in a country town like Faridpur is in itself interesting. I suppose the idea is that the conference should be held biennially; or at least triennially, in one of the mofussil centres, and this is as it should be. It would be a pity if the privileges of discussion and active membership should be confined to the city of Calcutta. There should not be any rivalry between town and country in the matter of College and University education. There are circumstances in which it is better that students should remain in the country, and other circumstances in which their particular needs are best satisfied by migration to a Calcutta college. Each type of college has its own distinctive contribution to make, and although there may be one or two weak colleges in the mofussil which are serving no useful purpose, it would in general be a thousand pities if the country colleges had, because of economic pressure, to close their doors or greatly limit their activities. A conference such as this should, if properly conducted, be inspirational to the local colleges, and especially to this one under whose auspices we are meeting and to whose hospitality we are so greatly indebted. In general it should enable us, both those of us who come from the town, and those of us who work in the country, to pool our experiences to find out on what lines we may respectively develop, and how we may help each other to the greater good of the University as a whole.

In many ways College and University teachers are to-day in a difficult situation. They are attacked on all sides. They are accused of providing opportunities, however unwittingly, through the very existence of their institutions, for socially subversive activities. In respect of co-education they are accused of being false to the tradition of their country in encouraging it, or of being incorrigible conservatives in suppressing it. By many, by both friendly and unfriendly critics, they are accused of purveying useless learning, which neither provides daily food nor builds up character, and is therefore useless both for this life and for that which is to come. Some time ago the student's unions of the Scottish Universities, being in a frivolous mood, passed the resolution that

* Being the text of the presidential address of Dr. W. S. Urquhart at the 9th session of the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Conference at Faridpur held on 31st March 1934.

"it would be for the benefit of Scotland if all the Universities were transported to the South Sea Islands," and in more serious vein it is sometimes argued that it would be better for the country if all our Universities and colleges were drowned in the Bay of Bengal

As regards the first point it has on more than one occasion seemed to me necessary to refer to the harm which is done by hasty generalisation and I do not propose to touch upon that matter now beyond saying that there are hopeful signs that the uselessness of these generalisations is being recognised, and that in any case facts and proportions are open for investigation to those who will give them calm consideration. Incidentally however, I might mention that I had occasion recently to reflect upon certain percentages in connection with one large college, and I found that the proportion of students of that college who had come under suspicion, including those who had been merely interrogated, did not amount to more than half-a-dozen per thousand, during the last few years. Still, however small the percentage may be, it ought to disappear entirely, and I think we are all of one mind in intensely desiring total eradication. It does not help us, however, to hear general condemnatory and detrimental statements in regard to our colleges, that there are "snakes in the grass" and so on. We do not close public gardens, otherwise desirable, because it is possible that there may be one or two snakes lurking within. We desire rather to get rid of the snakes so that not one may be left, and it is the duty of all who know the facts of any particular situation to co-operate for the ending of activities which do so much harm to the country as a whole. We desire the absolute cleansing and purification of our academic communities, but not the depreciation of them by generalisation.

In this connection I have been struck recently by a confusion which has arisen through a wrong use of words. It has grown customary in this country, even in the writings of the most reputable journals, to speak of school-boys as "students," although, according to the stricter and more authoritative usage of language the term should be confined to those who are studying in Colleges or Universities. The consequences of this confusion are many and various. For one thing students are unjustly made responsible for the actions of those who belong to a more juvenile stage. You come across a flaring headline in the newspapers about unruly students, but when you read the paragraph you find that it is entirely concerned with the insubordination or worse of school-boys. There are some people who never read more than the headings, and they get wrong impressions. But there are more general consequences of this confusion affecting the mentality of both teachers and taught, and the organisation of our system of education. I would plead very earnestly for a sharper distinction between the school stage and the University stage. In this connection I would urge, as I have often urged before, that we need a very considerable stiffening of the Matriculation Examination. There is another matter to which your attention might very profitably be directed and that is the reaction of the colleges to the new situation which will soon be created by the more general adoption of the vernacular as a medium of instruction in schools. The effect of this, whether for good or for evil, upon the knowledge of English, which will still for a good many years be the medium of instruction in colleges, ought to be very carefully and very seriously considered.

Might I refer also to the effect of the confusion between school and college standards upon the mentality of both teachers and taught in colleges? There are some college teachers who never seem to get rid of what I might describe as the "school-master complex" and who fail to realise that the relation between professors and students ought to be

very different from the relation between teachers and school-boys. Most disastrous consequences have sometimes arisen through forgetfulness of this difference. Students also, especially in the lower classes of a college, are often forgetful of the fact that they have passed beyond the stage of the school boys, and they conduct themselves in the same irresponsible manner that has been encouraged by the want of discipline in some of the schools from which they have come. I would have every college teacher to lose no opportunity of reminding the students of the dignity and self-respect which is befitting to the college student. He ought to be encouraged to feel that he has become a man and should behave as a man and not as a school boy. Greater quietness, for example, is very desirable within our colleges. One does not expect to have old heads upon young shoulders, but we might at least have more evidence of seniority in respect of the use of the vocal organs, and the diminution of unnecessary shouting and loud speaking in the halls and corridors of our colleges which would be consequent upon a greater sense of dignity on the part of the students, would contribute to the efficiency of our academic work, and to a decorum in later life, the absence of which in public assemblies prevents useful conference and brings them into disrepute.

To turn to another of the topics I mentioned above,—the problem of co-education. This has already been engaging your attention. My attitude to the matter is wellknown, and I need not say much about it at the present time. I may simply say that several years' experience of co-education—and by this I do not mean the holding of separate classes at separate times—has convinced me of the value of it under proper supervision, and I am sure that it is a necessary form of the solution of the problem of women's education in present circumstances. It is not a problem which is confined to this country. I recently came across a review of the past fifty years of development in Edinburgh University, and I may quote a few sentences relevant to the situation there in 1889, nearly fifty years ago. "At the outset many strenuous advocates of women's education doubted as to whether curricula designed for men and developed to meet masculine needs were necessarily suited to both sexes. School training had never been identical, so that young men and young women would not have the same preparation for the University life. Many of these cautious observers would have preferred the creation of separate Women's Universities or Colleges.....But for such a development time and money would have been needed. The men had the endowments, the buildings, the staff and the equipment. It was obviously simpler to demand a share in what existed than to plan some utopian and distant scheme. The University Commissioners under the Act of 1889 took this view and the demand was granted. The Faculty of Arts was most immediately and fundamentally affected, but it was not the only one to feel the change.....The principle of equality has triumphed all along the line." The situation in Edinburgh fifty years ago is strikingly similar to the situation here to-day, and the effects of co-education which obtains in all the Scottish Universities, have not been disastrous during the last fifty years. Some of the healthy camaraderie of the house, should and does, show up under sympathetic and far-sighted authorities.

Another topic which has been very much to the forefront recently is the relative importance of vocational and general education. Almost every address of an educational character has dealt with this and it occupied much of the attention of those who took part in the last Universities' Conference. Strictly speaking, it is a subject for discussion by those who have to do with the remodelling of High School education, as I consider that the crux of the problem is how to differentiate between those who are suitable or inclined for a University education and those who are not

so adapted. But it does concern us very closely in that it would be exceedingly unfortunate if we conceived University education so narrowly as to put it out of relation to the needs of vocational instruction, or if we thought that the Colleges and Universities had nothing to say upon the economic needs of the country. I think, however, our special duty lies in the direction of showing willingness to be deprived in the colleges of a considerable number of students whom we admit at present both because of financial considerations and because we, in our pride, still think that we are giving the only education worth having. But we have, I think, a positive duty as well, and that is to show that education is wrongly conceived if it is thought to be merely a panacea for economic evils, and to show also that there is a real place for education of a more cultural kind. We are entrusted with the training of the minds of the community, and these minds have to be properly trained both with reference to the engaging in particular pursuits and in reference to the conduct of life as a whole. I think a great deal is lost if a boy begins a technical training too soon, or if he receives *only* a technical training. This would be unfortunate even if he were sure of a post in his particular line when he has completed his curriculum of practical studies. It is doubly unfortunate if he has to search about for an occupation, and perhaps find it in an altogether different direction from that for which he has prepared. Having only a particular training, he is not so well prepared for emergent needs as the student with a more general equipment. And what of his staying power, his power of persistence even if he gets an appointment for which he is specially equipped? Even the best posts have their aspects of monotony, and if they fall below one's expectations or below the young man's often excessively high estimate of his own powers, boredom and lassitude are apt to result. The only preventive of this is the cultivation of mind and spirit, the provision of mental resources within one's own control wherever we may be placed, the strengthening of the will so that we may be undaunted by the monotony of the succeeding years, the widening of sympathy so that we may find interest in others' and not only in our own concerns, even if these other persons belong to classes other than our own.

It seems to me that if in our concern about the remodelling of our University system we forget this inner factor, we shall be doing a great disservice to the country or at least we shall be failing her in the time of her need. We want modifications of our present system in many ways so that new avenues of employment may be opened up and fuller advantage may be taken of the economic opportunities that at present exist. But more than this we desire the mental and moral and spiritual preparation of those who are being educated. What is the use of opening avenues if you have not trained people to walk in them when they are opened, if they have not acquired that width of outlook which will enable them to understand where they are going, that spirit of sympathy which will prevent them from jostling their neighbours and that steadfastness of character which will carry them steadily onwards even when the sun is hot and the dust is blinding? It is this inner preparation to which I would summon the College and University teachers of the present day. The Colleges can be centres of enlightenment and emancipation, where are trained the minds of those who in the days to come will take the leading places in society. We have in our hands the moulding of the destinies of the future citizens. And yet I think we do not sufficiently realise this. We become pessimistic and we say that because we have no power over state action or the construction of external conditions therefore we have no function at all. Or we become unduly optimistic as regards the future, and bank upon everything being

done by a change of constitution or a transformation of external conditions.

But it is internal disposition rather than external conditions which matter in the long run, and we can influence these with our Colleges and Universities. We can aim above all at purity of academic motive, being fully determined that we shall not allow differences of race or any other extraneous differences to influence our academic action. Nothing could be more disastrous for a country than the habit of allowing other than academic interests to affect unduly college and university action. If this were to become the persistent procedure then our educational system instead of forming and guiding public opinion would be dragged miserably and ignominiously at the chariot wheels of party leaders and we might as well close our doors for all the service we shall be able to render to the community.

If we are to keep our ideals high there is an even nearer danger which we must avoid within our colleges and universities, and that is the tendency which is in human nature everywhere to form parties or groups or cliques. In academic circles these seem to grow up with startling rapidity, and unless we are on our guard they poison the academic life. Friendship and association are all very well, but it is a miserable travesty of friendship which leads us to consider academic questions from the point of view of the advantage of our particular group, which leads us to ask, when any proposal is made, 'Who made it, and how will it be viewed by the leader of our group?' This is frequently the canker of public life and we cannot prepare our students effectively for their place in society unless we see to it that it is not the canker also of our colleges and academic life.

These are difficult times, as I have said, for College and University teachers, but I think it is possible to be conscious, without pride, of the high place we may occupy in the community, and of the opportunities that lie before us. We can continue to occupy that position and to use these opportunities, if we preserve our own self-respect, and refuse to allow our colleges and Universities to become subservient to extraneous interests. The perfect society is like a work of art, constructed out of unpromising and diverse materials, or it is like a poem wrought out of discordant sounds and discrepant phrases. In our moments of vision we may think of ourselves as the poets and artists of society. And, if looking at ourselves and each other, we sometimes become cynical and incredulous, if in the light of common day the vision fades, let us not allow ourselves to laugh ourselves to scorn. For there is some truth in this idea, that we perhaps as much as if not more than any other class, are the moulders of this perfect society of the future of which we dream. We are so more indirectly than directly, through those who are at present under our care and whom we may influence as to the form of their future life, teaching them to have salt within themselves, resources mental, moral and spiritual, teaching them in their public life to choose wisely between becoming "political invertebrates" and "political cankers," teaching them to keep their ideals high but not to be too impatient about the *tempo* of their fulfilment, teaching them to steer by the fixed stars but not to rock the boat too much in the course of the voyage, and to bide their time when clouds hide the stars for a little. We have a duty both to the immediate future, which may be fulfilled in academic reconstruction and to the more distant future which may be fulfilled in mental and spiritual illumination. If this Conference can aid us in the fulfilment of these duties, it will have served its purpose.

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL *

By KHAGENDRANATH MITRA, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

FELLOW TEACHERS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is with mixed feelings of diffidence and delight that I agreed to occupy the proud position to which you have elected me. Those who have presided over your Conference before this are all men of outstanding position in the social and educational sphere of this country. Sir Prafullachandra Ray, Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, Sir Pravaschandra Mitter, Principal G. C. Bose, Principal Herambachandra Maitra, Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, Dr. Urquhart—to mention a few names only—are all eminent men who have shed lustre on their respective spheres of life. I cannot but feel a sense of insignificance before those great names. The more I do so, the more am I overwhelmed with your kindness in asking me to occupy the chair on this occasion. But I am indeed very pleased to be in your midst to-day, for I have been a teacher practically all my life. Brother teachers, pray accept the homage of one who has like you toiled on in his own way to carry the torch of knowledge among his countrymen.

While congratulating myself on the honour you have done me, I must not forget the circumstances to which I owe my position. You all know that Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee was elected to preside over this session, and I may tell you that no better selection could be made. I say this not from any sense of conventional humility nor from the great love I bear my friend and pupil, but from a genuine regard and admiration of his great qualities as a statesman, administrator, educationist and as a man. Worthy son of a great father, as a Governor of the province put it, he has won the admiration and esteem of all who have come into contact with him. He could have made valuable contributions to your deliberations if he had not been prevented by temporary ill-health from occupying the presidential chair to-day.

When I think of the condition of Secondary education in this country, my mind is filled with despondency, because there is so much to be done, and we have neither the money nor the energy to carry out the much-needed improvements. We are afflicted with chronic poverty on the one hand and on the other the health of our people is undermined by disease and malnutrition. Health and wealth are the two great assets of a nation. No improvement, no reform is possible without money and without strength to carry out the reform. If the Sadler Commission diagnosed the disease 17 years ago, the remedy is slow in coming. When we turn to stern facts what do we find? We find many of our schools suffering from inanition. Many of them are mere apologies for high schools. The number of students is small, income is inadequate, teachers are ill-paid and the output unsatisfactory. On the top of this there are party factions, communal jealousies and in some cases political troubles. The result is that phantom of education recedes further and further to our eternal shame and disappointment. So far as Bengalees of the

* Being the text of the Presidential Address delivered by Rai Khagendranath Mitra, Bahadur, at the 18th session of the All-Bengal Teachers' Conference at Asansol.

middle class are concerned, education is almost like the air they breathe and the bread they eat. It is often a pitiable sight to see how the people of a locality, thinned by the ravages of malaria, are straining every nerve to maintain a high school for their boys! They have perhaps created a high school with their life-blood and helping it to drag on a mere existence. But there is no one to help them. The Inspector turns away from it with a cynical smile—it is a weak school and no grant can be given to it. But what are the people to do? They cannot increase population when disease and death are taking their toll. They cannot raise more money, because there is no more money to give. The system of education introduced in this country a hundred years ago is now regarded as a misfit. We have made it as costly as possible and the people's purse has been taxed almost to a breaking point.

Besides, the problem of widespread unemployment has subjected the present system to an acid test which has exposed its inner unsoundness in all its nakedness. It is no wonder therefore that people are not content with the present state of Secondary education in this province. As an Inspector of Schools for several years and as a member of the University School Committee, it has been my sad lot to come across so many cases of ill-equipped, ill-managed and ill-staffed schools that it makes my heart sink within myself. I think it may safely be said that for every good school in Bengal there are at least 8 or more indifferent or bad schools. A suggestion was made at a Conference of educationists held in influential quarters for the abolition of all these struggling schools. I wish I could support it. But in that case the pervading gloom will gather round in a thicker and deeper form. Whatever might have been the motive of those who inaugurated this system of education, it is a fact that we cannot do without it now. Unless something better can be substituted for it, it is not possible to take away what little we have. But is it impossible to have something better? The present system has outgrown its utility and although it is high time that our statesmen and publicists addressed themselves to the task of rebuilding the worn-out edifice of Secondary education, the hands of the clock are surely not pointing in that direction. Government does not seem to be worrying about it. The legislature has quietly dropped it. The University is only applying symptomatic treatment, when drastic constitutional remedies are needed. Changes in the curricula are suggested from time to time but any drastic change is viewed with suspicion. So the wheels of progress initiated by the University get stuck up before any start is made. A scheme was formulated some years ago by the Calcutta University Senate suggesting certain changes in the Matriculation Regulations, one of which sought to make our mother-tongue the medium of instruction and Government has not yet seen its way to sanction them. I understand that a reply has recently been received from Government expressing general agreement with the principle underlying the scheme and intimating that a conference would soon be called to discuss the matter. Gentlemen, I may be pardoned if I give expression to my misgivings regarding the materialisation of the scheme. From what I know of the ways of Government, these conferences often lead to the delaying of matters which cannot otherwise be delayed with decency and sometimes to safely shelving them. The second alternative does not seem to be possible now, but there is nothing to prevent the first from happening. But the longer it is delayed the worse it will be for all concerned. For the rising tides will not permit our remaining where we are and inertia will only react in making the discontent still more widespread and vocal.

That reform is badly needed everybody agrees but it is slow to come. Unless Government and the University authorities join hands and frankly

face the problem, reform will be long in coming. The present system cannot continue long. Can there be any sense in having a system of dual control in an important matter such as Secondary education which has a far-reaching effect on the formation of the manhood of our country? Even in the matter of selection of text-books the ridiculous dualism is apparent. The University prescribes text-books for the Matriculation Examination and the Central Text Book Committee constituted by Government prescribes text-books for classes below the first two. The absurdity of the thing becomes obvious when we remember how text-books are selected by the Government Text Book Committee. Are books selected on their merits? No. There are various other considerations which must weigh with the sage advisers of the Text Book Committee. So books are to be made to order. These made-to-order text-books carry the boys up to Class VIII stage. Thereafter the Matriculation course prescribed by the Calcutta University must be followed. The result is that the student is obliged to unlearn what he has already learnt. In such an important subject as history, accuracy and correctness of fact must be sacrificed at the altar of individual and communal likes and dislikes. But as soon as the student reaches Class IX he breathes an atmosphere which is free from such personal or communal bias. It is a bad system which permits a subject to be cut vertically like this. If certain things are to be avoided, on political, communal or other grounds, let them be avoided throughout. In education, consistency is a great virtue if not in politics. Inconsistency leads to discord and the sooner it is ended, the better for the progress of education in this unfortunate country of ours. It would be far better in the interests of education to set up a single authority which will then be in a position to lay down a general and consistent policy for the whole curriculum starting with the Primary and ending with the Matriculation course.

There is another anomaly which very often disturbs the equilibrium of our educational system. In the case of all high schools, the managing committee must be approved by the Syndicate. But if we examine the constitution of different schools, we find that no one principle is followed. In the case of Government schools one system, and in non-Government schools quite another system is followed. But that is not my point. I wish to refer in particular to the system of approval by the Government. This approval means in the case of Calcutta schools, approval by the Inspector of Schools and in the case of mofussil schools, approval by the District Magistrate. Now this double distilled approval of school committees does not make for the efficiency of schools. On the contrary, the Inspector and the District Magistrate may not often see eye to eye and then the Syndicate may end by taking a different view altogether. I know of cases when the voice of the S. D. O. prevailed in the matter of departmental approval and also of cases when the University was placed in an awkward position *vis-a-vis* the Education Department. These difficulties require to be removed at an early date. One way of solving them is to make the University the sole approving authority. If there is any undesirable element in the composition of the Committee from the point of view of the Department, it can be represented to the University which contains a fairly large official and nominated element. In any case, the Department, which is the sole controlling authority of the grant-in-aid system, can withdraw the grant-in-aid in case the school contains elements which are undesirable from the Departmental point of view. I think that by adopting such a course Government may avoid the rather doubtful method of having to depend upon the whims of individual officers in the matter of approving Managing Committees of Secondary schools.

Experience also confirms this view. When the University School Code was introduced, Government looked askance. At first it was extended to the schools which are neither controlled nor aided by Government. But later on wiser counsel prevailed and Government was pleased to adopt the School Code after very careful consideration. The School Code is based on democratic principles. It has standardised the constitution of School Committees and introduced a very large measure of the democratic element. The difficulties which are sometimes met with in working this constitution arise from the habit of clinging to the old bureaucratic ideals. I think in course of time whatever difficulties there are will vanish.

I next turn to the grant-in-aid system itself. There is a considerable amount of money which is distributed among the Secondary schools of Bengal by way of grants-in-aid, such distribution resting principally with the Divisional Inspectors of Schools, acting in concert with District Magistrates. My personal experience is that there is no uniform system on which the grants-in-aid are distributed. It has sometimes a tendency to degenerate into distribution of patronage. Patronage is good when it goes by merit alone. But the point I desire to make is that it does not always go by merit. What I wish to suggest for the consideration of Government is whether it will not be better to have a Committee composed of official and non-official educationists presided over by the Divisional Inspector to go into all the cases and distribute the grants-in-aid after taking the approval of the District Magistrate. If District Education Boards can be set up for Primary education, why can't a Divisional Committee be set up for controlling the expenditure of more than twelve lacs of Rupees in grants-in-aid? This will entail the curtailment to a certain extent of the Inspector's powers, but it will create confidence in the minds of people and in the long run strengthen the position of the Inspectorate.

The problem of Secondary education is a vital one in this country. Its importance is enhanced by the circumstances in which we are placed. Many avenues of employment are closed to us, many posts are reserved for people other than natives of the soil, facilities of trade and commerce are denied to our enterprising young men, hence there is so much scrambling for the bar and other learned professions to which education is the only passport. It is therefore one of the fundamental rights of the people to demand that its Educational System should be placed on a sound basis. A reasonable proportion of public revenues should be spent on Secondary education. But what do we actually find? The money that is actually spent on Secondary education is wholly inadequate. I think Government has been slow to recognise its duty in this direction. That it has no money is an excuse which does not bear the light of criticism. I shall not refer to the much criticised Police budget. I think a little economy here and a little there will enable Government to do a great deal towards improving the present condition. Many Retrenchment Committees sat and many more will sit, but to give effect to their recommendations is another matter. What has Government done so far to effect retrenchment suggested by the Swan Committee of 1981? Quite a large amount of money is annually spent by Government in maintaining the Guru Training Schools and the Normal Schools. I think every one will admit that their utility is gone. To train up a few Gurus who have hardly education enough to profit by the training they receive is, I think, worse than useless. In the Government Training or Normal Schools, teachers for H. E. and M. V. Schools are trained. The M. V. Schools are fast

disappearing and the M. E. Schools are kept alive by an artificial transfusion of blood—i. e., by holding out hopes of scholarship. Both the Guru Training and the Normal Schools are out of tune with the growing popularity and demand of Secondary Education in the province. Even if it is contended by some that they have still some utility, I reply that there are many directions in which reform is badly needed. Is it not fair that the many high schools which are suffering from 'pernicious anaemia' in the words of the Sadler Commission should get assistance from the coffers of the state? Is it not more important to improve the lot of teachers who are working in the midst of squalor and despair? A proposal was set on foot by a kind-hearted Minister to give some relief to teachers in non-Government schools in the shape of Provident Fund contribution. It was accepted, but before it could bring the benefit to the doors of the really needy, the funds ran short and the hands of the clock got once more stuck up. My firm conviction is that if Government could see their way to shake off the shackles of blind adherence to tradition and effect a little economy in the Education Budget, money will not be wanting to give this much needed relief. The reduction of the post of one Sub divisional Inspector of Schools in a district will enable Government to pay the Provident Fund contribution of half the total number of high school teachers in the whole of that district.

I am one of those who regard education as the eye of a nation. Just as the human body is reduced to a state of utter helplessness when it is devoid of sight, so is a nation reduced to a miserable plight when it is deprived of the minimum of education. In our country, circumstanced as we are, Secondary education is that minimum education and I would, with all the emphasis I can command, invite the attention of all right-thinking men to the question of the improvement of Secondary education in this country. I am also one of those who believe that unless the condition of the Secondary Schools is improved, the lot of the Secondary School teachers cannot be improved. These deserving men, often with high academic qualifications and sometimes with rare gifts of imagination and genius are allowed to work on a mere pittance. The guardians are poor, the boys are ill fed and ill clad, the locality perhaps is steeped in ignorance, the schools are uninviting and the lot of the average teacher—I speak of the average teacher—is cast among these surroundings. I consider it a sacred obligation of Government and the public to try and save these teachers from want to which they are permanently condemned by their own choice. That choice, as every one will admit, carries with it the implication of a certain amount of sacrifice, and almost every teacher is prepared to make that sacrifice. But there is a limit. Nothing is done to ensure that they get at least living wages. The Department sets its face against the weak schools and sometimes threatens them with actively contributing to their extinction. What can the University do? It has to depend upon the Government agency for inspection and that agency has neither the inclination nor the power to move an inch from the hide-bound procedure. The School Code culminating in the establishment of the Arbitration Board is calculated to give some relief to the teachers who are adversely affected by the hasty and whimsical decisions of the authorities of a school. The Arbitration Board sanctions some compensation. But where is the money to pay it? After protracted correspondence containing threats of withdrawal of recognition uttered nearly half a dozen times with solemn seriousness, the compensation is perhaps paid after withholding the existing teachers' salaries for a good part of the year. Is this a satisfactory state of things?

As one of those who had some share in the establishment of the Arbitration Board, I see in it a permanent measure of safety for the teachers. But the good work which it can do is seriously hampered by the chronic poverty of the majority of our high schools aggravated by the unprecedented economic distress prevailing in the world. The university has promulgated a set of model rules for the management of Provident Funds in private schools. The rules are probably good so far as they go. But can the contributions be guaranteed? It requires money to pay the contributions regularly. Even this small reform cannot be carried out in many schools for want of adequate public support. There was a time in this very country when large Universities affording accommodation to ten thousand students sometimes were maintained entirely by public support. In these days, it sounds almost like a story of the Arabian Nights, but it is a fact that the learned professors in those Universities, some of whom claimed to know almost every subject under the sun, were fed and entertained by the public of the locality.

Closely connected with the problem of Secondary education, is the question of the training of teachers. The critics of our Secondary education system are apt to say that a large percentage of our teachers are untrained. Even amongst 5,900 graduate teachers, not more than 800 are trained. But whose fault is it that so many of our graduate teachers are not trained? There are only two training Colleges in Bengal maintained by Government and they can supply only a limited number of trained men. There is an L.T. course for undergraduates and a B. T. course for graduates. The Dacca University also confers a higher degree—M. T.—on its students. So far as the present situation is concerned, there does not seem to be much attraction for the L. T. course. In the Diocesan College, there were arrangements for preparing women graduates for the B. T. course, but the Training department is going to be closed soon. The Scottish Church College has stepped forward to take up the course. A scheme is under consideration of the Calcutta University for attaching a training class for those graduates who may desire to go up for the degree of Bachelor of teaching. It is also being considered whether short Vacation and Refresher courses might not be opened for qualifying teachers for a training certificate.

While I am upon this subject, I might just as well mention that on account of the growing importance of the library movement, a University Committee is considering the possibility of opening a library training centre in Calcutta. When such a training centre is opened, many young graduates will get an opportunity of qualifying themselves for appointment as librarians in the various schools and colleges which maintain libraries as also in other institutions which have reading libraries attached to them.

It is often said that the training of teachers should consist not merely in obtaining a diploma or a certificate in this country, but selected teachers should get an opportunity of going abroad and enlarging their mental horizon by special courses of study prosecuted in well-known foreign Universities. As a matter of fact, Government used to send one or two teachers abroad every year for training. The selection of teachers, although not limited in a technical sense, was practically confined to Government school teachers. As Inspector of Schools of the Burdwan Division, I tried to break away from this tradition and recommended a non-Government-school teacher. But my suggestion was not accepted—not perhaps because it was something unusual, but because the deputation had to be stopped for that year as a measure of economy. I do not know when there will be a change in the present circumstances which

will make it possible for Government to sanction necessary funds for such deputations. But if the Council of the All-Bengal Teachers' Association agrees, the matter may be taken up by them as soon as their funds permit. It will be a step in the right direction.

This beneficial measure along with many other movements of first-rate importance may be inaugurated by your Association. I have abounding faith in your association. I regard its establishment as a landmark in the history of Secondary education in this country. In these days of hard competition, nothing can be more important than united action. Those who see in your united action a trade-guild spirit do so because they are afraid of your growing power. I think the proper attitude of right-thinking men is to welcome this accession of strength as it is full of immense possibilities for good. Your association includes some of the best products of the Calcutta University and the best among them will naturally be called upon to guide the deliberations of your Association. So the decisions of your executive will more often than not carry the weight and authority of the best men amongst the teachers. If Providence has given you this position, it is up to you to make the fullest use of it. It is a matter of gratification that already you have gained a good name for justice and righteousness in your counsels. Your Association is justly recognised by the Calcutta University and also by Government. But there is still a great deal of leeway to be made before your organisation may be said to be well out into the sea on the voyage of progress. You have still to obtain the share which is legitimately your due in the control of Secondary education and in the framing of the curricula. So long as a just measure of representation is not secured for your Association, you cannot lay down your arms.

Gentlemen, there is a great deal to be done, but the magnitude of the work still to be accomplished should not for one moment be allowed to damp your energy. Patience is the watchword of all great undertakings. The lot of our brother teachers should be improved, their pay and prospects should be placed on a better footing, Secondary education should be reformed, Vernacular should be made the medium of instruction, provision has to be made for those members of the teaching profession who are all on a sudden incapacitated from work and for the families of those who have suddenly dropped on the road in the march towards the goal—all this requires time. But I have a firm conviction that unless you allow your steps to falter, everything will come in the fullness of time. The Secondary Board is within sight, expects the Minister. Whether the expectation will materialise or not is more than I can say. But it is only just and proper that on this body when it is constituted, Secondary School teachers should be sufficiently represented; because they are the persons on whom the success of the institution will largely depend. They are the persons who will directly feel the pulsation of the machinery. In order to get the maximum good out of it, the Secondary Board should be an autonomous body, free as far as practicable from extraneous control and constituted largely on democratic principles. According to the fundamental principles of representative institutions, therefore, the Secondary School teachers should have a large share in its management. Otherwise the charges which are now levelled against the nomination-ridden Senate will apply to the proposed Secondary Board with greater force. What was tolerated in the constitution of the Senate thirty years ago will not be tolerated to-day in the constitution of the Secondary Board.

It is a pity that the importance of the reform of Secondary education is being tardily recognised. Even at the present moment, it is doubtful

how many have realised the gravity of the situation. One of the problems in this connection which the proposed Board will have to face is women's education. The problem of boy's education is complicated enough, but when the question of women's education is considered, the problem becomes one of bewildering perplexity. It is needless to say that the demand for women's education has increased by leaps and bounds during the past few years and the number of girl schools, girl pupils, and women teachers are going up beyond all calculations. In many places there is an insistent demand for the education of girls, but the facilities are wanting. Perplexed with the trouble of having to educate their girls in places where there are no girls' schools, guardians are sometimes willing to put their wards into boy's schools, but the University has practically set its face against co-education in schools. I think on the whole it has been a wise decision. But with the need for starting more schools for girls, the problem of girls' education is coming more and more to the forefront. Should the girls be given the same education as the boys? Should the same Matriculation course serve for both girls and boys? In every matter in the world when aims are different, the method must needs be different. Should it be otherwise in this important matter of education? I think a very different curriculum will have to be drawn up for girls, if they are to be prepared for those duties which are peculiarly their own. The question of imparting education through the mother-tongue will acquire a new significance when viewed in connection with women's education. Surely it is ridiculous to attempt to teach the girls through the medium of English. Such a system is bound to lose all touch with the realities of life. We cannot content ourselves with teaching our girl students enough English to say that divorce is an integral part of civilised life! No educational policy in this country can be regarded as satisfactory which leaves the women out.

So far as women teachers are concerned, they will have their peculiar difficulties, no doubt, but it will certainly be a source of strength if the women teachers can also be enlisted as members of your Association. By a free interchange of ideas, the male and female teachers of Bengal will be able to evolve between them a system which is best suited to the needs of the country. Reverting to the question of the reform of Secondary education we are confronted with the problem of unemployment and it is sometimes suggested as a panacea that the whole system should be industrialised. Matric boys should be taught some craft or industry by which they may be able to earn their living. Without entering into the controversy, namely liberal education *versus* technical education, I may say from personal experience that the attempt to introduce what is called a Vocational course along with the University Matriculation course has not been attended with that measure of success which the authorities contemplated. I have seen a good many Government and non-Government schools where the vocational course is taught, but in most cases the measure of success achieved has been entirely disproportionate to the time, money and energy bestowed. In many schools, it is nothing but a useless adjunct, kept up as a show and conveniently trotted out as an argument for an increased grant-in-aid. There are, of course, one or two exceptions. I think I may generally say that the results are far from satisfactory. The vocational education has to be thoroughly reorganised, if it is to be productive of any good. I consider vocational education to be as important as physical and moral education. But it should be so modelled, either with or without a link with the Matriculation course, as to be really useful in solving the bread problem.

In conclusion, gentlemen, I would once more try to impress upon you the importance of tackling the problem of Secondary education in all

its aspects. It is up to your Association to contribute to a satisfactory solution of this problem. A period of continuous and strenuous struggle is ahead. The fight has just started and it is for you teachers to fight it to a finish. The struggle in freedom's cause is always fraught with difficulties. But with unity which is the principal weapon in your armoury there is no reason why you should not come out victorious. Freedom is not so much for one's self, but for others. It has been well said that "the love of liberty is the love of others and the love of power is the love of ourselves." Let your motto in the struggle for freedom be the "love of others." In order to win freedom from the many ills to which many of the teachers are condemned—freedom from the many prejudices, superstitions and passions which hamper the progress of education in your beloved Motherland and mine,—you will have to be prepared to sacrifice your self at the altar of the common good. So God help you.

Calcutta.

Miscellany

[*French Thought: From Fenelon to Bouglé—A Czechoslovak Poet on Indian Themes—The Nationality-standard of Europe as applied to India—Sociology at Harvard under Prof. Sorokin.*]

FRENCH THOUGHT : FROM FENELON TO BOUGLÉ.

A large number of epoch-making French works in the domain of social philosophy was long out of print. Besides, as is well known, the works of certain great writers are too extensive particularly for contemporary readers who are almost all in a hurry. For this reason a new collection of anthologies or extracts has been published by the Librairie Felix Alcan of Paris, to whom we owe other widely known scientific and philosophical collections. The present collection is edited by Professor Bouglé, of the Sorbonne, who is also Assistant Director of the Ecole Normale Supérieure (College of Pedagogics). As a sociologist, Bouglé is well known to all contemporary philosophers, and as a lecturer, he has addressed both in Europe and America, as well as North Africa, the most diversified audiences.

To introduce these social thinkers to the public, Bouglé has chosen first-rate collaborators. Fenelon, whose ingenious "anticipations" appeared so surprising in the unbending age of Louis XIV, is presented by M. Maxime Lerey, one of the most original writers of our time. To Lerey we are indebted for a noteworthy study on the philosopher Saint-Simon. Besides many other works, Lerey is responsible for a book on the *Société des Nations*, published in 1908, i.e., at a time when that expression, invented by Pierre Lereux a hundred years ago, was but very little used.

The pages taken from Condorcet are preceded by an introduction written by M. Ferdinand Buisson, formerly Professor at the Sorbonne and Director of Primary Education at the ministry of public instruction. It is hardly necessary to recall the part played in the realm of pedagogy and public education by Buisson, whose philosophy is so deeply imbued with the great principles which Condorcet has so luminously expounded.

The task of making excerpts from the dense mass of the works of Lamennais has been entrusted to M. J. Paul. Boncour, lawyer, Deputy and one-time Minister, who is, besides, intimately associated with the League of Nations. So great an orator could not remain indifferent to the impassioned spirit of the celebrated Abbé, whose fervid writings defended the causes of God and Democracy, now as an upholder of the Church, now as an outcast from the fold.

Bouglé's introduction to the extracts from the writings of Proudhon is a model of comprehensive brevity. Thoroughly conversant with that philosopher's abundant work, which he on several occasions made the subject-matter of his lectures at the Sorbonne, Bouglé is too shrewd a scholar to be bewildered by the often contradictory assertions and negations of a thinker who frequently indulges in paradoxes. He is well aware that Proudhon is above all a moralist, indeed, according to French tradition, "one of the greatest, one of the soundest that ever existed," and one whose teaching is always valuable, whatever may be the subject of one's meditations.

With Jean Jaurés, the most characteristic of whose writings M. Vandervelde has put under contribution, the present collection is brought down to our own time. M. Vandervelde knew Jaurés personally, and it would have been difficult for him not to refer in his introduction to the memories of his conversations with the great socialist leader and of the latter's political career so tragically cut short; but the passages he has chosen from among the writings of Jaurés have a far deeper significance than the ordinary effusions of militant politicians; a mere glance at them is sufficient to reveal the meditation of a philosopher and the science of a historian.

Bouglé is like Bourgeois and Foulée an exponent of "solidarism" which combats the antistatal individualism or nihilism of Spencer but believes in an individualism such as would make the state not a master but a servant.

A CZECHOSLOVAK POET ON INDIAN THEMES.

Indian men of letters will be agreeably surprised to learn that in the young but sturdy republic of Czechoslovakia there are to-day novelists and poets whose creative imagination can cover in its sympathetic sweep the activities and sentiments of the men and women on the banks of the Ganges. As the writer of these lines does not understand the Czech language he is indebted to the learned Czechoslovak Consul Dr. Lusk for a translation of the main contents of the romance entitled *A Palace on the Banks of the Ganges* by A. Czech-Czechenherz published at Prague early this year. The same author's work *Shiva: Divine Dancer* came out in 1933.

It is interesting to observe that even before Czechoslovakia was born as an independent sovereign state, Czech (Bohemian) thinkers used to discuss the problems of social life and cultural development almost in the same manner as their colleagues in far-off India. The ideals and methods preached in 1894, for instance, by one who is none other than the octogenarian President Masaryk of to-day, in his book, *The Czech Question*, might virtually word for word be found in *The Swadeshi Samaj* of our Rabindranath published in 1904. The lines of thought were so uniform.

Verily, in the Czech soul there is something which makes the Slavic men and women akin to the people of India. And it is of this affinity of spirit between India and Czechoslovakia that we are further convinced in the essay on "Awakened India" by our esteemed friend and colleague, Prof. Lesny, which is used as a preface to Czech-Czechenherz's romance.

THE NATIONALITY-STANDARD OF EUROPE AS APPLIED TO INDIA.

In territory India is nearly two-fifths of entire Europe (including European Russia) nearly three-fourths of Europe (excluding European Russia). To lecture to the Indian people in season and out of season that they should try to organize a united or federated Indian state can but be similar to asking the people of three-fourths of Europe *minus* European Russia to establish one European nation or federation. The absurdity is patent on the surface. Such chimerical propositions are just calculated to shunt the really serious workers off from the reasonable paths of national reconstruction.

The peoples of India are being asked to accomplish what the peoples of Europe have failed to accomplish for themselves, what indeed they have been

avoiding by every means since the French Revolution. Indian intellectuals have too long cultivated a blindness to the realities of political life and have learned thoughtlessly to sing and dance to mere words and phrases. It is time that they open their eyes and see as well as walk straight to business in a "positive" manner.

Bombay is nearly as large area as Italy or Norway; Assam lies between Greece and Czechoslovakia; Madras and Poland are almost equal in space; and Bengal is equal to Czechoslovakia and Lithuania put together.

Now the practical wisdom and political philosophy of combined Europe have hit upon neither a unitary nor a federal structure for that continent. The will-o'-the-wisp of a continental unity is the farthest removed from the "positive" philosophies of Europe, "romantic" schemes of the Pan-Europa-brand notwithstanding. Europe to-day is a states-system of some thirty three different nations, great, medium and small. By the European standard of constructive statesmanship, then, the Indian areas might naturally claim the establishment of no less than two dozen nations independent of one another, in so far as territorial boundaries are concerned. And such a state of political relations in India should not be regarded in positive morality and jurisprudence as international chaos or anarchy since it is not so regarded in Europe.

Let us take the figures of population as the basis of nations. If Bulgaria with seven and a half millions can function as an independent state, so also should Assam with the same population-strength be entitled to assert its own statehood. The Punjab can likewise form an independent state of the same strength as Spain, and Madras as Great Britain. Countries like the U. P. and Bengal, each with forty-five to fifty millions, can naturally, as independent nations, rank somewhere between Great Britain and Germany.

The population of Europe *minus* European Russia is equal to that of entire India. In terms of population, therefore, there can be no harm done to logic or ethics if on the Indian soil there crop up some thirty-two or thirty-three different nations of diverse sizes.

Used as we in India are to the difficulties arising from racial diversities, we are very often hoodwinked to believe that the boundaries of the so-called nations in Europe are as a rule conterminous with the boundaries of languages or of ethnic stocks. The political anthropology of Europe tells quite another tale. It is surprising that in regard to this subject a wide-reaching fallacy should have become so inveterate in the minds of Indian scholars.

Each one of the so-called nation-states of Europe is polyglot and multiracial. Even France is not uniform in race. Here in a population of 40,750,000, there are 1,700,000 Germans, 1,000,000 Celts, 600,000 Italians, 250,000 Spaniards and 600,000 others. Take a small country, namely Belgium. Here four millions of Flemish people have to live with three millions two hundred thousand Walloons, one hundred thousand Germans, and four hundred thousand others.

The diversity of languages and races is manifest also in the newly created states of Central Europe. Among twenty-seven million inhabitants of Poland only 52.7 per cent. is furnished by the Polish element. The rest is distributed as follows: 21 per cent. Ukrainians, 11 per cent. Jews, 7.3 per cent. White Russians, 7 per cent. Germans and 1 per cent. others. In Czechoslovakia, again, the Czechs themselves account for only 44.4 per cent. and the Slovaks for 14.8 per cent. Among the rest the Germans constitute 27.4 per cent. and the Magyars nearly 6 per cent. of the total population. Minorities, large or small, are indeed the eternal facts of state-making—ancient, mediæval and modern.

Statesmanship should be factual and positive enough to grasp the significance of these anthropological statistics in the "nationalities" of Europe while attempting to re-draw the political map of India. It is practically impossible to manufacture states according to the cheap "nationalistic" slogan: "another language, another nation" or "another race, another state." India must not be judged by a standard of nationality higher than or different from that to which the peoples of Europe are used.

In regard to religion also realistic statesmanship will have to disabuse itself of false notions regarding nationality. Indian intellectuals must not forget the elementary fact that not even the smallest "nation" in Europe is a uni-religious state. In a country like Hungary, for instance, where Roman Catholicism commands 63 per cent. of the population, 21.3 per cent. is claimed by the Protestants, 6.2 per cent. by the Evangelists, 2.1 per cent. by the Orthodox Greek Church, 6.2 per cent. by the non-Christian Jews and 1 per cent. by others. It should be noted that in Europe as elsewhere, the religious, denominational or confessional diversities imply tremendous social, political and party complications. Anti-Jewish "pogroms," prejudices and conflicts have been prevailing normally in the social economy of Eur-America. Religious unity is not the *sine quâ non* or precondition of political independence. All these religious diversities have not rendered the people of Hungary unfit, in modern Eur-American political psychology, to establish an independent state of its own, and yet Hungary has a population of some eight millions only.

In scientific thinking the diversities and complications in the make-up of the Indian population, nay, of the Bengali people, are to be treated as the fundamental data. One should have only to look to the political, linguistic and ethonological map of Europe while bent on manufacturing the states-system of India. The world does not and cannot possibly have the right to demand of the Indian people a higher standard of nationality than has yet been possible for the combined intelligence and will of Europe to exhibit.

SOCIOLOGY AT HARVARD UNDER PROF. SOROKIN.

The teaching of sociology at Harvard University (U. S. A.) has been reconstructed and placed on a new basis under Professor Pitirim Sorokin, to whose researches and publications the attention of the *Calcutta Review* was drawn by the present writer in a series of eight articles entitled "Categories of Societal Speculation in Eur-America from Herder to Sorokin" (October, 1928-January, 1930).

The Harvard courses are described in the *American Journal of Sociology* from which we understand that "Freshmen" (first-year students) are not admitted to any course in sociology. Most of the courses are open only to Juniors (third-year students) and Seniors (fourth-year students) and graduate students. Only the honor students are permitted to major in sociology. No elementary introductory sociology course is offered.

The following courses are offered in the sociology department: "Contemporary Sociological Theories;" "Human Relations;" "Social Evolution and Progress;" "Social Organisation and Structure;" "Social Dynamics;" "Social Institutions;" "Social Pathology and Social Policy;" "Rural Sociology;" "Rural Social Organisation, Institutions and Culture;" "Urban Sociology;" "Quantitative Problems of Population;" "Qualitative Problems of Population;" "Sociology of the Family;" "The Ethics of the Family;" "Criminology,

and Penology ;" " Animal Sociology ;" " The Study of Character and Personality ;" " Experimental Sociology ;" " Social Psychology. "

Besides the above courses given in the department of sociology, several courses given in other departments of the University can be taken by the sociology students in partial fulfilment of their sociology concentration requirements. Undergraduate students majoring in sociology must take seven full sociology courses; of these seven courses, five should be taken from the departmental courses, the remaining two can be taken from the " recommended " courses given in other departments.

These " recommended courses are: " Human Evolution " (Hooton), " Primitive Sociology " (Tozzer), " Culture and Environment " (Dixon), " Methods of Science with special reference to Social Sciences " (Whitehead), " Statistics " (Crum, Kelley, Wilson), " History of Religion " (Nock), " Economics of Agriculture " (Black), " Programmes of Social Reconstruction " (Mason), " Outline of Ethics " (Perry), " Theories of Production and Distribution " (Taussig), " Geography of Population and Habitation " (Blanchard), " History of Science " (Sarton and Henderson), " Social and Intellectual History of the United States " (Schlesinger), " Principles of Popular Government " (Elliot).

As a prerequisite for admission to sociology courses the undergraduates are advised to take two of the following courses: " General Anthropology," " Life and its Environment," " Principles of Economics," " Introductory Statistics," " Popular Government," " European History from the Fall of Rome to the Present," " History of Philosophy," " Introduction to Psychology."

As to the requirements for the advanced degrees in sociology, a candidate for the Ph.D. degree must successfully pass the general examination in the six fields of sociology and a special examination in connection with his thesis. A candidate for the Master's degree must pass successfully the general examination only: presentation of a thesis is not obligatory for him. The six fields of sociology are composed out of the following fields: (a) sociological theory; (b) three fields chosen by the candidate from the following list: methodology of the social sciences (including statistical and historical methods); social, organisation and dynamics; social evaluation and progress; comparative social institutions; social psychology; social standards and values; (c) two fields chosen by the candidates from the following list: economic institutions, political institutions; domestic and family institutions; sociology of religion; rural-urban sociology; problems of population; experimental sociology; problems of race and nationality; social pathology; poverty, defectiveness, and crime; social service administration.

Among Sorokin's works may be mentioned *Crime and Punishment*, *The Sociology of Revolution*, *Social Mobility*, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, *Rural-Urban Sociology* (part-author), *Source-Book of Sociology* (editor).

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Life of Guru Gobind Singh, by Kartar Singh, M.A., Khalsa College, Amritsar.

It is really a matter for gratification that Sikh writers are now coming forward to interpret the message of Sikhism and its history and we heartily welcome Mr. Kartar Singh, the latest addition to this band of enthusiasts.

His work on Guru Gobind Singh has been attempted with the laudable object of eradicating the prejudices 'that through malice or ignorance have come to be associated with the name of the Guru.' The author characterises his hero as 'the Great Misunderstood' and attributes this primarily to the unpardonable zeal of his unscrupulous admirers and the bigotry and prejudice of the Muhammadan writers. And it is claimed that the present work has been based on a critical analysis and a comparative estimate of the different sources of information.

It may be said at once that in the present work the author gives us a fuller account of the life of Guru Gobind Singh than is available elsewhere and he has also brought under requisition a few works hardly used by any previous writer. There can also be no doubt that he has worked hard and it cannot be denied that he has succeeded in creating at least a new interest in his subject. The dearth of reliable materials and the shipload of legends that were bound to arise round a person of the eminence and manysidedness of Guru Gobind Singh render the difficulties of the task almost insuperable and any honest attempt to straighten the issue must be doubly welcome to all lovers of truth.

At the same time it must not be forgotten that most of the Sikh chronicles on which we have to rely, sometimes almost exclusively, for details regarding the Guru's life, are hardly worth the name of history and they have got to be submitted to severe criticism before they could be utilised for purposes of sober history. Unfortunately, there is not much evidence that the author has always been alive to this imperative necessity and consequently, he has very often given us the mere traditional account without the corrective of scientific criticism. For instance, in his account of Guru Gobind Singh's earlier struggles with the Hill Rajas it is clear that he has not cared to assess the *Vicitra Natak*, undoubtedly the most important of the authorities, independently of the later records, for if he had done so his narrative must have been materially different. Further in this connection we fail to understand why he criticises Hegel for not knowing that the Guru passed twenty years in seclusion. The story was probably first started by Cunningham and has since been repeated very often. But a little reflection will show that the story must be a myth. The Guru ascended the *Gaddi* in 1675 and the period of seclusion, if it comprised the first twenty years of the Guru's pontificate, must have ended only in 1695. But the battle of Bhangoni was fought about 1688 and the battle of Nadaun must have been fought before 1691, the year in which Raja Bhimchand abdicated. The other incidents narrated in the *Vicitra Natak* must have followed closely on, so that we have hardly any time for a seclusion of twenty years unless the seclusion was of a character which admitted even participation in battles, as principal or auxiliary.

Coming next to the two very puzzling and controversial episodes in the career of Guru Gobind Singh, viz., his alleged *Devi-puja* and his relations with Bahadur Shah, we note with pleasure that the author has realised the importance of these issues and has submitted both of them to an exhaustive treatment. As regards the *Devi-puja* incident the author's main contention is that the alleged worship of the *Devi* is so very repugnant to the views and teachings of the Guru, as expressed in his own writings and those of several of his followers that it is impossible to believe that the Guru could ever countenance such an absurdity and that therefore the incident never took place at all. He also brings in some further evidence of a negative character to fortify his contention and finally opines that the story was invented by later writers, 'clever yet un-Sikhlike people, who desired either to justify their own degradation from the lofty principles proclaimed by the Gurus, to please their idolatrous neighbours, or perhaps, to lend to the Guru's name a lustre which was in reality false.' As the author's object has been 'to present a picture of Guru Gobind Singh consistent with his views and teachings' it is but natural that he has arrived at such a conclusion, but we must not forget that it is futile to expect a mathematical coincidence between history and theory. Moreover, the tradition on the point has been strong though various and besides the accounts given by Sikh writers like Bhai Sukha Singh and Bhai Saulokh Singh we have also one or two popular versions that had been current in the hills. To brush all these aside as mere fanciful inventions require stronger positive proofs than any that the writer has been able to adduce. From a comparison of the different versions of the story it appears that the affair proved, more or less, a fiasco and it seems that the theory of the *Panth Parkash*, adopted almost *in toto* by Macauliffe, has more to recommend it than the author's total rejection of the entire incident. (Mr. Kartar Singh also includes Dr. Narang in this latter school but Dr. Narang's theory is altogether different.) At any rate, it seems to us that the question should be left open till further evidence of a more decisive character is forthcoming.

The question of the Guru's relations with Bahadur Shah has been discussed with great care and industry and the author has been able to show that there is no reliable evidence to prove that the Guru had entered into the service of the Emperor. An attempt has also been made to explain the Guru's journey to the south in a new light and with regard to the death of Guru Gobind Singh we are really glad that at last we are in possession of an intelligible account based on contemporary evidence. This has been a real contribution and we heartily congratulate Mr. Kartar Singh.

In conclusion, we would point out that in all studies of Sikhism there is a danger of our losing the correct historical perspective if we allow its later political and military glories to colour our estimates of its more humble beginning. There is a tendency in certain quarters to regard Sikhism as something quite distinct from its very start and to view the later developments as the result, more or less, of a *conscious* evolution, the whole process being the outcome of deliberate shaping by the successive Gurus. But it cannot be too strongly insisted that Sikhism cannot be studied as an isolated phenomenon apart from its historical background and environment and that conscious and deliberate evolution is a rarity in history. But unfortunately the tendency is rather marked in a modern Sikh scholarship. For instance, our author states the "it is not correct to say that Guru Nanak had no political ideals." In his opinion the Guru 'felt the need, and laid the foundation, of a new nation that might be able, not only to stand erect and united against oppressors, but also to be the instrument of uprooting political tyranny.' And in support

of his view he refers to some hymns of Guru Nanak wherein he deploras the inhumanities practised by the rulers of his days. But these references are hardly to the point, as is also the statement of Dr. Narang quoted by the author, *viz.*, 'The Sword which carved the Khalsa's way to glory was undoubtedly forged by Gobind but the steel had been provided by Nanak.' What Dr. Narang states may be quite true but it does not follow that the steel had been deliberately intended for the Sword. In short, as far as we are aware there is no evidence which would justify us in attributing political ideals to Guru Nanak. The whole tone of his life and teachings tell an entirely different story.

We would now close this rather lengthy review by saying that it has been lengthy because we are conscious of the merits of the work. The author has succeeded in effecting a considerable clearing of the grand and the few criticisms that we have offered have been done in a spirit of helpfulness for the advancement of truth.

I. BANERJEE

Les Formations Nominales et Verbales en p du Sanskrit, by Dr. Batakriahna Ghosh, pp. 114, published by Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient, Andrien-Maisonueuve, Paris 1933.

The author has discussed in this interesting thesis the formation of Sanskrit words ending in *p*. The work is divided into two sections; the first deals with the nominal formations like *alpa*, *talpa*, *dhūpa*, *puṣpa*, *rūpa*, *yūpa*, *śaṣpa*, etc., and the second with the verbal formations, namely the causative forms in *-paya-* like *kṣāpaya*, *khyāpaya*, *gāpaya*, etc.

The element *-pa* in the nominal formations were not recognised for a long time as suffix and if some scholars admitted it to be so they did it in a very limited number of cases and with a large amount of diffidence. Thus Macdonnel in his *Vedic Grammar* (p. 127) said that "a few words are formed with this suffix, but the origin of all of them is more or less obscure." Dr. Ghosh however has made a detailed study of the etymology of these words and established that in most of these cases the element *-pa* is not a part of the stem but serves as a regular suffix, the first element being a common verbal root in Sanskrit. For example in the case of *alpa* he has tried to prove that it is composed of the root *al-* and the suffix *-pa*. The root *al-* is according to him a regular Indo-European root which is found in Greek *aléo*, Armenian *alam*, Avestan *asa*, mod Persian *ārd* and Sanskrit *anu*. Most of these words mean "flour" and this has led Dr. Ghosh to think that the root *al-* originally meant "to grind." The word *puṣpa* consists of the root *pus-* and the suffix *-pa*. The root *pus-* has in Sanskrit the sense of "prosper, increase" and is found in Old Slav in *puxati*, *opuxati*, Lett *puslis*, Lat. *pussula*, *pustula*, etc.

In the second part of his work Dr. Ghosh has treated the verbal formations. He has established in this study that the use of the causative forms in *-paya-* are attested to in Sanskrit from a very ancient date. As a suffix it was used first to change the intransitive verbs into transitive. Only two sporadic cases of its use in the Veda show that its causal mood had already developed in the Vedic period. Analogous cases of its use in other Indo-European languages show that its use goes back to the time

of the Common Indo-European. The functions of *-paya-* are identical to those of *-aya-*. The most striking fact is that the suffix *-paya-*, though sporadically used with roots ending in different vowels, is generally used with roots ending in *-ā*. Dr. Ghosh, after a careful study of the analogous form in other Indo-European languages, has found out that a large number of roots in *-ā* had doublets in *-āp*. He therefore suggests that when the suffix *-ayg-* came to be added to these roots the forms in *-āp* were probably preferred for reasons of euphony. Through analogy the labial element was probably gradually extended to the roots in *-ā*. The early existence of these doublets is attested in various ways. Thus a parallel form of the root *dā-* in *-āp* is found in Skr. *dā-p-aya-*, Lat. *daps*, Grk. *dapánē*. Old Norw. *tafn*, Arm. *taun*.

Dr. Ghosh does not agree with scholars who are of opinion that the causative forms in *-paya-* have developed out of the denominatives derived from the noun forms in *-pa*. He does not believe, and with good reasons, that these causatives in *-paya-* have any secondary character at all.

In discussing the etymologies of the words treated, the author has utilised the data supplied by the Indo-European philology with a facility and thoroughness which bear testimony to his competency in the special subject of his study. It may be that some of the nominal formations discussed by him may be later on proved to be non-Indo-European elements and cannot be analysed in the way in which he has done, but still the general conclusions arrived at by him seem to be established on a sound basis.

P. C. BAGCHI

Striyon ki Sthiti (स्त्रियों की स्थिति), by Srimati Chandrawati Lakhan Pal, M.A. Published by Ganga Granthakar, 36, Latouch Road. Lucknow. Price Re. 1.

In the nine important chapters of this small book Srimati Chandrawati Lakhan Pal has tried to trace the history of Indian womanhood from the Vedic times up to the present day. It was indeed a stupendous task. She has tried to put forth the case of the emancipation of the Indian woman with extraordinary vigour and appeal. Tackling the important problem of marriage, she has established that in ancient times it was avowedly based on the principles of celibacy, mutual love and progeny: also she has tried to compare the marriage customs of the various important communities and the condition of the woman of all the important countries in general. The chapter on the female fondness for ornaments is very important; because here she has very ably traced the origin of this craze and has shown the utter futility of the antiquated traditions in this respect. In the seventh chapter of this book she has pointed out what significant part the woman plays in moulding the society, and how much the society has to depend upon its women, in this respect. She has attained a remarkable success in establishing that much of our social distress is due to the untrained and ill-educated womanhood of our country. Although men think that they have got the real motive power safe in their hands, yet the complex social systems make them play into the hands of the untrained and ill-educated womanhood times without number.

In the fifth and the eighth chapters she has tried to prove the general apathy of man towards woman in the terms of mutual reciprocity. This is rather odd: because it amounts to justifying evils on the plea of this being on both sides. Or it is just saying that 'to steal the property of a thief is not a theft.' Similarly in the important chapter on education she has advocated the course of economic freedom and choice for a career for the woman. There might be a slight justification in saying so; but the adoption of such a course would probably crush many important and firm ideals of the Hindu Society which deserve to be respected not because they are time-honoured but because they have proved their absolute worth by holding the society intact even against the rudest shocks of social and political hurricanes. As Lady Meta puts it, "Education is good for its own sake, not for what it will bring in the way of material benefit. We want only to be good wives and mothers: for us there is only one form of self-expression—that is self-abnegation. Only in giving up all our individual clamourings and devoting ourselves to the welfare of husband and home can we find peace. Our husbands are at the same time our masters and our care."

In the above quotation are to be seen some of the noblest and most perfect and practicable ideals of the Hindu view of life. The beauty of it was that they commanded this obedience not by dint of law or force, but of mutual love and regard. In her zeal to plead the cause of womanhood, which unquestionably deserves our care and attention, the writer should have viewed man with a more charitable eye. On the whole the presentation of the book is commendable and we congratulate Srimati Chandrawati Lakhan Pal on her well-merited recognition.

L. P. SUKUL

Cleanings

VEDIC STUDIES IN INDIA

In the course of his very interesting Convocation Address recently delivered at the Gurukul University, Hardwar, on the solemn year of *ardha-satabdi* of Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Dr. Kalidas Nag provided his audience with a very illuminating survey of Vedic Studies in India. He said :

“ That was the gloomy epoch when Swami Dayananda was born (1824) when his brother-spirit Rammohun Roy, whose Centenary we just celebrated, was fighting single-handed, with rare courage and conviction, to defend the Vedic philosophy and religion, against the uncritical and unjust attacks of ill-informed foreigners. ‘ By a reference to history,’ wrote Rammohun, ‘ it may be proved that the world was indebted to our ancestors for the first dawn of Knowledge, which sprang up in the East, and thanks to the Goddess of Wisdom we have still a philosophical and copious language of our own which distinguishes us from other nations who cannot express scientific or abstract ideas without borrowing the language of foreigners.’ That was a striking assertion of national self-respect in an age of self-abasement and our nation would be grateful to Rammohun for having published between 1814-1833 those rare treasures of human wisdom—the Upanishads and the Vedanta, having based the Brahma Samaj, first Reformed Church and Society of modern India, on our ancestral Vedic traditions

“ Rammohun’s disciple, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, the father of our national Poet, Rabindranath, was penetrated through and through with the Upanishadic mysticism, as you find in his Autobiography, and he was the first of our leaders from Bengal to send *Pundits* to Benares with a view to rediscover and resuscitate the Vedic tradition. That was in the days when our spiritual prodigy Mulasankar was awakening from the dream of dead ritualism into the realm of truth.”

Undergoing a discipline of phenomenal severity, Dayananda took leave of his venerable *Guru* Virajananda (1863), who asked him to go and teach the Vedas to his people, to teach the true Sastras, and dispel, by their light, the darkness which the false creeds had given birth to.

Moved by an instinctive urge as it were, Dayananda entered Bengal (1872) and was ardently welcomed by our great leaders of religious and social reform like Debendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen. It was Keshab’s friendly appeal to the great Swami which induced him to use the vernacular Hindi for the masses in his public discourses and his great Hindi work *Satyarth Prakash* was completed in 1874 at Allahabad, in his fiftieth year.

“ That was the epoch when the nation was awaking from the nightmare of self-humiliation. In 1872, the year of Dayananda’s visit to Bengal, Babu Rajnarayan Bose, one of the leaders of *Adi Brahma Samaj*, delivered a stirring address on ‘ The Superiority of Hinduism over all other Forms of Faith.’ The *Tattwa Bodhini Patrika* was publishing Vedic Hymns with Bengali translation and notes, under the direction of Debendranath Tagore. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra was publishing a series of Vedic

texts in collaboration with Pundit Satyavrata Sāmasrami and others, forming the Bibliotheca Indica, of the Asiatic Society of Bengal which celebrated recently its 150th Anniversary. Our literary pioneer, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, through his *Banga Darsan*, was training a group of brilliant researchers and writers, many of whom took to Vedic studies: Umesh Chandra Batavyāla, Ramesh Chandra Dutta, Haraprasād Sastri, Chandranāth Bose and others.

"There can be no doubt that the visits of Swami Dayananda to Bengal and Bombay between 1872 to 1875 and his masterly advocacy of a "Back to the Vedas" and of a radical religious and social reform created a new enthusiasm all over the country. The *Prārthanā Samāj* of Bombay founded in 1867 and the *Veda Samāj* of Madras (founded in 1864 after Keshab's visit) created a new atmosphere of self-respect and self-confidence stemming the tide of degeneration through an absurdly anti-national education and reactionary social milieu. There was a new enthusiasm to rediscover the pristine purity of the Vedic age as opposed to the ritualistic aberrations and social degeneracies of a later epoch. The *Srauta Sutra* and the *Gṛhya Sutra* of *Āśvalāyana* were edited and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1864-74), thanks to the collaboration of two of our eminent Vedic scholars. Ramnarayan Vidyaratna and A. Vedantavagisa. Pundit Satyavrata Sāmasrami edited the famous Vedic Journal *Ushā* (Dawn) and published the entire Sāma Veda with Bengali translation and Hindi commentary in parts between 1867 and 1878. Charu Chandra Mukhopadhyaya published *A Summary View of the Vedas*, in 1878 from Calcutta; while Rama Chandra Ghosha published, in 1879 *A Peep into the Vaidik Age*. Ramesh Chandra Dutta published his *R̥g Veda* text and Bengali translation between 1884 and 1886 and Prasanna Kumar Vidyaratna, an edition of *I g Veda* with Sayana in two volumes (1889-90). In 1895 a monthly paper, *Veda*, came to be published from Calcutta edited by Pundit Kedarnath Vidyavinod and the interest in the Vedas was sustained by Bengali scholars like Durgadas Lahiri, Dr. Abinash Chandra Das and others. Bombay showed an equal interest in Vedic studies, thanks to the group of eminent Sanskritists like Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and others, whose researches are well known to all. As early as 1866 Karsandas Mulji published his *Veda Dharma* in Bombay and Sankar Pandurang Pundit published his *Atharva Veda Samhitā* with Sayana (1895-98) and this year a new edition of the *R̥g Veda* is coming out of Poona.

"Similarly, Madras and other Provinces of India may be shown to have pursued Vedic studies with a renewed zeal, thanks to the apostolic mission of Swami Dayananda who, true to the parting message of his Guru, waged a relentless war against narrow and dogmatic distortions of the original Aryan life through later Sanskrit literature. His *Satyārth Prakāś* in Hindi was completed in Allahabad in 1874. That was followed by his *Veda Bhāṣya* in Sanskrit covering the whole of Yajur Veda and the major part of *R̥g Veda*. The *R̥g Vedādi Bhāṣya Bhūmikā*, partly in Sanskrit and partly in Hindi (1875-77), laid down boldly his own principles of criticism. And we are dazzled when we think how he attended to so many other things, the teaching of Sanskrit, writing of grammatical treatises, organising schools and social service centres, culminating in the foundation of the Arya Samaj in 1877, one of the chief arches of our national reconstruction. Opinions will differ, as they must, with regard to the details of his critical and creative activities. But there was no doubt in the heart of our nation when that great son of Mother India passed away in 1883, that a Dynamical Soul had come after ages to bless the rising generation into a new life of reform based on justice and of creative sacrifice for the benefit of India and the world."

THE EDUCATION MARVEL OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Russia has indeed provided the educational marvel of the twentieth century, and in less than fifteen years, she has wiped out the shame of illiteracy from her society. In a very interesting article under the caption, "Liquidation of illiteracy in Soviet Russia" contributed to the *Modern Review* (Calcutta, monthly), April, 1934, Dr. G. S. Khan gives an account of this wonderful achievement that has amazed the world. He says:

In 1917, seventy per cent of her people could not read and write. After fifteen years of strenuous work, the percentage of illiteracy has been brought down to twenty-six. This includes mostly old people and those that live in remote parts of the country. These unfortunate people lost their chance of learning the letters when they were young. Now the school is being brought within their reach. Take an evening walk through any of the city streets in Russia; you will see hundreds of grown-up people going busily with brief-cases in their hands. They are going to school. If you peep through the lighted windows opening on the streets, you will see one or two schools in each block. Men and women are sitting with books and writing materials in front of them. Thousands of such evening classes are scattered all over the country—in factories, on the farms, in the red army, wherever three or more people can come together and learn the mysteries of the three R's.

Educational change follows in the foot-steps of a political change. In Russia, the political change of 1917 was followed by a change on all fronts including education. In no other country has the cultural change been so thoroughgoing as in the Soviet Union.

The Russian leaders were faced with the task of uplifting a hundred and fifty million people, kept in illiteracy, ignorance, and poverty, for centuries. At least a century more would have been required to teach these people to read and write through the process of a normal cultural evolution. The Russians wanted an instrument that would bring about a speedy transformation in society. They took hold of education as a means of social uplift. The development of the Soviet educational machinery with all its variety and immensity, is simply unparalleled in the history of human culture. Many countries have used education as an instrument to achieve national ideals. But no one has been so logical, so definite, and so thorough in the application of this principle to a conscious social purpose.

The political change in Russia had established a new social order. To insure the life of this new society, the leaders wanted to educate the proletariat in its underlying philosophy. Keen students of the history of radical changes all over the world, the Russians wanted to avoid the errors committed by their leaders. Most of these changes have been followed by reactions, because the common people were never thoroughly initiated into the principles of the new social changes. To avoid that mistake, the Soviet leaders have been very quick in taking hold of the educational machinery and moulding it in favour of the new ideals. Education in Russia is something more than learning the three R's and the other subjects of the school curriculum.

It is important to note that the movement now called "Down with Illiteracy," is carried on mostly by voluntary agencies backed up and encouraged by the State. It is the work of the party in power and its branches throughout the country. The personnel of the movement is organized on the basis of free service by the youths and the members

of the party. At the head of the whole organization is the Supreme Council to plan and direct the movement. Below this are the Provincial Councils and the Regional Councils to carry on the policies and programmes laid down by the Supreme Council. To attend to the details of the movement the Supreme Council is organized into various departments :

- (1) Department for organizing Schools
- (2) Department of Study and Curricula
- (3) Department for Mass Activities
- (4) Finance Department
- (5) Planning Department.

All the Provincial Councils have similar departments or brigades.

The local councils start their work by finding out the extent of illiteracy in their areas. Public opinion is then organised in favour of carrying on literacy activities there. Both literate and illiterate persons participate in the movement. Units or Clubs are established in factories, in workshops, on the farms, in the army or wherever it is possible to gather a few persons anxious to learn. To start a unit, it is enough to have at least three members. There are a number of people who are half literate or who have lapsed into illiteracy. Once out of the school, they had no occasion to use their training for a number of years. These people now attend the literacy centres.

The whole movement is self-supporting. All the members pay a certain amount of regular subscriptions. Factories and other organizations give contributions. The subscriptions and contributions of the members are sufficient to buy educational materials and to defray the small expenditure of the local establishments.

The age of students learning at these centres of literacy ranges all the way from sixteen to fifty. In the beginning they are very pessimistic about their ability to learn at this age. As the veil of mystery over the letters is lifted up, they grow more and more confident. No fees are charged, and even books are supplied free. Owing to the greater percentage of illiteracy among women most of the work is done among them. When mothers cannot go out of their houses, social nurses visit them at home to give the necessary training.

Eighteen months is the minimum time required to make a person literate, with nine to eleven hours of work per week. The new Russian week has only six days.

Students have to pass through two stages before getting the certificate of literacy. The first stage is reached after nine months when the adult student finishes the two years work of children. A test is given in simple reading and elementary arithmetic. The second stage comes after eighteen months when the student has finished the four years curriculum of the elementary school. He is given a second test in fluent reading, grammar, arithmetic, history and geography. But the Soviet conception of literacy does not stop with reading, writing and arithmetic. In Russia education is nothing if it is not accompanied with a social ideology. The definition of adult literacy is given by M. Kaliniki, Chairman of the Down with Illiteracy Society :

Under the present conditions, to wipe out illiteracy does not only mean to teach people to read and write, but it is necessary to make them understand what they have read, to teach them to digest the printed matter in their heads, to make a man politically literate, to create a new man. You cannot now teach without creating new men.

The force of this statement will be realized when it is known that the text-books for adult education deal with contemporary social, political, and economic problems and socialistic ideas. The apathy and indifference of the masses towards learning is the greatest difficulty in such a movement, especially in India. Russia overcomes this obstacle by creating an environment whereby the farmers and the workers feel that some valuable experiences are awaiting them when they learn to read and write. To stimulate the desire for learning, various programmes are organised in addition to the regular classes. There are excursions to local museums, moving libraries, discussions, and the famous Russian wall newspapers which is practically a feature of every organization.

TWILIGHT OF THE GERMAN UNIVERSITY

A very severe criticism of German universities under the Third Reich of Herr Hitler has been made in an article under the above caption contributed by Dr. Shepard Stone, an American who received his doctorate from the University of Berlin, to the *Current History* (New York, Monthly), April, 1934. He writes:

To-day shadows have fallen upon the once proud German universities. The professors have been forced out of the temples of learning or driven into exile or subjected to a subtle pressure which has changed their academic detachment into clumsy conformity with Hitler's ideas. With an eye to the propaganda possibilities of all living and crawling things, the Brown-Shirt Chancellor is drilling his scholars in the performance of Nazi duties. Since the majority of the professors in the Third Reich have sensitive ears and flexible backbones, the German university is changing from a centre of the humanities for all the world to a fortress of Nazi chauvinism.

No choice remained for the scholars who preferred their academic chairs to exile or poverty. Liberalism had never been an accepted philosophy among them and under the republic they paid it only occasional lip-service. The Totalitarian State, however, insisted upon the absolute control of the educational system from the kindergarten to the university. Consequently, German intellectual life went up in the flames of National-Socialism.

Among the thousands of professors there were few who dared raise their voices and defy the frenzy of the hour with a strong re-affirmation of the truth that was in them. The first opposition to the Totalitarian State did not come from the universities but from the ranks of the Protestant clergy. While young and obscure pastors bravely opposed the "German Christian" dogma, the professors remained in their cloisters and allowed the books to burn.

Until the Nazi revolution the German university was esteemed as one of the noblest institutions in the world. Dedicated to mankind, its interests were not parochial. Dr. Flexner, in his study of American, English and German universities published three years ago, wrote high words of praise for the German universities after bestowing violent criticism on the American and English. To-day Dr. Flexner would be compelled to take a different attitude, for the German university is no longer a stronghold of the free spirit but a political organization definitely adjusted to the demands and necessities of Hitler's Third Reich.

To-day, however, the "Leader" principle has been grafted upon the universities. The rector (president or dean) is appointed no longer by the faculties but by the Minister of Culture, a Nazi politician, who reigns supreme. In his turn the rector dominates the faculty, which has lost many of its prerogatives. Although German professors have discovered their Nazi hearts, many Nazi students believe that the universities will not be productive incubators of National-Socialism until those who have been Storm Troopers will have taken the place of the older men. And in future it will not be possible for a man—the other sex is excluded—to become an instructor without first having been a Storm Trooper.

In August, in response to demands of Nazi students, the Prussian Minister of Culture expanded his decree of June 29, 1933, prohibiting students with Communist sympathies from attending the universities, by including all students with "Marxist or anti-National [read anti-Nazi] leanings." Especially incriminating for a suspected student "is membership in pacifist, treasonable and similar organizations." The Prussian example has been followed by universities in other parts of Germany. On December 28, 1933, Wilhelm Frick, Nazi Minister of Interior, issued a decree limiting to 15,000 the number of students allowed to enter German universities in 1934. One prerequisite of admission is "national reliability." The aim is clear. No student who at least outwardly does not sympathize with the Nazis may enter a German school of higher learning.

The student governing bodies of the universities, from which German Jews and foreigners are excluded, have been co-ordinated, locally and nationally, in one organization, the *Deutsche Studentenschaft*. A leader appointed by the government is at the head of this organization and he in turn appoints the local leaders. The leader makes the decisions, the students perform the duties and rejoice in their "new freedom." Recently Dr. Staebel, national leader of this association, announced that all members must henceforth serve in the Storm Troop detachments. Since all "Aryan" students are compelled to join if they wish to enter actively into university life and receive positions after completion of their courses, there is no alternative. Through the *Studentenschaft* membership requirements, therefore, military training becomes compulsory.

According to the Nazis, the German student of the future must be "a political student, a soldier-student." In place of academic freedom they demand an academic plan of duty—Labor Duty, Military Duty, Corporative Duty, Storm Troop Duty, Group Duty, even, as they proclaim enthusiastically, "university and scientific duty." The Nazi students seem to harbor a naïve belief that knowledge and intellectual attainment can be proclaimed by the Ministry of Propaganda or by Herr Hitler in a speech. In future the long vacations between semesters will not be periods of leisure in which the German student may muse or write or travel, but months of mobilization when there will be definite duties to fulfill.

Since university education depends upon preparation in the secondary schools, here too the Nazis have effected changes. The Minister of the Interior, for instance, has ordered that all history be rewritten in terms of the Nazi revolution: "School books must begin with the presentation of primeval history * * * which will show that culture is a product of race. * * * The history of the Greeks must also start from Central Europe. * * * The presentation of great historical events must start from Leader personalities." In this decree the "international idea" is characterized as "sneaking poison." History has been hitched to the Nazi steamroller so as to give high school pupils a definite direction of conscience and thought.

The whole aim, then, of German education and of the German university has been changed by the Nazi zealots. In the Nazi mind objectivity and research devoid of political purposes are symptoms of the degenerate liberal era which has just been brought to an end. The universities must fortify Nazi claims with proper philosophies and convert young Germans into rabid believers in the faith. In its original form, according to Nazi pedagogics, science was filled with "the heroic spirit, which is neither tolerant, peaceful nor idyllic, but rather, like all creative spirit, militant, intolerant and manly."

Out of an institution of vision, culture and universal scope there has grown a militant organization dedicated to the purposes of the Third Reich. Instead of inculcating in German students an unflinching devotion to truth, the German university must turn out Storm Troop leaders. The philosophy of force and not of truth and tolerance is the dominating factor in Berlin, Bonn and Heidelberg to-day. A few scholars will remain faithful to the high ideals of their profession, for the true German spirit cannot be completely destroyed. But, in the main, the German university has lost its independence.

At Home and Abroad

[A Monthly Record of News relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities and other cultural and academic institutions at home and abroad.]

Cambridge University's Donation

The University of Cambridge, although in general they do not regard themselves justified in making contributions to funds outside the University, have decided to contribute £50 towards the work of educational reconstruction in the 'quake stricken area in Bihar. This sum, being for a specific purpose, has been forwarded direct to the Government of Bihar and Orissa by the High Commissioner for India.

Patna University

Dr. A. C. Woolner, Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, will address the Convocation of the Patna University to be held during the latter part of November.

The Senate of the Patna University met recently, the Vice-Chancellor Mr. Justice Khaja Mohamed Noor presiding, to recommend to the Government the change of the Bachelor of Education diploma to Master of Education and ask owners of factories, working in the province, to help in the solving of unemployment by giving Patna students preference in making appointments.

The Historical Records Commission

The Government of India have re-appointed Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur, as a corresponding member of the Commission for a further period of three years.

Bethune College

It is understood that the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Education Department, has appointed Miss Rivet and Mrs. Hamida A. Momin, B.A., to be members of the Governing Body of the Bethune College for the remaining period of the present term.

Bengal Veterinary College

The Government of Bengal has changed the title of the Diploma now awarded to the students of the Bengal Veterinary College who have

gone through the full course of study and have passed the final examination, from 'Graduate of the Bengal Veterinary College' (G. B. V. C.) to 'Graduate of Veterinary Science' (G. V. Sc.). The change of title will take effect from the end of the session 1933-34.

Medical College Centenary

The Calcutta Medical College will shortly celebrate its centenary. The *United Press* understands, the scheme which is likely to find favour with the Government of Bengal in the Local Self-government Department for commemorating this unique occasion, is to construct a new Emergency Ward as an adjunct to the General Ward of the Medical College Hospital.

Lucknow University

In pursuance of a suggestion made by the Academic Council to re-organize the Faculty of Law of the Lucknow University, the Executive Council has decided that the whole staff of the Faculty should be asked to resign. Anyone failing to resign will be served with three months' notice. In moving a resolution to the effect Mr. C. V. Gupta pointed out that the resolution was no reflection on the present staff. The claim of the present staff would be considered when fresh appointments were made. Mr. Hardhwan Chandra seconded the resolution and Mr. Justice Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava, Mr. Smith and Lt.-Colonel Proctor supported it. After an animated debate the resolution was passed by a majority.

There will be two more doctors, not of Medicine but of History and Zoology, in the Lucknow University this year. The University Results Committee met recently to recommend to the Academic Council that a Ph. D. Degree be conferred on Mr. N. L. Chatterji, Lecturer in Indian History, for his thesis on Mir Kasim. Mr. S. M. Das was also recommended for a D. Sc. Degree for his thesis on the "Anatomy, Histology, Bionomics and distribution of *Rhabdocynthis Pallida* (the monascidian of the Indian seas)."

Plea of Sikh University

Presiding over the twenty-fourth session of the Sikh Educational Conference, Sirdar Raja Singh pleaded for a Sikh University and pointed out that with such an institution they would be able to introduce reforms in education which they required. With a little more attention from the Sikh community such a university would become a *fait accompli*.

Sardar Raja Singh considered that the object of education of their boys and girls must be to turn out true Sikhs. He also pleaded for attention to the problem of unemployment among educated youths and the education of Sikh girls.

Medical Licentiate Course

His Excellency Sir George Stanley inaugurated last evening at the Royapuram Medical School a five-year course for medical students, thereby

conferring upon Madras the distinction of being the first province in India to extend and improve the L. M. P. (Licentiate Medical Practitioner) course. The school will henceforth be called the Stanley Medical School.

The new scheme for which Major-General C. A. Sprnson, Director-General of the Indian Medical Service, was largely responsible, raises the status and scope of studies in the school and it is so designed as to make it acceptable to the All-India Medical Council to merit its recognition.

Punjab Chiefs' College

"Like young men leaving educational institutions and stepping forth into the responsibilities of manhood, the Punjab is about to be freed from the leading reins of diarchy and take upon itself the heavy responsibility of the new Constitution; it will no longer be possible light-heartedly to take risk because of the consciousness that there was at hand some one to put on the brake if they really ran into danger," said His Excellency Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, acting Governor of the Punjab, in an address at the prize-distribution of the Aitchison Chiefs' College this morning. His Excellency added that the public life of the Punjab would hence forth be new and more vivid. The Governor referred to the effect of such changes on the college and said that one difference between the conditions of the past and future was the general democratization of the province—an evolution which would be even more rapid under the new Constitution. It would no longer be sufficient that their young men should be men of good family with minimum educational qualifications. They had to prove themselves fully equipped. Birth undoubtedly gave a great initial advantage but, added His Excellency, the "youth of to-morrow in the province will stand or fail according to individual merit, not the prowess of their forefathers."

Muslim Educational Conference

The 45th session of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference was held at Meerut during the last Easter holidays. Owing to the indisposition of Nawab Bahadur Sir Muzammilullah Khan, president, Sir Abdul Kadir of Lahore presided. Among others Sir Ross Masood, Nawab Sadar Yar Jung, A. H. Mackenzie, Director of Public Instruction, Mr. P. W. Marsh, Commissioner, Director, Osmania University, Director, Oriental Department, Allahabad University, Khan Bahadur Kazi Azizuddin, Maulvi Habibulla Khan were present. Sir Abdul Kadir then delivered his speech, extempore, surveying the history of Muslim education in India. Mr. A. H. Mackenzie, on behalf of himself and Mr. Srivastava, Minister of Education, expressed their deep interest in Muslim education. A resolution thanking the Education Minister and the Director of Public Instruction for their interest in the Conference and condolence resolutions on the death of Sir Ali Imam, Hasan Imam, Maulvi Abdulla Jan, Haji Shamsuddin and the Nizam's brother and sister were passed.

Delhi's Shy 'Varsity Girls

In spite of the various facilities and conveniences offered to woman students of Delhi for prosecuting university studies, they still seem to be shy and do not avail themselves of the opportunities. In view of the local conditions, particularly the system of *purdah* prevalent among some sections of the people of Delhi, provision was made in 1926, in the statute

of the University, for allowing women candidates under conditions prescribed by the Ordinances to appear at University examinations without undergoing a regular course of study in a college or the University. No one availed herself of this exemption till 1930. Since then a few candidates have been applying for it every year. It was found difficult, in the absence of clear regulations, to exercise the discretion vested in the Academic Council of the Delhi University by the Ordinances, and some members of that body sought to amend the Ordinances to restrict the grant of the exemption. The Academic Council while not inclined to propose any change which might have the effect of restricting the privilege granted to women candidates, insisted that women candidates seeking the exemption must pursue a course of study regularly and under proper guidance, and therefore proposed an amendment to the Ordinances, so that the exemption could be granted only on the following conditions:—

- (i) that they have privately pursued that prescribed course of study under proper guidance; and
- (ii) Either
 - (a) that they are unable to join a recognised college of the University, or
 - (b) that there are such other reasons as entitle them to a grant of exemption.

The number of women students in the University increased from 65 in 1931-32 to 83 in 1932-33 and has now further gone up since B.A. Classes have also been added to the Indraprastha Girls' College. It is interesting to note that during 1932-33 a considerable number of women students sought admission to and received instructions in men's colleges. Out of a total number of 83 women students in the University as many as 33 were studying in men's colleges (Hindu College 20, St. Stephen's College 10 and Ramjas and Commercial Colleges 2 and 1 respectively). This phenomenon is partly explained by the fact that the question of recognition of the Indraprastha Girl's College as a Degree College of the University had then been pending and the uncertainty of the position of the college was, to some extent, responsible for the migration of some of its students to other colleges. But this hardly applies to the Intermediate Students (8 in number) who had been admitted to men's Colleges.

Federal University for Delhi

Addressing the twelfth Convocation of the Delhi University on April 9 last Sir Abdur Rahman, the Vice-Chancellor, devoted the major part of his speech to the question of transformation of the University to a federal type with a special body of federal laws to define the rights and functions of the University on the one hand and of the constituent colleges on the other. He added that an academic council and a committee appointed by that body were considering a letter of the Government of India, outlining a scheme of a federal university. Addressing the graduates he said:

"Remember always that the true worth of life cannot be judged by a visible measure. If life is worth living, it is because love and kindness have made it sweet, graces have given it beauty and service and self-sacrifice have made it noble and strong. We need a correct and cheerful outlook on life to perceive and appreciate the true value of things. In such an appreciation is found the meaning and significance of life. The value of a thing does not depend on its size and bulk, its visible magnitude and its physical strength, but on the extent to which it beautifies, ennobles and enriches our life. The value of our life likewise is not to be

judged by the quantity of our physical possessions, but by the clearness of our enlightened intellect, the beauty and grace of our sentiments and the nobility of our character, not by the measure of our worldly success and achievements but by the nature of our aspirations and the determination with which we endeavour to realise them. Let us have a human rather than an economic view of the world."

Sir George Anderson, Education Commissioner with the Government of India, read the brief address of the pro-Chancellor, Sir Fazli Hussain, who was unable to be present. The address dwelt on the necessity of making the University a federal body quickly. Over 240 students were awarded degrees. Of these 26 were M.A.'s, 40 LL.B.'s. Three women students received the Degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Benares 'Varsity Entrance

A meeting of the Senate of the Benares Hindu University, with Pandit M. M. Malaviya (Vice-Chancellor) presiding, considered the introduction of translation from vernacular into English at the admission examination. Dr. U. C. Nag, supporting the change, said that the practice in some Indian Universities was to select a passage of English, which was translated into different vernaculars and placed before the students as the translation paper from vernacular into English. This they proposed to do. Prof. Puntambaker opposed the motion. He said that this artificial paper had no educational value. The Vice-Chancellor said that, to his mind, the whole system of teaching English was unnatural and wrong. The sooner they had a fully-fledged "direct system," the better it would be for the teaching of the language. This artificial kind of translation would not do. The following resolution was adopted: "Resolved that a translation paper at the admission examination be introduced from the examination of 1937; further that a candidate will have to select an Indian modern language for translation into English from one of the following whichever should be his mother tongue: Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Telugu, Marathi, Gujarati.

For students whose mother tongue is not one of these languages a passage in English will be set for paraphrasing.

Dacca University

The annual meeting of the Dacca University Court for the session 1933-34 was held on April 6 last, in Curzon Hall, Mr. G. H. Langley Vice-Chancellor presiding. A large number of members attended.

Professor R. C. Mazumdar's resolution that the Vice-Chancellor shall receive a salary of Rs. 2,000 a month and shall be provided with a free house was carried by a majority of votes. The meeting was adjourned till to-morrow morning when other subjects on the agenda will be discussed.

In the course of his statement the Vice-Chancellor said:

"Despite continued economic depression the admissions to the various courses of study in the University for the past session has been satisfactory. The number of students in the courses in Arts, Science and Law was 1,010 for the present session as against a total of 968 for the previous session. Further the number of students reading in the Honours and Post-graduate courses has been well

maintained, the total number of Honours students being higher than that for any previous session and the number of advanced students of all types being approximately equal to the highest number attained in any former session.

"An interesting donation has been accepted by the Executive Council during the session: Dr. K. S. Krishnan, who left the University in December, 1933, to take up his work as Mahendralal Sircar Research Professor in Calcutta, has expressed his desire to found three prizes each of the value of Rs. 50 to be awarded annually to the research students who produce the best original work in the Departments of Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry respectively. It is Dr. Krishnan's wish that these prizes be named after the late Mr. S. Ramanujam, Sir C. V. Raman and Sir P. C. Roy. He has made a donation of Rs. 150 to enable the University to make the awards in the present session; and, in the event of his not returning to the service of the University, has promised the entire amount to which he will be entitled of the University's contribution to his Provident Fund, which will be approximately Rs. 3,000, so that this sum may be invested and the prizes awarded from the interest thereon.

"In regard to the future of the University during the next few years there are three problems which in my opinion are of primary importance. The first is one which must ever be the concern of the whole body of University teachers as well as of University authorities. It is establishing and maintenance of traditions for teaching and the training of personality which should characterize a unitary and residential University. The second is that of placing the University on a sound financial basis. The present financial position of the University is not such as to cause undue anxiety, but it is necessary for the University in the near future to increase its recurring income. Here I repeat what has already been referred to by the Treasurer, viz., that the University has in recent years made every possible effort to reduce its expenditure to a minimum without sacrificing efficiency, and I join with him in appealing for your support when the University shall in future approach Government for an additional recurring grant. The third problem which will claim the attention of the University in the near future is that of the creation of a Faculty of Agriculture so as to enable the University to co-operate with the Department of Agriculture in providing higher agricultural training. The importance of this problem has been recognised by Government and whenever funds are likely to be available, the scheme should be revised and Government again urged to provide the necessary money."

Concluding Mr. Langley said that he was retiring from the Vice-Chancellorship after the end of the present academic session and bade the members of the Court farewell.

Calcutta Blind School

An appreciative reference to the good work being done by the Calcutta Blind School was made by the Governor, Sir John Anderson, in a message to the institution on the occasion of its prize-giving ceremony, recently held at the school premises at Behala, Calcutta. Sir R. N. Mookerjee presided. The Governor said he was glad to learn that, in spite of the many difficulties with which the Governors and staff were faced, the work of the school had continued unimpaired in scope and efficiency. In spite of an inevitable measure of retrenchment, he wrote, the Ministry of Industries had seen their way to restoring the normal grant-in-aid. He was sure that those interested in the welfare of the school would recognize in this a mark of the Government's appreciation of the work carried on and admiration for the spirit of sturdy optimism which inspired the managing body and the staff and was communicated by them to their charges.

The President appealed to the public to lend their helping hand to the school with a view to enabling it to extend its scope. There were in Bengal, Sir Rajendra observed, over 37,000 blind people and it was distressing to see the public apathy in this matter of a duty towards the blind.

History Text-book for Schools

The principles which guide the Central Text Book Committee in prescribing text-books on history for school children were explained by the

Hon. Mr. K. Nazimuddin, Minister of Education, in reply to a question by Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu in the Bengal Legislative Council. Mr. Basu wanted to be informed if it was a fact that the Text Book Committee had directed that in history books there must be no reference to (1) the murder of Jalaluddin Khilji ; (2) the "pranks" of Sultan Muhammad Tughlak ; (3) the atrocities committed by Jehangir and Aurangzeb on the Sikhs and their gurus and (4) the anti-Hindu activities of Aurangzeb.

Mr. Nazimuddin stated that the sub-committee of the Text Book Committee, which was appointed to deal with history text-books for classes III to VIII, reported that practically all the books submitted stood in need of revision or correction. Certain members of this sub-committee were appointed to go through the approved books and to draw attention to those faults, which could easily be remedied, and their suggestions were placed before the authors and publishers. The Central Text Book Committee approved text-books for pupils from eight to thirteen years of age. The curriculum of history did not contemplate a critical and scientific study of the subject, but merely stories and outlines in easy narrative form. Gruesome accounts with unnecessary details were eminently unsuitable for such pupils and, in approving text-books in history, the Central Text Book Committee had been guided by the following, among other, considerations. *That* there should not be anything that tended to offend moral feelings and sentiments ; *That* it was not necessary to give detailed stories of atrocities, butchery or bloodshed, which, whether true or false, could only do harm to young minds ; *That* the books should contain nothing likely to create feelings of race hatred or class and religious animosity in impressionable minds and that references to facts, which were not essential and which were unsuitable for children, or exaggerated statements should be avoided ; *That* text-books, while historically accurate, should be of a nature to promote mutual understanding of the peoples and should not be prejudicial to a spirit of amity and good-will ; and *That* the stories selected should be those likely to have a healthy moral influence on the minds of the pupil.

In reply to supplementary questions, the Hon. Minister made it clear that essential facts of history were not altered but details which were likely to have an unhealthy effect on youthful minds were omitted.

Khan Bahadur Azizul Huq pointed out that the League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Co-operation had enunciated that text-books on history should be so devised that the rising generation might be trained up in a spirit of peace and goodwill.

A Common Language for India

His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, presiding over the twenty-third session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan held at Delhi during the last Easter holidays, put in a strong plea for a common language and a common script for India. Maintaining that language barriers were "one great factor in our national weakness," His Highness said :

" If Hindi be accepted as the *lingua franca* for India, we cannot at present claim that we need not learn English also. We cannot afford to lose touch with England and the West. But this will be for the intelligentsia only. There is a vast difference between, say, a million educated people learning a foreign tongue, and three hundred million, largely illiterate people, doing so. The common people can much more easily acquire Hindi, and much more fluency in inter-provincial intercourse will result. This is a great practical benefit. But more important still is the psychological effect.

There is something depressing about the habitual use of a foreign tongue. The natural poetry of speech gives place to a bastard and hybrid idiom, and spontaneity as well as beauty is lost.

"Let Hindi be the common yet graceful vernacular of us all. Hindi will, however, need to be carefully defined. Let us take it to be the language written in the North in Devanagari by Hindus and in Urdu by Muslims. And it is surely only the literary exaggerations—towards Sanskrit on one side, towards Arabic and Persian on the other—which have produced the difficulty a Lucknow Muslim has in understanding a Hindu of Benares. But this is the case also in China when a Pekinese seeks to communicate with a Cantonese. And China is finding a way out of the babel by agreeing that all will use the Pei-lua or vulgar tongue for literature as well as for daily speech. For Imperial affairs English, for the higher cultural life English and Sanskrit, for national life Hindi, for home-life our vernaculars—such is I think India's immediate path. Rooted as they are in local sentiment the local vernaculars will persist—playing some part in cultural and social life, but a subordinate part, as India realizes her unity and her place in the modern world. To do this she must overcome petty jealousies and narrowness of vision."

Ourselves

[The late Sir John Kerr, the late Sir Sankaran Nair and the late Sir Dinshaw Mulla—Two Recent Memorials—Government Grant to Colleges—Carnegie Endowment—Nepali and the New Matriculation Regulations—Indian Students in Parliament—Dr. H. K. Sen and Cheap Power Spirit Production—Reports and Notifications.]

THE LATE SIR JOHN KERR, THE LATE SIR SANKARAN NAIR AND THE LATE SIR DINSHAW MULLA.

It is our duty to record our deep sense of sorrow at the death of three distinguished men who though not directly connected with us came into touch with the University at some stage or other of its development and helped the University in its onward march towards academic progress.

Sir John Kerr was one of those Bengal Civilians who by dint of their work and sheer honesty of purpose endeared themselves to one and all, irrespective of caste, creed or colour. We in the University gratefully remember him for having helped us materially in securing assistance from Government which enabled us to complete the Asutosh Building. It was he who, as Acting Governor of Bengal, formally opened the building which is now the home of our Post-Graduate activities.

Sir Sankaran Nair's career had a brilliance of its own. In whichever sphere he worked, whether as Advocate-General of Madras, as a Judge of the Madras High Court, as President of the Indian National Congress, as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, as a member of the India Council, as Chairman of the Indian Reforms Committee, he was inspired by a lofty ideal to serve the truest interests of his motherland. We recall his name to-day with a special degree of reverence and affection for it was with his able and powerful assistance as Education Member of the Government of India that the scheme of Post-graduate studies in Calcutta was re-organised in 1917.

Sir Dinshaw Mulla was one of India's great jurists. He was for some time a Judge of the Bombay High Court and Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Recently he accepted a seat on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and was regarded by all as an accession of strength to that body of distinguished judges. Only a

few years ago he accepted the Tagore Professorship of Calcutta University and delivered a course of illuminating lectures on the Law of Insolvency which are justly regarded as a definite contribution to the study of an intricate branch of law.

TWO RECENT MEMORIALS.

Recently two memorials have been laid in honour of two eminent sons of Bengal, who though not belonging to the same generation were equally devoted to the spread of knowledge and in their respective spheres of work contributed to the remaking of a new Bengal. A marble bust of the late Sir Rames Chandra Mitter who was the first Indian to act as Chief Justice of Bengal is going to be installed in the precincts of the Calcutta High Court. The Memorial Committee has also decided to create an endowment of about Rs. 11,000, the income of which will be placed at the disposal of the Tuberculosis Association of Bengal. As announced in these pages last month a portrait in bronze of the late Sir Rameschandra Mitter has also been presented to the University of Calcutta.

The other Memorial relates to the unveiling of the statue of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee which has been erected by public subscriptions and has been placed near Chowringhee. The statue is the work of a Bengali sculptor, Mr. Debiprasad Raichaudhuri who is now the Principal of the Government School of Arts at Madras. It was unveiled on the 25th March by the Raja of Santosh to whom belongs the credit for making the memorial a success.

GOVERNMENT GRANT TO COLLEGES.

It will be recalled that for some years the non-recurring grant of Rs. 1,29,000 which the University used to distribute among the non-Government colleges of Bengal has been held in abeyance by Government. We have had occasions to comment upon the inadequate financial support which the Government of Bengal now extend to these colleges where the large majority of students have to pursue their studies. This non-recurring grant which was originally given by the Government of India when Calcutta University was under their control, materially helped the struggling institutions to effect various improvements regarding libraries, laboratories and gymnasias. We ~~therefore~~ ^{therefore} ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~glad~~ ^{glad} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~hear~~ ^{hear} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~this~~ ^{this}

year it is proposed to distribute a reduced grant of Rs. 45,000. The sum is utterly inadequate but we are glad that something is proposed to be given to the colleges after several years. We, however, trust Government will be able to bring up the grant to the ordinary level from the next financial year. The colleges have been informed by the Registrar that applications for participation in the grant should reach the University by 31st May, 1934.

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT.

The authorities of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, with a view to establish an International Relations Club in India, have sanctioned for the opening of such a Club at the Post-Graduate department of the University and have sent the first instalment of books for the club. They have suggested that the books will be kept together as a separate collection which will form the nucleus of a specialised library on international affairs. The club was formally opened by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore on the 7th of April last.

NEPALI AND THE NEW MATRICULATION REGULATIONS.

The Executive Committee of the Gurkha Association, Darjeeling, by a resolution adopted at one of their meetings requested the University some time ago to make Nepali one of the major languages in the curriculum of studies in the Matriculation course. Now that a Conference with the Government has been proposed to be held to consider the New Matriculation Regulations, the Syndicate have forwarded copies of the letter of the Gurkha Association to the representatives of the University with a view to place their request before the Conference. The Nepalese are an independent people with an old and distinct culture of their own, and their language, if it cannot boast of a high class literature, has yet a good store of literary materials worth studying. There is a considerable number of Nepali students in our schools, especially in Calcutta and the Darjeeling district. The proposal made by the association deserves the consideration of the authorities.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN PARLIAMENT.

A short but interesting debate took place in the last February session of the British Parliament regarding the limitation of the number of Indian students taking University course in view of the remoteness of chances for their obtaining a suitable employment. We reproduce below the extract which has been forwarded to the University by the Government of India, Department of Education, through the Education Department of the Government of Bengal.

Sir William Davison: To ask the Secretary of State for India, whether steps will be taken by the Government of India to limit the numbers of Indians taking a university course with the object of obtaining a degree, in view of the numbers of Indian graduates leaving the universities each year without any chance of obtaining suitable employment; and whether he will obtain a Report on this matter from the French Colonial Office, which for some time has limited the output of college-trained men with regard to the employment available for them in the particular colony. (Ques. no 4, dated 5th February, 1934.)

Secretary of State: It is for the authorities of the Indian Universities and not for Government to decide whether any limitation of the kind shall be imposed. I doubt whether the suggestion made by my honourable friend in the second part of his question would serve any useful purpose.

Sir William Davison: Is the right honourable gentleman aware that there has been the same difficulty in French Colonies, and they have had considerable success in allaying discontent in the way suggested in the question? Does he know that there is a very considerable number of this Indian intelligentsia who have obtained a university degree and are without employment?

Secretary of State: There are a great many universities in the world whose students are unable to find employment. If the honourable member has any special information bearing upon the question, I shall be glad to receive it.

Duchess of Atholl: Does the right honourable gentleman recollect that a recent committee of inquiry into the Punjab University stated that the main reason for the increase in unemployment among educated young men in India was a defective system of education, which required drastic remedies?

Secretary of State: Even so, I am not sure whether the withdrawal of grants will have the effect my honourable friend has in mind.

DR. H. K. SEN AND CHEAP POWER SPIRIT PRODUCTION.

With regard to the publication in the daily press of a report of Mr. G. S. Bajpai's reply to a question of Mr. Maswood Ahmed, in the Assembly on April 14 last, regarding cheap power spirit production, Prof. H. K. Sen, Ghose Professor of Applied Chemistry in our University, has addressed a letter to the editors of all journals which

published an account of the Assembly proceedings in question. As the letter speaks for itself, we refrain from making any comment on it, but reproduce it below in full.

To

The EDITOR,

SIR,

I notice in your issue of yesterday the *United Press* reporting Mr. G. S. Bajpai's reply to a question of Mr. Maswood Ahmed in the Assembly on April 14, regarding cheap power spirit production from water hyacinth. I am afraid either the *United Press* report or the reply of Mr. Bajpai is substantially incorrect, since neither Professor Fowler nor any Professor Ghose of Calcutta experimented on the production of power alcohol from water hyacinth. It was before the Indian Science Congress in January, 1928, at Calcutta, that I first suggested the utilisation of water hyacinth for power alcohol production and actually showed the samples of spirit from water hyacinth and another cheap wood, Gangwa, to the members of the Chemistry section. The attendant by-product, potassium chloride, was also exhibited. The report of this demonstration and the substance of my address were fully published in all the papers of India, and the late Sir P. C. Mitter, who was then Minister, telegraphed to me from Delhi to prepare a fuller report for his perusal. This was done at his instance, and the Industrial Chemist to the Government of Bengal was deputed to follow the steps, one after the other, in my laboratory at the University College of Science. I am not aware what report the Industrial Chemist submitted, but whatever I had said was verified in this trial laboratory experiment. Since then several scientific communications have appeared on the subject in scientific papers by myself and my students in collaboration, which have been quoted largely all over the world. A summary of these communications was read before the Second World Power Conference at Berlin in 1930, to which I was specially invited. Professor Fowler who has always encouraged me in this work, himself worked on the general utilisation of waste cellulosic materials for the production of power gas, as distinct from power alcohol, and, indeed, was kind enough to refer to my "steaming process" as the first rational step towards extracting potassium chloride, before subjecting the residual mass of water hyacinth to his bacterial fermentation.

I am informed that in the *Universum* of the year 1933 published from Leipzig in its 50th-year volume, this work has been specially reported upon. In fact the whole problem of power-alcohol production from water hyacinth has been investigated and is being investigated by myself and my students in the University College of Science, Calcutta. I am writing this letter with the hope that the misconception caused by Mr. Bajpai's reply to the Assembly question may be removed. As a matter of fact, since learning that the question attracted the attention of Parliament, I am preparing a very short digest of the work in this connection both for the public and for the Government—Yours, etc.

H. K. SEN.

University College of Science and Technology,
Calcutta University, Calcutta,
April, 16, 1934.

REPORTS AND NOTIFICATIONS.

(i) *Inter-Collegiate Gymnastic Competition.*

A team competition in gymnastic will greatly stimulate and encourage the students to take active interest in physical exercise. With this idea in view the Students' Welfare Committee organised the first Inter-Collegiate Gymnastic Competition. The competition was limited to the Calcutta Colleges for the first year. Two events, gymnastic without apparatus and gymnastic with apparatus, were

chosen for the Competition. In the former event a lesson was drawn up with exercises for correct posture, neuro-muscular control, organic vigour and speed. In the latter event, a lesson with six exercises on parallel bar was prepared. These lessons were circulated to Colleges beforehand to enable their teams to be trained. To encourage team spirit among the students, the competition was between teams consisting of thirty-two students in the gymnastic without apparatus and six students in the gymnastic with apparatus from each College.

On the 24th March, 1934, at 4 P. M., at the Presidency College ground, before a crowd of distinguished guests and students, the First Inter-Collegiate Gymnastic Competition was opened. After the march past of the four college teams with their college standards with buglers from Calcutta Boys Scouts' Association leading, the competitors assembled before the presidential stand. Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Vice-Chancellor, who presided, delivered his opening address. The three teams from Asutosh College, Presidency College and David Hare Training College, for the competition without apparatus, came one after another before the judges and performed the prescribed lesson of Physical Exercises. There was keen competition in this event between the Asutosh College team and Presidency College teams. The standard of performance was fairly high and was appreciated very much by the gentlemen present. At the end judges decided in favour of the Presidency College. In the event, gymnastic with apparatus, Asutosh College, University Law College and City College entered their teams, but at the last moment Asutosh College and University Law College failed to put up teams for the competition. The performance on the parallel bars by the City College was of a high standard. In the absence of the Vice-Chancellor who left after the opening ceremony, Rev. Father M. Vermeire, S.J., Rector, St. Xavier's College, presided and awarded silver decorations to the members of the winning teams. In his speech the president congratulated the college teams for their good performance and spirit of sportsmanship. He also referred to the generous gift of a silver statuette of Apollo Belvedere to be awarded as a challenge trophy for the competition—Gymnastics without apparatus,—by Mr Ramaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L. The trophy is now under preparation and will be sent to the winner when it is finished. The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

It is proposed to hold the next competition in the middle of December, 1934, and throw it open to all colleges affiliated to the Calcutta

University. Lessons prescribed for the year will be circulated to the different colleges early in July to give them sufficient time to train their teams. We hope that a larger number of colleges will participate in the coming competition and make it a success.

(ii) *Facilities for Foreign Students and Tourists to inspect Monuments, Galleries and Excavations in Italy.*

“ By Royal Decree of the 8th June, 1933, No. 889 published in the Official Gazette of the Kingdom of the 27th July, 1933-XI., No. 173, there was approved the regulation containing the rules in regard to entry into the monuments, galleries and excavations of the States. Owing to the numerous applications made to this Ministry, or directly to that of National Education, by foreign subjects in order to obtain reductions of the prices laid down in the regulation referred to, or even to obtain free entry, it has been thought opportune, in agreement with the Ministry of National Education, to examine, within the limits of the regulations in force, what facilities could be afforded to foreign tourists visiting our country, and to students coming to Italy for educational purposes.

With regard to tourists, the regulation provides for :

(a) Collective *abonnement* tickets for all the antiquity and art institutions of the Kingdom, valid for 5, 10 or 15 days, the price of which varies both in relation to the length of the validity of the tickets and in relation to the number of persons.

(b) *Abonnement* tickets for individuals, valid for all the antiquity and art institutions of the Kingdom and for a period of 5, 10 or 15 days.

Such collective tickets and individual tickets may be obtained at the various antiquity and art institutions of the Kingdom.

(c) Collective *abonnement* tickets limited to the Government antiquity and art institutions of one city and made out in favour of organised tourist parties by authorised travel agencies. Such tickets are half the price laid down for the *abonnement* of parties mentioned in (a).

So far as parties of foreign students and professors entering the Kingdom for reasons of study are concerned, the Royal Ministry of National Education is in principle favourably, on the basis of the regulations in force regarding meetings of a cultural nature taking place in the Kingdom, to granting to all parties favourably recommended by the Royal Diplomatic and Consular officers free entry into the Royal museums, galleries and excavations.

Interested persons are requested to communicate with the Manager, the *Calcutta Review*, if they desire to obtain detailed information regarding conditions of admission to galleries and museums.

(iii) *Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics, Calcutta University.*

Applications have been invited for the post of Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics.

1. The salary attached to the Chair is Rs. 700-50/2-1,000 but in making appointments to the Chair, it shall be open to the Senate to offer a higher initial salary in a special case.

(The salary is subject to such emergency cut as may be imposed by the University from time to time, on account of reduction of Government Grant.)

2. Ordinarily, appointment to the Chair shall be made for five years. On the expiry of the first period, such appointment may be renewed for another term or it may be made permanent by the Senate.

3. The Professor shall be a whole-time Officer of the University and shall not, without the special sanction of the Senate previously obtained, hold any other office to which any salary, emolument or honorarium is attached.

4. The Professor shall devote himself to original study and research in Mathematics with a view to extending the bounds of knowledge.

5. The Professor shall stimulate and guide advanced study and research by advanced students in the University of Calcutta.

6. The Professor shall undertake regular teaching work in the Post-Graduate Classes as required by the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and shall ordinarily deliver not less than four lectures in his subject every week for the benefit of M.A. and M.Sc. students of the Post-Graduate Department of the University. The Syndicate after consulting the Executive Committee and the holder of the Chair may further require the Professor to deliver a course of lectures in some affiliated Colleges. The Professor shall report to the Syndicate in the month of July in each year the research work carried on by him during the past year and the research work which he contemplates carrying on during the ensuing year.

7. The Professor shall be subject to such instructions and rules regarding leave, residence and retirement,¹ as may be decided by the University as applicable to Professors.

8. The Professor shall be entitled to the benefit of the University Provident Fund so long as he is in service.

9. The Professor may voluntarily resign his appointment at any time upon not less than six months' notice given by him in writing to the University. He shall be liable to removal by the Senate on the ground of misconduct, inefficiency or gross neglect of duty, if a recommendation to that effect is made by the Syndicate after a full enquiry into specific charges brought against him, provided that at such enquiry he shall be allowed adequate opportunity to defend himself.

Applicants should state their age and full particulars of their academic qualifications and experience in teaching and research in their applications which should be accompanied by a précis of the particulars to be furnished in a statement form which may be obtained from the Registrar, Calcutta University.

Applications with copies of testimonials (which will not be returned) must reach the Registrar, on or before the 15th June, 1934.

(iv) *Sir Asutosh Professor in Sanskrit, Calcutta University.*

Applications have also been invited for the post of Asutosh Professor in Sanskrit.

(i) The salary attached to the Chair is Rs. 600-50/2-1,000, but in making appointments to the Chair it shall be open to the Senate to offer a higher initial salary in a special case.

(ii) Ordinarily, appointment to the Chair shall be made for five years. On the expiry of the first period, such appointment may be renewed for another term or it may be made permanent by the Senate.

¹ The Professor shall ordinarily vacate his office upon completion of the 60th year of his age, unless the Senate decides that his services should be still retained by the University for a further period or periods but not beyond the 65th year of his age.

(iii) The holder of the Chair shall be required to lecture to Post-graduate and Honours students in Sanskrit and to take part in the work of the Post-Graduate Department as required by the Executive Committee of the Post-Graduate Departments in Arts, after consulting the Professor.

The Syndicate after consulting the Executive Committee and the holder of the Chair may further require the Professor to deliver a course of lectures in some affiliated Colleges. He shall also be required to carry on and organise and guide research work in the subject. The Professor shall report to the Syndicate in the month of July in each year the research work carried on by him during the past year and the research work which he contemplates carrying on during the ensuing year.

(iv) The Professor shall be eligible for the privilege of regular academic vacations and holidays of the University and shall be subject to such leave rules as the Senate may pass from time to time.

(v) The Senate may on the recommendation of the Post-Graduate Council in Arts, and on such terms as the Senate may decide, require the Professor-elect to receive special training abroad, before entering upon the duties of his office. With a view to enabling the Professor to be in touch with the current progress abroad in his subject, the Professor shall be eligible, on the recommendation of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, to study leave with such emoluments and on such conditions as the Senate may decide for a period generally not exceeding one year, provided that he has not taken such leave during the previous six years. In each such case the Professor shall be required to submit a report of his work during his leave.

(vi) The Professor shall ordinarily have a working knowledge of German and French.

(vii) The Professor shall be a whole-time Officer of the University and shall not, without the special sanction of the Senate previously obtained, hold any other office to which any salary, emolument or honorarium is attached.

(viii) The Professor may voluntarily resign his appointment at any time upon not less than six months' notice given by him in writing to the University. He shall be liable to removal by the Senate on the ground of misconduct, inefficiency or gross neglect of duty, if a recommendation to that effect is made by the Syndicate after a full enquiry into specific charges brought against him, provided that at such enquiry he shall be allowed adequate opportunity to defend himself.

The Professor shall ordinarily vacate his office upon completion of the sixtieth year of his age, unless the Senate should decide that his services should be still retained by the University for a further period or periods, but not beyond the 65th year of his age.

(ix) The Professor shall be entitled to the benefit of the University Provident Fund so long as he is in service.

Applicants should state their age and full particulars of their academic qualifications and experience in teaching and research in their applications which should be accompanied by a précis of the particulars to be furnished in a statement form which may be obtained from the Registrar, Calcutta University.

Applications with copies of testimonials (which will not be returned) must reach the Registrar, on or before the 15th June, 1934.

AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

The block of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's bronze statue has been kindly lent by the Editor, *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*.

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Jivanmukta

(*Alcaics*)¹

By SRI AUROBINDO

There is a silence greater than any known
To earth's dumb spirit, motionless in the soul
That has become Eternity's foothold,
Touched by the infinitudes for ever.

A Splendour is here refused, to the earthward sight,
That floods some deep flame-covered, all-seeing eye;
Revealed it wakens when God's stillness
Heavens the ocean of moveless Nature.

¹ *Author's Note* : These Alcaics are not perhaps very orthodox. I have treated the close of the first two lines not as a dactyl, but as — ♪/—/ and have taken the liberty in any stanza of turning this into — ♪ /— ♪/. In one closing line I have started the dactylic run with two short preliminary syllables and there is occasionally a dactyl or anapaest in unlawful places. The object of course is to bring in some variety and a more plastic form and easier run than strict orthodoxy could give. But in essence, I think, the alcaic movement remains in spite of these departures.

The subject is the *Vedantic* ideal of the living liberated man—*Jivanmukta* though perhaps I have given a pull towards my own ideal which the strict *Vedantin* would consider illegitimate.

A Power descends no Fate can perturb or vanquish,
Calmer than mountains, wider than marching waters,
A single might of luminous quiet
Tirelessly bearing the worlds and ages.

A Bliss surrounds with ecstasy everlasting,
An absolute high-seated immortal rapture
Possesses, sealing love to oneness
In the grasp of the All-beautiful, All-beloved.

He who from Time's dull motion escapes and thrills
Rapt thoughtless, wordless into the Eternal's breast,
Unrolls the form and sign of being,
Seated above in the omniscient Silence.

Although consenting here to a mortal body,
He is the Undying ; limit and bond he knows not ;
For him the aeons are a playground,
Life and its deeds are his splendid shadow.

Only to bring God's forces to waiting Nature,
To help with wide-winged Peace her tormented labour
And heal with joy her ancient sorrow,
Casting down light on the inconscient darkness,

He acts and lives. Vain things are mind's smaller motives
To one whose soul enjoys for its high possession
Infinity and the sempiternal
All is his guide and beloved and refuge.

MODERN SCIENCE AND SPIRITUALITY

By ANILBARAN RAY, M.A.

Methods of Scientific Knowledge

THIS is not to say that science has become spiritual or that spirituality has been placed on a scientific basis in the usual sense of the term. That cannot be in the very nature of things. Science depends ultimately on the evidence of the senses. Nothing that cannot be verified by a reference to the senses will be accepted by science as a fact, a truth. This position of science is perfectly valid, as no one can quarrel with it for having chosen a particular field for its investigation, the field of sense-experience. But when science says that this is the whole of knowledge, that whatever can be verified by observation and experiment with the senses is true, everything else is false, mere fancy, science goes beyond its jurisdiction and becomes *ultra vires*. So long as science did this its quarrel with philosophy and spirituality was inevitable. But recent discoveries seem to have had a chastening effect on science. As Dr. Hermann Weyl recently pointed out in a lecture delivered at the Yale University "modern science makes the world appear more and more as an open one, as a world not closed but pointing beyond itself."

"As there are a category of facts," says Sri Aurobindo, "to which our senses are the best available but very imperfect guides, as there is a category of truths which we seek by the keen but still imperfect light of our reason, so according to the mystics, there is a category of more subtle truths which surpass the reach both of the senses and the reason but can be ascertained by an inner direct knowledge and direct experience. These truths are supersensuous, but not the less real for that ; they have immense results upon the consciousness, changing its substance and movement, bringing especially deep peace and abiding joy, a great light of vision and knowledge, a possibility of the overcoming of the lower animal nature, vistas of a spiritual self-development which without them do not exist. A new outlook on things arises which brings with it, if fully pursued into its consequences a greater liberation, inner harmony, unification, many other possibilities besides. These things have been experienced, it is true, by a small minority of the human race, but still there

has been a host of independent witnesses to them in all times, climes and conditions and numbered among them are some of the greatest intelligences of the past, some of the world's most remarkable figures."

Science has powerfully dominated the modern mind chiefly for two reasons. It takes the commonsense view of not accepting anything which is not attested by the senses ; it is supposed to be positive, it does not speculate, does not " quack " ; it deals with hard tangible facts. Also science has been of great practical help to mankind. The common mind is easily impressed by spectacular results and dazzling success. People put more reliance on scientists who provide them with electric lights, steam ships, aeroplanes than on clergymen who ask them to mourn in this world so that they may be comforted in Heaven. Only when a deeper view is taken, it is seen that the methods of scientific knowledge are not so reliable as they are commonly supposed to be and all scientists admit " the general uncertainty that surrounds all our attempts to prove into the secrets of nature."

Science collects data from sense observation, and arrives at generalisations from them by reasoning. Every student of logic knows how many possibilities of error there are in this process. It is to the credit of science that it takes great care to avoid these errors as far as possible. It observes many instances of the phenomenon under investigation, so that the errors of mal-observation and non-observation may cancel each other. Yet it can never be sure that all errors have been eliminated. So whenever possible science tests its generalisations by experiments. Those who have any real knowledge of spirituality and do not confuse it with table-rapping, mesmerism or " spiritual seance " know that it also takes at least as much care as science so that its truths may be a body of ascertained knowledge ; only its methods are different. Science proceeds by elaborate observations of external phenomena, spirituality proceeds by training and disciplining the inner instruments of knowledge. As an agitated surface of water cannot give a correct reflection, so the restless mind is not a fit instrument of knowledge. When the rational critic ridicules " the wisdom obtained by starting at your own navel," he only makes a gross and stupid caricature of a well-known *Rajayogic asana* or sitting posture where the yogin makes his mind and senses calm and quiet so that they may give a true reflection of the truth. Spirituality does not depend, like science, on making inferences from external observations and experiments, but it has a direct method of knowing which alone can give certain knowledge. The true knowledge

is seated within us above the mind. When the mind is stilled, that knowledge reveals itself as the all-illuminating sun, so says the *Gita*. It is not the reasoning of the mind, but a silent aspiration steadily rising from the soul that alone can remove "the brilliant golden lid (our mental thoughts and reasonings) with which the face of Truth is covered" (*Isa Upanishad*).

Whatever care the scientists may take, they can never be positive about their knowledge on account of the defects that are inherent in their methods. "It was left for twentieth-century physics, under the lead of Einstein, Bohr and Heisenberg, to discover how large a subjective tinge entered into the nineteenth-century description of nature; recognising this, it tries to discard our human spectacles and study the objective reality that lies beyond." But it has to do still with the mind and it cannot leap over its own shadow. And not only does the mind bring always a subjective tinge, in the very act of observation, and more so in experiment, we disturb the objective world and cannot have a correct knowledge of it. One tramping in a desert sees the desert as covered by the dust raised by himself.

A scientist gets his data from observation and experiment. But what does he actually observe? He observes only the effects that are produced on his senses or his instruments: such effects can be produced only when energy is in some way transferred to them. The material structure of all objects, according to modern science, is built up of two kinds of electrified particles, protons and electrons. But these can never be made objects of direct observation; they are supposed to exist as the source of the energy which affects our sense-organs. There is only one observable ingredient—the impact of photons or particles of energy on our senses or instruments. But when a photon leaves an object to give its knowledge to us, it gives a kick to the object at the time of starting, and by the time the photon has reached us, the world of which it brings an account has already changed. When an astronomer observes the position of a star in the sky and announces it as a fact, he assumes that light travels in a rectilinear path. But this assumption is nothing but a theory. Thus the "hard facts" of science are, in the words of Prof. Eddington, "in any case theoretical interpretations of the observations."

One phenomenon is enough to disprove a theory, but a million do not suffice to prove it. That is really the position of science and its methods of proof. It is rejecting one theory after another saying "not this," "not this," *neti, neti*, but can never say with certainty, "it is this."

As long as there is a division between subject and object, between the knower and the known, the observer and the observed, there can be no positive knowledge. This sort of knowing is the mind's way, and it can give only partial knowledge which may be useful so far as it goes, but cannot stand any ultimate test of truth. True knowledge can only be by identity. Even in ordinary life we can know or understand a thing or person better when we become one with it by sympathy. All spiritual knowledge is ultimately of this kind. For me the most certain knowledge is that I exist, I am conscious, I feel the joy of existence. All knowledge can be ultimately reduced to this formula. The universe exists in the Self, in God and in our inmost being we are one with the Self, with God. Only when we rise beyond the mind and enter into the consciousness of the Self, we can have a true knowledge of the universe. And the knowledge which the self-vision gives us is not of the nature of scientific knowledge—"not this" "not this"; it is always positive as the famous *Vedantic* saying is: "I am He, Thou art that, O Swetaketu, all this world is Brahman."

It is also a mistake to suppose that scientific knowledge advances only by observations and experiments and generalisation from them. The highest truths of science come to the discoverer in a flash of inspiration; reasoning is afterwards used to give an intellectual formulation of truths so received. Some external observation may give the necessary shock to the mind, but the truth comes directly and intuitively from within. Seeing an apple fall from the tree, Newton instantaneously perceived a truth which he afterwards formulated as the law of gravitation and verified by observation and experiments. The truth about floating bodies suddenly flashed in the mind of Archimedes when he was taking bath, and wild with joy he came out naked into the street crying, *ureka, ureka*, I have found it, I have found it. The formula of the Lorentz Transformation was before the scientists for more than a decade. It was left for Einstein to see in a moment of inspiration that the quantity "*t*" measuring the time was to be regarded as a fourth co-ordinate. But such flashes of inspiration or intuition are very rare, and when they occur, they create new epochs in the advance of knowledge. Spirituality has seen that this power of intuition can be made a normal function of the mind like its use of the senses, as indeed it always stands veiled behind our mental operations. Yogic practice aims at intuitivising the mind completely so that it may correctly reflect the knowledge by identity which is inherent in the higher self.

Limitations of Science.

Though the rationalists swear by science, it cannot give an account of the world which will be fully satisfactory even to the reason, because it limits itself in its data to sense-experience. Reason in its pure action does not depend on the senses, it has its own standard of truth, and seeks to go beyond the senses so as to give a consistent explanation of things. This is what is done in metaphysics or philosophy. Science by itself can neither meet the demand of human reason for a consistent account of the world as a whole, nor lead to a satisfactory "rational" order of society. These limitations of science are becoming more and more recognised to-day. "Photons, electrons and protons," says Sir James Jeans, "have become as meaningless to the physicist as x , y , z are to a child on its first day of learning algebra. The most we hope for at the moment is to discover ways of manipulating x , y , z without knowing what they are, with the result that the advance of knowledge is at present reduced to what Einstein has described as extracting one incomprehensible from another incomprehensible."

Even recalcitrant materialists who regard "idealism as pure literary sport like lyric poetry" have begun to describe the diminished state of science. In a book called *Some Turns of Thought in Modern Philosophy*, recently published by the Cambridge University Press, George Santayana writes: "We are bombarded with inventions but if we ask the inventors what they have learnt of the depths of nature, which somehow they have probed with such astonishing success, their faces remain blank." When it is admitted that the theories of science are elaborate metaphors rather than blue prints of reality, that the "true theories are more useful practically or more suggestive artistically, rather than more close to the intrinsic qualities of things, the philosopher can then use science as an ally in his endless effort to describe life in the terms most satisfactory to the imagination of his age."

The outlook on the physical universe is undergoing a profound change. "New concepts will have to be elaborated," says Mr. J. W. N. Sullivan in another recently published book called "Limitations of Science," and the key to these new concepts is probably to be found in the study of psychology which is at present in a very early stage of development." This is only another way of saying that we must go

deep within ourselves and from self-knowledge arrive at world knowledge; and this was exactly the standpoint of the ancient seers of India where psychology had reached a high stage of development even in very early times.¹ "From as early as the times of the Vedas the Indian mind had recognised that the same general laws and powers hold in spiritual, psychical, and physical being; it discovered the omnipresence of life, affirmed the evolution of the soul in Nature from the vegetable and the animal to the human form, stated on the basis of philosophic intuition and spiritual and psychological experience many of the truths which modern knowledge is re-affirming from the other side as it passes from the study of physical nature to the study of life and mind" (*A Defence of Indian Culture* by Sri Aurobindo).

The generalisations at which modern science has reached have thus been summed up by Sir James Jeans:—"We can no longer think of the varied phenomena of nature as arising from a blind dance of atoms as they are pushed and pulled by mechanical force; we must attribute them to efforts of we know not what to find the shortest path through the tangled maze of the space-time continuum." Indian philosophy, starting from the other side, from psychological study and spiritual experience, found three fundamental properties of Prakriti or Nature, three gunas as they are called, sattwa or harmony, rajas or motion, tamas or inertia. "There is no entity in the world," says the Gita, "which is not subject to the workings of these three qualities (gunas) born of nature." In every natural existence the three gunas are there in their inextricable working and all action of nature is merely the action of these three modes upon each other, a functioning in which one or other predominates and the rest modify its operation and results. But this is only a description of the outer working of nature. What moves the world is not really the modes of Prakriti,—these are only the lower aspects, the mechanism of nature. The real motive power is a divine spiritual Will which uses these conditions, but is itself not limited, not dominated, not mechanised by them. The process of the world is a progressive realisation of harmony in which the Spirit is expressing itself. A perfect harmony has already been established in the material world, and it is this which is being discovered and stated in mathematical formulas by physical science. But the vital world seeks to manifest a higher and more complex harmony which has not yet been accomplished anywhere as is evidenced by the phenomena of

¹ A distinguished French psychologist says that India had already laid down all the large lines and main truths, the broad scheme, of a genuine psychology and all that Europe can do now is to fill them in with exact details and scientific verifications.

disease, old age and death. There is even less harmony in the world of mind, in man. In his pursuit of a still higher harmony, in his aspiration for the Good, the True, the Beautiful, man has lost the vital harmony which is realised in plants and animals. The aspiration of man can only be fulfilled when there emerges a still higher principle, the supermind, which is the source of all harmony and which alone can make the harmony of mind, life and body complete and perfect thus fulfilling the purpose of human creation. This is the highest generalisation about man and the world at which Indian philosophy has reached taking not mere sense-experience, but the deepest spiritual experience as the source and sanction of its truth.

"Science has missed something essential," says Sri Aurobindo in his new book *The Riddle of this World*; "it has seen and scrutinised what has happened, and in a way how it has happened, but it has shut its eyes to something that made this impossible possible, something it is there to express. There is no fundamental significance in things if you miss the Divine Reality; for you remain embedded in a huge surface crust of manageable and utilisable appearance. It is the magic of the Magician you are trying to analyse, but only when you enter into the consciousness of the Magician himself can you begin to experience the true origination, significance and circles of the Lila."

In the field of action also science has shown glaring limitations, though it undoubtedly has immense possibilities for the welfare of mankind. "The function of the machine," says Mr. Henry Ford, "is to liberate man from brute burdens and release his energies to the building of his intellectual and spiritual powers." But for the want of the guidance of a higher knowledge in human affairs, science has hitherto failed to satisfy the high expectations raised. It has been calculated by expert economists that there are in the markets of the world to-day goods sufficient to maintain the people of the world more than two years, supposing no stroke of work is done in the interval; yet millions of men, women and children are living in a state of semi-starvation all over the world. America is supposed to have reached the high-water mark of scientific efficiency. When President Roosevelt took office, more than 30,000,000 people, or between a quarter and a third of the entire nation, were dependent for their support upon public or private relief. Worshippers of science point out that it was the knowledge of chemistry that enabled Germany to fight against the world for four long years, and that it is that knowledge which has enabled it to recover so speedily from the consequences

of a most disastrous defeat. But the same chemistry with its microbes and poison gas will make an end of modern civilisation within a decade or two unless something like a miracle happen in the meantime, for which, however, modern science has kept an open place."

Mr. H. G. Wells never tires of reminding the world that it is on the verge of ruin; but he still pins his faith on science and mechanical organisations. A few years ago he thought that it was only priest-ridden fools who were against him. Now he seems convinced that the human race is steeped in folly; since reason will not turn it to the world state it must be scourged with decades of pestilence and slaughter. In his latest book, "*The Shape of Things to Come*, he pictures a peaceful and hygienic world which can only come through science and world state. "The one way out," says Sri Aurobindo, "harped on by the modern mind which has been as much blinded as enlightened by the victories of physical science, is the approved Western device of salvation by machinery; get the right kind of machine to work and everything can be done, this seems to be the modern creed. But the destinies of mankind cannot be turned to order in an American factory. It is a subtler thing than that which is now putting its momentous problem before us, and if the spirit of the things we profess is absent or falsified, no method or machinery can turn them out for us or deliver the promised goods. That is the one truth which the scientific and industrialised modern mind forgets always, because it looks at process and commodity and production and ignores the spirit in man and the deeper inner law of his being."

Pondicherry.

RUPERT BROOKE

. By BHAWANI SHANKAR, M.A.

SELDOM does Fortune combine so many advantages in one man as she bestowed upon Rupert Brooke. Health, beauty, education, success, distinguished friends—what had he not to make him one of the most arresting personalities of his times? And then his career as a poet coming to a dramatic close in the most romantic circumstances gave him a popularity which might well be the envy of the greatest poets. No student of contemporary poetry can ignore the influence that he exercised upon it. The poets of his generation—Mr. Wilfrid Gibson, Mr. Walter de la Mare, Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie, Mr. John Drinkwater—were his most intimate associates. It was to him that the idea of publishing a volume of new poetry first occurred, and it ultimately materialised in an anthology by “flesh and blood poets” planned at a famous luncheon (on September 20, 1912) at the residence of Mr. Edward Marsh where were also present, besides Rupert Brooke, Mr. Drinkwater, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Harold Monro and Mr. Arundel de Re. A volume under the name of *Georgian Poetry, 1911-12*, was published—in December 1912 with four others to follow in subsequent years—“in the belief,” as the Preface said, “that English poetry is now once again putting on a new strength and beauty.” Rupert Brooke’s leadership of the Georgian poets was only incidental, and as such, it has, for the literary historian, an extrinsic importance which all founders of literary coteries and traditions have. His real contribution to modern poetry is not in the fresh impetus that he gave to it, or in the introduction of a new technique, not of form, but of diction. Mr. A. E. Housman had already revolutionised the ideal of poetic subject-matter. He and Thomas Hardy had written the poetry of disillusionment—a state of consciousness essentially modern to all those who are not familiar with the secret springs of the eastern mystic’s philosophy of renunciation. Colloquialism and even slang had assailed the poetry of Mr. Rudyard Kipling. What Rupert Brooke brought to poetry was a super-abundance of life, an Elizabethan vitality, a largeness of heart, a comprehension which it is difficult to find in one single poet outside Shakespeare, and which it is impossible to find in any poet other than Rupert Brooke to a

degree adequate for our present-day spiritual experiences. It is this response that we seek to our new range of thought and emotion, the re-focussing that becomes necessary for our new angle of vision, that must explain the need of new poets and the value of new poetry, as it must also explain why prophets are superseded and religions become obsolete. Rupert Brooke died at Lemnos in 1915 at the age of twenty-seven. His death created a gap in the young intellectual life of England that was difficult to fill. With a magnanimity all his own, he had declared, "There are only three things in the world, one is to read poetry, another is to write poetry, and the best of all is to live poetry." No wonder one felt a new Apollo had come to life, given poetry a new breath and a new throb, and then suddenly passed away.

The sceptical critic may well ask: what is the substance of Rupert Brooke's poetry shorn of the external advantages of his fame and glory? Criticism has not yet solved the problem whether and how far literature can be divested of personality, but it must be recognised that there have been from time to time men of letters whose work it is impossible to isolate from their personality. I do not speak of those who were greater men than writers like Sir Philip Sidney or Dr. Johnson. I speak of the class of Sir Thomas Browne or Lamb or Stevenson or Shelley or Byron, of writers who are *temperamental*, whose every paragraph or line reveals a shade of their character, whose fine sensibility records all the nuances of their moods. Rupert Brooke belongs to this class for he is a poet of moods. He did not adjust life to a consistent scheme or philosophy. He drifts from mood to mood full of flagrant contradictions and irresponsibility. Even his *juvenilia* have a sureness of technique (vide *Sonnet in Time of Revolt* or *Choriambs*), but emotional stability he acquires only in his latter years. A certain sportiveness and youthful levity characterise his earlier writings. For instance he tells us in his letters how once, as he was sailing to America, he had farewell waved to him for six pence that he gave to "a dirty little boy;" how on being complimented by his American admirers he did his "pet boyish-modesty stunt and went pink all over;" how he could not answer the questions of a press-reporter and so he lied; how he could enter railway offices and demand free passes as a journalist or discuss the Heart with the young lady at the counter. This youthful buoyancy must explain the spirit of bravado and the exuberance of iconoclastic zeal from which his earlier poetry suffers. He had ridiculed the "Grand Old Endings," the "Uplift" feeling that he imagined to be essential to

all-romantic poetry, and so we find him using ugly images deliberately to shock the reader. His *Channel Passage* is repulsive. Helen, the traditional heroine of epic and romance bears

“ Child on legitimate child, becomes a scold,
Haggard with virtue.....
Oft she weeps, gummy-eyed, and impotent.”

—*Helen and Menelaus.*

Sometimes he effectively contrasts images of beauty and ugliness as in the sonnet describing the journey in an Italian express, second class :

“ Opposite me two Germans sweat and snore....
One of them wakes, and spits, and sleeps again.
The darkness shivers. A wan light through the rain
Strikes on our faces, drawn and white. Somewhere
A new day sprawls ; and, inside, the foul air
Is chill, and damp, and fouler than before...
Opposite me two Germans sweat and snore.”

—*Dawn.*

The end of poetry—and of all art—is the creation of beauty. Vulgarity or ugliness in literature has no defence ; to justify it in Rupert Brooke's poetry as being due to a Rupert Brooke cult in Cambridge which spoilt him or, due to personal fascination, to dismiss a consideration of it by a mere critical fiat will be perverse, and not conducive to a real appreciation of his poetry. The ethics of modern art—and even modern art has its ethics—do not allow the artist to compromise art by treating only of a Bowdlerised portion of life. It is in this respect that modern art is unlike the Victorian and like the Elizabethan. An age that delights in reading William Butler Yeats and Walter de la Mare on the one hand and D. H. Lawrence and Aldous Huxley on the other has its parallel, not in the age of Tennyson (in spite of its saving grace of a Swinburne or a partly Italian Browning !), but in the age which revelled in the villainies of Iago and the nobility of Othello, which was, almost simultaneously, amused by the *Faithful Shepherdess* and edified by the *Authorised Version of the Bible*. The difference between the moderns and the Elizabethans is not one of breadth or depth of vision, but that of the respective Zeitgeists,—of the poetic exuberance and imaginative richness of the old and the intellectual subtlety and psychological realism of the new. Why the tales of Boccaccio,

Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, the comedies of Congreve, Rousseau's *Confessions*, Daudet's *Sappho*, or the social portraits of Balzac and Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, or Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession* or Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* or Rodin's *Eternal Spring* symbolising not the sexual process but the eternal conquest and surrender of love, or D. H. Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers*—why these will always remain works of art, even though they do not satisfy all its canons, is because each one of them recreates a phase or fragment of life, tackles a problem or reveals a mystery or gives a picture of it in all its grace and majesty, in all its infinite variety and fusion of ugliness and beauty. Good and evil do not exhaust life, and beauty and loveliness are only portions of it. Though literature must provide a holiday from life and from all its bad things, yet at its highest it must be an equipment for life. The real edification is not in beating a retreat from life through so many gates that romance opens to an epicure's Eldorado. Nor is it a sufficient adventure to stand in the sunshine and look down the giddy precipice of life with only an inkling of its abysmal darkness. The modern urge is for a closer perspective, for coming to grips with life, for adopting an undaunted attitude towards life which the artist cannot capture but must comprehend. This is true of Rupert Brooke, the most typical of modern poets. The proof of the fundamental virility of such an attitude is that it brings disillusion without disenchantment, and despair without cynicism. "They say," he writes of *Mutability*,

"They say there's a high windless world and strange,
 Out of the wash of days and temporal tide,
 Where Faith and Good, Wisdom and Truth abide,
Æterna Corpora, subject to no change.
 There the sure suns of these pale shadows move ;
 There stand the immortal ensigns of our war ;
 Our melting flesh fixed Beauty there, a star,
 And perishing hearts, imperishable Love...

Dear, we know only that we sigh, kiss, smile ;
 Each kiss lasts but the kissing ; and grief goes over ;
 Love has no habitation but the heart.
 Poor straws ! on the dark flood we catch awhile,
 Cling, and are borne into the night apart.
 The laugh dies with the lips, 'Love' with the lover."

—*Mutability*.

Popular prejudice associates modern poetry with ugly and bald realism. Billingsgate stuff, gutter stench, court-room sensationalism—such are the epithets used by qualified slanderers. Largely this is due to ignorance, but partly it is due to the unprecedented copiousness of fugitive poetry. Of the poets who are likely to live two are most often associated with ugliness—Rupert Brooke and Mr. John Masefield. Curiously enough both of them have written of beauty in poem after poem and, in their own respective ways, have the true artist's vision of it. If in their quest for beauty, they stumbled against ugliness—they never stopped at it—it was because their quest was real and undaunted. Mr. Masefield's *Dauber* is the spiritual revelation of an artist's yearning for beauty. To remain unconscious of the interwoven background of Fate in *The Widow of the Bye Street* or of the mysticism of *The Everlasting Mercy*, and to be clogged by their realism is symptomatic of a microscopic vision that avails one nothing in the appreciation of literature. The themes of Rupert Brooke's poems are beauty, love, death and decay. His vision of beauty is essentially and vitally mundane. It has also an intellectual clarity traceable to the literary heritage of John Donne. In a letter to one of his friends (F. H. Keeling, September, 20-23, 1910) he declared that the antidote for pessimism was mysticism, the mere feeling which, however, should not cheat one into any kind of *belief*. "It consists," he wrote of the feeling of mysticism, "in just looking at people and things as themselves—neither as useful nor moral nor ugly nor anything else; but just as being." The result was, as he himself wrote in the letter, that he suddenly felt the extraordinary value and importance of everybody he met and everything he saw. Elsewhere he defended ugliness by remonstrating against "beating vain hands in the rosy mists of poet's experiences." Coarseness he thought inseparable from the vitality of Elizabethan drama. Mr. Edward Marsh is right when he says that "ugliness had quite an unaffected attraction for him; he thought it just as *interesting* as anything else; he didn't like it—he loathed it—but he liked thinking about it." "The poetical character," Mr. Marsh quotes from Keats, "lives in *gusto*." This is the antithesis of Wordsworth, but it is true of Rupert Brooke, the spoilt child of Mother Earth, as it was true of Shelley, the *enfant terrible* of Nature! Rupert Brooke lived in a state of *gusto*, of enthusiasm that exalted the significance of everything that *is*. He knows that in this fleeting world there are no eternal trusts, and yet he has been a great lover and has loved all things. A thousand names throng to his memory:

" These I have loved :

White plates and cups, clean gleaming,
 Ringed with blue lines; and feathery, faery dust;
 Wet roofs, beneath the lamplight; the strong crust
 Of friendly bread; and many-tasting food;
 Rainbows; and the blue bitter smoke of wood;
 And radiant rain drops couching in cool flowers;
 And flowers themselves, that sway through sunny hours;
 Dreaming of moths that drink them under the moon;
 Then, the cool kindness of sheets, that soon
 Smooth away trouble; and the rough male kiss
 Of blankets; grainy wood; live hair that is
 Shining and free; blue massing clouds; the keen
 Unpassioned beauty of a great machine;
 The benison of hot water; furs to touch;
 The good smell of old clothes; and other such—
 The comfortable smell of friendly fingers;
 Hair's fragrance, and the musty reek that lingers
 About dead leaves and last years ferns...

Dear names,

And thousand other throng to me! Royal flames ;
 Sweet water's dimpling laugh from tap or spring;
 Holes in the ground ; and voices that do sing;
 Voices in laughter, too; and body's pain,
 Soon turned to peace; and the deep panting train;
 Firm sands; the little dulling edge of foam ,
 That browns and dwindles as the wave goes home;
 And washen stones, gay for an hour ; the cold
 Graveness of iron, moist black earthen mould ;
 Sleep; and high places ; footprints in the dew ;
 And oaks; and brown horse-chestnuts, glossy-new ;
 And new-peeled sticks; and shining pools and grass;—
 All these have been my loves. And these shall pass,
 Whatever passes not, in the great hour,
 Nor all my passion, all my prayers, have power
 To hold them with me through the gate of Death.
 They'll play deserter, turn with the traitor breath,
 Break the high bond we made, and sell Love's trust
 And sacramented covenant to the dust.
 —Oh, never a doubt but, somewhere, I shall wake,
 And give what's left of love again, and make
 New friends, new strangers...

But the best I've known

Stays here, and changes, breaks, grows old, is blown
 About the winds of the world, and fades from brains

Of living men and dies.

Nothing remains.

O dear my loves, O faithless, once again
This one last gift I give : that after men
Shall know, and later lovers, far-removed,
Praise you, 'all these were lovely' ; say, ' He loved.' "

—*The Great Lover.*

Rupert Brooke's love of commonplace and familiar things of the everyday world is unexcelled not only for its genuine rapture but also for the light of romance with which he has invested them for all time. In *The Fish*, as Sir Henry Newbolt says, " he has almost endowed humanity with a new and non-human rapture of sensation :"

" In a cool curving world he lies
And ripples with dark ecstasies."

How telling is the contrast between the world of men and the world of the Fish !

" O world of lips, O world of laughter,
Where hope is fleet and thought flies after,
Of lights in the clear night, of cries
That drift along the wave and rise
Thin to the glittering stars above,
You know the hands, the eyes of love !
The strife of limbs, the sightless clinging,
The infinite distance, and the singing
Blown by the wind, a flame of sound,
The gleam, the flowers, and vast around
The horizon, and the heights above—
You know the sight, the song of love !

But there the night is close, and there
Darkness is cold and strange and bare ;
And the secret deeps are whisperless ;
And rhythm is all deliciousness ;
And joy is in the throbbing tide ;
Whose intricate fingers beat and glide
In felt bewildering harmonies
Of trembling touch ; and music is
The exquisite knocking of the blood.
Space is no more, under the mud ;
His bliss is older than the sun.
Silent and straight the waters run.

The lights, the cries, the willows dim,
And the dark tide are one with him."

Rupert Brooke was fascinated by the real and the external world, not by a hidden spiritual significance or a lurking mystery that he saw in it, but by the sheer glory and joy of it. It delighted his senses and pleased his mind. This fusion of the sensuous and the ideal is characteristic of his vision of beauty, and nowhere does it find a finer and more delicate expression than in the description of an everyday domestic incident, the Dining-Room Tea;

" I saw the marble cup, the tea,
Hung on the air, an amber stream;
I saw the fire's unglittering gleam,
The painted flame, the frozen smoke.
No more the flooding lamplight broke
On flying eyes and lips and hair;
But lay, but slept unbroken there;
On stiller flesh, and body breathless,
And lips and laughter stayed and deathless,
And words on which no silence grew.
Light was more alive than you.

For suddenly, and otherwhence,
I looked on your magnificence.
I saw the stillness and the light,
And you, august, immortal, white,
Holy and strange; and every glint
Posture and jest and thought and tint
Freed from the mask of transiency,
Triumphant in eternity,
Inmote, immortal."

—*The Dining-Room Tea.*

In all his poems of love and beauty, even in his most hopeful or gay moments, there is a streak of unconscious pessimism. He seldom treats of them with delicacy or tenderness or plangency. More often his treatment is, not coarse, but ruthless and unsparing. Transiency, disillusion, inconstancy—they all weigh upon him, but a rare courage of heart sustains him throughout. Sometimes he is borne along by the energy of an all-sweeping passion as in *The Call*:

" I'll break and forge the stars anew,
Shatter the heavens with a song;

Immortal in my love of you,
Because I love you, very strong."

Or by the hope of immortal love, as in *Dust* ;

" We'll ride the air, and shine, and flit,
Around the places where we died."

But there is no consistent mood and he records with perfect fidelity the ardour of love as well as the bitterness of despair. The youthful faith of the *Wayfarers*, the longing and the final self-forgetfulness expressed in *Finding*, or the sad sensuous delight of *A Memory*, and the sober faith and love's tender solace of *Retrospect*—they are not so frequent as the feeling that

".....love grows colder,
Grows false and dull, that was sweet lies at most.

All this is love; and all love is but this."

—*Love.*

He is bitter :

" For youth goes over, the joys that fly
The tears that follow fast;
And the dirtiest thing we do must lie
Forgotten at the last;
Even Love goes past."

—*The Chilterns.*

He speaks of love with brutal frankness in *Success* and *Libido* (renamed *Lust*). Of the deathlessness of fiery passion he writes in *Mumma*, while its savagery and the grimness of death make *Dead Men's Love* an almost unbearable poem. The years that wear off romance (*The Beginning*), the love that becomes mere habit or dwindles into kindliness (*Kindliness*), and the satiety and hollowness that come in the end when "our unvalled loves thin out on the vacuous air, And suddenly there's no meaning in our kiss " (*Town and Country*), and doubt and uncertainty (Sonnet beginning *I said I splendidly loved you*), —all these are more frequent moods that haunt this lyrist of love. In such moods there is the dead weight of earth upon him. One misses in him the soaring ecstasy of love, its rhapsodical delight and illusion.

And yet the poet captures the beauty that outlives flighty loves and palliates the bitterness that comes after :

“ When Beauty and Beauty meet
 All naked, fair to fair,
 The earth is crying-sweet,
 And scattering-bright the air,
 Eddying, dizzying, closing round,
 With soft and drunken laughter;
 Veiling all that may befall
 After—after—

When Beauty and Beauty met,
 Earth's still a-tremble there,
 And winds are scented yet,
 And memory-soft the air,
 Bosoming, folding glints of light,
 And shreds of shadowy laughter;
 Not the tears that fill the years
 After—after—”

—*Beauty and Beauty.*

Rupert Brooke's love of nature and English soil is best celebrated in *The Old Vicarage, Grantchester* beginning

“ Just now the lilac is in bloom,
 All before my little room ;
 And in my flower-beds, I think,
 Smile the carnation and the pink ;
 And down the borders, well I know,
 The poppy and the pansy blow....”

It was composed in a Cafe in Berlin. Perhaps no other poem of his brings out so many qualities of Rupert Brooke as this. Fancy, humour, personal reminiscence, literary allusion, delicacy, tenderness, love of quiet, grace and sprightliness—they all combine to make it one of his most superb achievements. What can excel the sense of repose and sweetness of the lines :

“ I only know that you may lie
 Day-long and watch the Cambridge sky,
 And, flower-lulled in sleepy grass,
 Hear the cool lapse of hours pass,
 Until the centuries blend and blur
 In Grantchester, in Grantchester....”

Of natural descriptions such as one finds in Mr. Edward Thomas there is nothing in Rupert Brooke. Nature never—or very rarely—stirred him. Though he is sensitive to sounds and loves flowers, he is mostly careless of the beauties of rural and pastoral England that delight and fascinate a country-bred poet like Mr. Edmund Blunden. Of land- or sea-scape, English or exotic, there is again almost nothing in him. Very much like Mr. W. H. Davies—but comparatively to a small degree—he is moved by the peace that is in Nature and by the mere sight of natural objects. He shares the comradeship of the stars, pities and loves them

“ Who, with lonely light,
In empty infinite spaces dwell,
Disconsolate..... ”

—*The Jolly Company.*

He is glad of the pine trees and the sky and in the peace that they bring he forgets the bitter ache of love (*Pine Trees and the Sky: Evening*). In *Clouds* he rises to a solemn grandeur which is sustained throughout the sonnet, while in *Waikiki*, the emotion gathers a spiritual intensity and then breaks forth in a bewildering memory-haunted pain,

“ And new stars burn into the ancient skies,
Over the murmurous soft Hawaiian sea.”

In *Song* Rupert Brooke joins personal feeling to nature with a plan-
gency and sweetness which one seldom finds in English poetry and
of which Urdu poetry is so brimful. As the spring comes, the old
anguish revives and it appears that man and nature respond to the
same thud of life:

“ All suddenly the wind comes soft,
And spring is here again;
And the hawthorn quickens with buds of green,
And my heart with buds of pain.

My heart all Winter lay so numb,
The earth so dead and froze,
That I never thought the Spring would come,
Or my heart wake any more.

But Winter is broken and earth has woken,
And the small birds cry again;

*And the hawthorn hedge puts forth its buds,
And my heart puts forth its pain."*

There are interesting legends about Rupert Brooke's presentiment of an early death. Whatever be their truth, he was not obsessed by any romantic craving for euthanasia. He has written of death without the philosophic profundity of Mr. A. E. Housman or Hardy's tragic sense of waste. Excepting in his war poems one misses in him the true elegiac note. The fact is, life had the supremest fascination for him, and death was attractive as a necessary corollary of it. His sincerity and introspective moodiness prevented him from adopting a consistent attitude towards life and death. This argues a want of philosophy but not necessarily the want of healthy idealism. In several of his poems, Rupert Brooke has expressed a belief in life after death: in *The Great Lover* he has "never a doubt, somewhere, I shall wake." In *The Soldier* he speaks of his heart as a pulse in the eternal mind. He expresses a similar faith in *Dust* and the sonnet *Oh! Death will find me*. I think it will be a mistake to regard this as an avowal of a permanent religious or mystical experience, nor am I prepared to brush it aside as a mere poetical fancy. The secret of it is in that superabundance of life and energy of which I spoke in the beginning, which transcends life beyond death, beauty beyond decay and makes time powerless against love. In another mood, the poet denies immortality as in *Mutability* and *Second Best*. He laughs at it in *Tiare Tahiti* :

"Mamua, there waits a land
Hard for us to understand,"

a land where—and the poem is irresistible for its fine sensuousness—where

"my laughter, and my pain,
Shall home to the Eternal Brain.
And all lovely things, they say,
Meet in Loveliness again;
Miri's laugh, Teipo's feet,
And the hands of Matus,
Stars and sunlight there shall meet,
Coral's hues and rainbows there,
And Teura's braided hair;
And with the starred *tiare's* white,
And white birds in the dark ravine,

And *flamboyants* ablaze at night,
 And jewels, and evening's after-green,
 And dawns of pearl and gold and red,
 Mamua, your lovelier head ! "

We find the same gentle satire in the fanciful poem *Heaven* in which he rails at God and Immortality :

" Fish say, they have their Stream and Pond ;
 But is there anything Beyond ?
 This life cannot be All, they swear,
 For how unpleasant, if it were !
 One may not doubt that, somehow, Good
 Shall come of Water and of Mud ;
 And, sure, the reverent eye must see
 A purpose in Liquidity."

Rupert Brooke had a remarkable sense of humour, that preservative of sanity. His letters amply illustrate this as they also reveal his Elizabethan sympathies—his achievements at the Marlowe Society, his study of the Elizabethan dramatists, his work on Webster—and his ambitions and young enthusiasms : they also tell us of his travels in America, Samoa and Tahiti. In his poetry one often discovers a vein of metaphysical conceit as in the Sonnet entitled *Unfortunate* :

" Heart, you are restless as a paper scrap
 That's tossed down dusty pavement by the wind ; "

or the one beginning

" Love is a breach in the walls, a broken gate,"

or as in the fine allegorical fantasy called *The Funeral of Youth : Threnody*. A warm, sunny feeling of life many of his poems have—*Tiare Tahiti* or *The Old Vicarage* for instance—but some of his poems have the light-hearted sprightliness of the Caroline Poets. Compare with Suckling's poem,

" Out upon it, I have loved
 Three whole days together ;
 And am like to love three more,
 If it prove fair weather."

—*The Constant Lover*.

or with Herrick's

" Whither ? Say, whither shall I fly,
 To slack these flames wherein I fry ?

To the treasures, shall I go,
Of the rain, frost, hail and snow ?
Shall I search the underground,
Where all damps and mists are found ?..."

—*The Frozen Zone ; or, Julia Disdainful.*

the one of Rupert Brooke beginning

" I dreamt I was in love again
With the One Before the Last,
And smiled to greet the pleasant pain
Of that innocent young past.

But I jumped to feel how sharp had been
The pain when it did live,
How the faded dreams of Nineteen-ten
Were Hell in Nineteen-five."

It ends :

" Oh ! bitter thoughts I had in plenty.
But here's the worst of it—
I shall forget, in Nineteen-twenty,
You even hurt a bit !"

—*The One Before the Last.*

Or take this :

" You came and quacked beside me in the wood,
You said, ' The view from here is very good ! '
You said, ' It's nice to be alone a bit ! '
And, ' How the days are drawing out ! ' you said.
You said, ' The sunset is pretty, isn't it ? '
By God ! I wish—I wish that you were dead !"

—*The Voice.*

Or this one :

" And I shall find some girl perhaps,
And a better one than you,
With eyes as wise, but kindlier,
And lips as soft, but true.
And I daresay she will do."

—*The Chilterns.*

In 1914 came the War. There was a great upheaval in the spiritual life of England. Rupert Brooke himself described the feelings of an English youth on first hearing of the war :

"As he thought 'England and Germany,' the word 'England' seemed to flash like a line of foam. He was immensely surprised to

perceive that the actual earth of England held for him.....a quality which, if he'd ever been sentimental enough to use the word, he'd have called "holiness." His astonishment grew as the full flood of 'England' swept him on from thought to thought. He felt the triumphant helplessness of a lover....."

Noble words these. Under the stress of a national emotion Rupert Brooke woke into a new poetry of life: the lover became the patriot, a martyr, a hero. To live poetry was the noblest thing in the world, he had said, and the closing months of his life are the moving climax of a great spiritual drama. At the end of his travels he had written: "I've left bits of me about—some of my hair in Canada, and one skin in Honolulu, and another in Fiji, and a bit of a third in Tahiti, and half a tooth in Samoa, and bits of my heart all over the place." But he had always loved England—had loved her flowers and roamed through her ways!—and now when the War broke out, his utterance put forth a new eloquence. The five war sonnets—1914—are of the finest breath and essence of ambitionless heroism. Intensely human and full of noble pathos, they symbolise the young soldier's spirit of self-dedication and unquestioning surrender. In later war poetry one finds the tragedy of the Great War—its ruthless horror, its repulsive ugliness, the desperate courage with which it was fought and won—but not the fine idealism—may we not say the inspiration?—of its initial stage which made the young soldier forsake his dream and hope that he shared with England.—

"Blow out, you bugles, over the rich Dead!

There's none of these so lonely and poor of old,

But, dying, has made us rarer gifts than gold.

These laid the world away; poured out the red

Sweet wine of youth; gave up the years to be

Of work and joy, and that unhopèd serene,

That men call age; and those who would have been,

Their sons, they gave, their immortality.

Blow, bugles, blow! They brought us, for our dearth,

Holiness, lacked so long, and Love, and Pain.

Honour has come back, as a king, to earth,

And paid his subjects with a royal wage;

And Nobleness walks in our ways again;

And we have come into our heritage."

—*The Dead.*

When Rupert Brooke died there was a chorus of tributes. Mr. Abercrombie praised the faultless beauty of his self-sacrifice. Mr. Drinkwater spoke admiringly of his rare gifts ; " never was a personality more finely balanced," he wrote. Rupert Brooke was awarded posthumously (1916) the Howland Memorial Prize of the Yale University, for which "an idealistic element in the recipient's work is a necessary factor ;" and Mr. de la Mare spoke on "*Rupert Brooke and Intellectual Imagination.*" Touching letters were written to his mother. " He had a charm that was literally like sunshine," one of these said. Sir Ian Hamilton who had seen famous men and brilliant figures in his day had never seen one "so vital and so thrilling " as Rupert Brooke. " Like a prince he would enter a room...and put a spell upon every one around him." No more glowing tribute was paid to the young soldier poet, and none better deserved, than the words of Winston Churchill: "A voice had become audible, a note had been struck, more true, more thrilling, more able to do justice to the nobility of youths in arms than any other, more able to express their thoughts of self-surrender, and carry comfort to those who watched them so intently from afar."

The poems of Rupert Brooke do not possess the songlike quality that one finds in the lyrics of Mr. W. H. Davies or Mr. de la Mare. His diction is not simple and restrained like that of Mr. A. E. Housman. Nor has it the gorgeousness and splendour of James Elroy Flecker. It has a robustness all its own, not an easy spontaneity, but a weight which has the stamp of introspection. It is not incompatible with Rupert Brooke's raptures, for there is nothing laboured about it. On the other hand it is natural and original and has a freshness which one finds in the conversation of all vivacious persons. In his technique he shows the deftness of a Swinburne, while his feelings have the acuteness and subtlety of Donne. His poetry has a marvellous sense of life, and his understanding is almost Shakespearean. In intellectual enthusiasm and idealisation of love and beauty, in his hatred of convention and an imagination with metaphysical proclivities, he is a Shelley, terrestrial but more human !

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THE BRITISH CABINET.

By S. K. SASTRI, M.A.

THE cabinet system of government is the sap centre of the modern parliamentary leviathan. Its successful working is of cardinal importance to the democratic representative system—nay it is the life blood of parliamentarianism. For obviously parliamentarianism implies the doctrine of ministerial responsibility, which in popular phraseology is called cabinet government, and it may be asked whether this system is the only good one for working the state machinery. If cabinet government has worked satisfactorily in Great Britain, is its success certain in other lands? The answer that France gives is a palpable no, and obviously this is in keeping with the principle that soil, climate and environment determine the nature of a substance. It is not difficult to understand why it is not possible to grow mango in Europe, and, if there has been a revulsion in feeling against cabinet government all over Europe, it only testifies to the fact that imitation is at best a bad business.

A state is a machine that converts the disorganised and discordant energy of the masses into a desirable and purposive social activity and its nature must obviously be determined by the nature of the forces that give it shape. In England these forces are the characteristics of the British Cabinet and give shape to the parliamentary state of Great Britain.

The aims of the British Cabinet are the aims of the British State, *e. g.*, the conversion of human energy into a desirable process. But what is the nature of the British Cabinet itself? It can well be said that it is a carburettor of the great engine, the state which converts the negative energy of the British nation into positive motion.

It is of course the fundamental nature and purpose of the British Cabinet, as it is of all the other instruments of statal activity that exist, to challenge what Ward called the efficacy of effort of the cabinet system.

But the British Cabinet has certain other qualities the rationale of which can only be understood by a dip into the past when the cabinet principle was entering and evolving into the parliamentary life of England.

¹ Cf. Finer, *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*.

One of this is that it has no legal existence. It is an informal body and though fundamental as to its functions it is accidental as to its origins. It is the great channel of communication between the Lords and the Commons. Gladstone refers to it as a "threefold hinge that connects together for action the British constitution of King or Queen, Lords and Commons. Like a stout buffer spring, it receives all shocks and within it their opposing elements neutralise each other. It is perhaps the most curious formation in the political world of modern times, not for its dignity, but for its subtlety, its elasticity and its many-sided diversity of power. It lives and acts simply by understanding without a single line of written law to determine its relations to the monarch or to the Parliament or to the nature or to the relation of its members with one another or to the head."¹

Bagehot describes it as a combining committee—"a hyphen which joins, a buckle which fastens, the legislative part of the State to the executive part of the State. In its origins it belongs to the one, in its functions to the other."² According to Sydney Low it is a cross between the Committee of the Privy Council and a Committee of the two Houses of Parliament, implying thereby that members of it are at once the servants of the Crown and the servants of the nation.³ The cabinet although it is a committee of the legislature is a committee which can dissolve the assembly that appointed it.⁴ It is a committee with a suspensive veto—a committee with a power of appeal.⁵ Either the cabinet legislates or it can dissolve, it is a creature, but like the monster of Frankenstein, it has the power of destroying its creator. It is an executive which can annihilate the legislature and it is an executive which is the nominee of the legislature. It was made but it can unmake. It was derivative in its origin but it is destructive in its action.⁶

The British Cabinet can be looked at from three points of view: (1) formal, (2) conventional, and (3) actual.⁷

(1) From the formal or legal point of view the cabinet is only a committee of the Privy Council and its members are His Majesty's servants. In 1667 when Charles II formed his Cabal, they were his

¹ Gladstone, *Gleanings*, p. 169.

² Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, p. 85.

³ Sydney Low, *Governance of England*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

servants not only formally but actually. But, now though the despots of the State, actually speaking, they are still his servants from the point of view of theory. This is one of the legal fictions.

In fact what we regard as a legal fiction was once a legal actuality. To explain the present, we must as Burns¹ said go to the past. Why the cabinet has now become responsible to parliament and not remained responsible to the monarch we can only explain by saying that it has responded to the demands of environment. The principle of relativity, as *Finer* thinks, permeates all institutions. The cabinet was formed for the sake of convenience, it remains for the sake of efficiency. When William III acceded to *Sunderland's* suggestion in 1695 to select his Ministers only from the Whig party he responded merely to the demands of environment, i.e., his action was relative to the situation which confronted him and not because he wanted to lay the foundation of majority rule. When *Walpole* in 1742 resigned on the question of *Chippenham* election, he merely took cognisance of a new situation and he had not the slightest intention of being the source of a new convention—the convention that the ministry must resign if it loses the confidence of the Lower House.

It is sometimes said that an accident is usually the turning point in one's career. We might say this of the life of the English constitution and regard its turning point to be the year 1714 when the accident merely happened to be the German origin of *George I* and his ignorance of the English language. Might we not also regard the dominant personality of *Walpole* as an accident? All these factors helped to give the British Cabinet its modern shape.

(2) From the second or conventional point of view, the ministers of the British Cabinet are collectively responsible to the legislature and hold office so long as they retain the latter's confidence. It is of course *Walpole*, as we have seen, who is responsible for this practice, but we cannot say that without him this practice would not have arisen. In fact in the *Grand Remonstrance*, 1641, it was stressed that the King should choose such advisers as the Parliament may have cause to confide in. The impeachment and dismissal of *Danby* in 1679 showed that Parliament was in right earnest to uphold this view. According to convention, therefore, the cabinet is the nominee of the Parliament and responsible to it.

(3) But what do we find when we regard the cabinet from the last and actual point of view? We find that it owns conditional and

¹ Burns, *Political Ideals*.

not actual responsibility, and that even not to the Parliament as a whole but to the dominant party in power. The cabinet is responsible to the Parliamentary majority on the condition that the latter be responsible to the electoral majority and the judge, of this contingency, is not the Parliament but the cabinet. Thus once appointed the cabinet is the complete despot subject only to the will of the ultimate sovereign, and the Parliament is to be merely a machine for the registering of the cabinet's will. At present a new convention is in the process of formation—the convention that the cabinet must appeal to the electorate whenever its existence is threatened. Hitherto it had resigned when it lost the confidence of the House of Commons. Now it always risks an appeal to the ultimate sovereign. Obviously it is better to destroy one's destroyers before getting destroyed when the alternative of pious non-violence is nevertheless destruction.

The keystone of the cabinet arch is the Prime Minister. He is not only the head of the cabinet but the head also of the political party in power. He is the nominee of the nation. He admonishes, controls and guides the cabinet. But the area of his powers and activity lies within a charmed circle.¹

The cabinet in England passed through the following four stages in its evolution :—

- (1) Indifference
- (2) Division
- (3) Violent opposition
- (4) Absorption.²

1. Before the time of Charles I the term "cabinet" was applied to the unofficial confidential advisers of the Crown who were all members of the Privy Council.

2. During the reign of Charles I and Charles II the term "cabinet" was a term of reproach. Clause 4 of the Act of Settlement provided that all matters relating to the Government of the kingdom which was cognisable in the Privy Council should be transacted there and should be authenticated by the signature of such Privy Councillors as have advised and consented to the same. The 6th article of the same Act proposed the exclusion of all persons from Parliament holding office under the Crown. Both these clauses were repealed early in the reign

¹ Bagehot, *ibid.*
Traill, *Central Government*.

of Queen Anne. During this period the cabinet was superseding the Privy Council but had not yet permanently displaced the latter body as authoritative advisers of the Crown.

3. During the third period of its existence in the reign of William III the cabinet approached its modern form. Finally towards the close of the eighteenth century the political conception of the cabinet as (1) a body necessarily consisting of members of the legislature, (2) of the same political views and chosen from the party possessing a majority in the House of Commons, (3) prosecuting a constructive policy, (4) under a common responsibility to be signified by a collective resignation in the event of parliamentary censure, and (5) acknowledging a common chief minister, took shape in the modern theory of the British constitution. •

Since the war the size of the cabinet has provoked a good deal of controversy. On the one hand men like Lord Curzon of Kedleston thought that cabinet government had become obsolescent. In 1918 he expressed the belief that the cabinet system was a failure both as a war machine and a peace machine. The Haldane Committee on the machinery of government reported in the same year that "arrangement of the supreme direction of the executive organisation as it formerly existed has been rendered necessary not merely by the war itself but by the prospect after the war."

On the initiative of Mr. Lloyd George a war cabinet consisting of five members was formed. "You cannot," he said, "wage war with a Sanhedrim." And the theory was also developed that the members of that cabinet should have few or no portfolios.

The Haldane Report contemplated that the cabinet of the future should approximate to that of the war cabinet; the members were not as a rule to act as heads of departments, but to exercise functions supervisory and co-ordinating rather than directly administrative.¹ An opposite view is taken by Mr. H. V. Laski. While admitting that the cabinet should not consist of more than twelve persons, he regards it as essential that each minister should have a portfolio. Policy, he thinks, cannot really be separated from administration; the essence of measures lies always in their execution.² We agree with Mr. Laski's view here stated and add that this is the only practical way to retain the cabinet system in British politics. Lord Curzon's plea that cabinet government was obsolescent and needed a replacement is not

¹ Laski, *Grammar of Politics*, p. 859.

² Marriot, *English Political Institutions*.

practicable specially in view of the fact that British temperament resents any sudden and violent change as the failure of the republican constitution of the Cromwellian regime amply testified. On the other hand a cabinet of five with no portfolios is not a practicable scheme either. War is not peace. If a portfolio was a hindrance to a cabinet minister during the war it does not mean that it will make him inefficient even during peace. Theory divorced from practice leads to chaos; allied to it, it leads to order and system.

The cabinet system could not work satisfactorily were it not for certain factors¹ and these are (1) neutrality and anonymity of the Civil Service, (2) the organised arrangement of the cabinet's work by a secretariat, and (3) the aid of special experts in the development of policy. These may be called the technical factors. There are others which may be called party factors, (4) party control by the caucus, and (5) the continuous existence of a "shadow" of ex-cabinet composed of the leaders of the "opposition."²

We began by saying that the cabinet system of government is the sap centre of the modern parliamentary leviathan. We have shown how this is so; now it is proper to remark at this stage that the viscera of parliamentarianism is in a precarious condition due to certain eruptions in its system. As the cabinet has reduced parliament to merely a registering contrivance, so it seems that it will itself be reduced to a mere contrivance for registering the will of the bureaucrat.

The real ruler of England, says Ramsay Muir, are not the members of the cabinet but the bureaucrats.¹ At the question hour a minister is not usually asked to defend a policy initiated and carried by himself but of a joint accomplice. We thus have a queer process of evolution in the life of the English constitution. We first had the parliament which assumed importance after the time of Edward I. Later comes the familiar Privy Council revived and assuming much importance in the Tudor and Stuart times. Out of this grows the cabinet which in the whole of the 19th century has a brilliant career. The parliament now begins to lag behind in importance, being replaced in all important matters, legislative and executive, by the cabinet. Already in 1866 we find Bagehot describing the cabinet as a monster that eats its creator. The 20th century heralds the bureaucracy which threatens the decay of the cabinet system.

¹ *Finer, Theory and Practice of Modern Government.*

² *Ibid.*

¹ *Ramsay Muir, Peers and Bureaucrats.*

We of course do not imply that bureaucracy is a creation of the modern times. We have it, as Ramsay Muir informs us, in the Tudor and Stuart times¹, when it was used as a lever to win support for the King's policy. Later, Walpole used it to good purpose in the electioneering process. But the modern bureaucrat is recruited not by nomination but by competitive examinations, and he cannot, therefore, be the scapegoat of the dominant party.

The bureaucracy in England is the real governmental machine of that country and we might regard the ministry as the channel through which its demands are expressed. "Lords, Commons and the Cabinet might almost be described as a complicated and decorated garment," clothing and concealing the real working body of bureaucracy.

It would thus appear that the cabinet system of the 19th century has become antedated. The new environment demands that it either be reformed or give way to something that suits better the new situation created by the modern bureaucrat. If cabinet government fails parliamentaryism is doomed—nay, the whole edifice of the representative system is bound to perish. For in our opinion parliamentary government, involving the principle of cabinet solidarity and responsibility, is the foundation of the representative system; and the presidential system as prevailing in U.S.A. we regard as a travesty of the representative system.

But what are we to say when the representative system itself is looked upon with distrust and suspicion. The modern pragmatic revolt in politics is undoubtedly a revolt against the "intellectualism" of the 19th century but the parliamentary or representative system of government itself is founded fundamentally on an intellectualist assumption. Hence the attack against the representative principle. "Both the pluralist syndicalism which would discredit the state and the fascist syndicalism which would regiment humanity under a functionally organic and a politically irresponsible state, profess to spring from the same pragmatic impatience with the liberal gospel of representative government."²

Is the cabinet system then bound to atrophy or, is it possible that it will collect itself for a new effort to live? We can answer this by saying that both the alternatives are possible. Either the cabinet

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ Elliot, *The Pragmatic Revolt in Politics*.

system is reformed or it gives way to new machinery. We find that the countries still adhering to the parliamentary representative system become less and less in number. The Bolsheviks realised too well in Russia that compromise between the workers and the capitalists is an impossible proposition. Mussolini later realised the same fact. His Fascist philosophy scorns any intellectualist assumption. Now we find that the Nazi revolt is another addition to the camp of the pragmatic rebels. Is not Austria similarly threatened? At least for the time being it can be said without exaggeration that Herr Dolfuss is a dictator in Austria if only as a necessity against the Hitlerite-phobia.

We have said above that the cabinet system is a good mechanism for converting human energy into a desirable process. But good is different from better. The cabinet system of government is efficient all right, but is not there a possibility, as the pragmatistic revolution in government clearly demonstrates, of something that is more efficient? Obviously the postulate of utility demands that the value of the cabinet system be judged by its service and not by its tradition. A native of Britain usually feels that parliamentarianism is the life-blood of his liberty. He resents change even if the lack of it entails inefficiency. He is constrained to argue in the manner of Burke and to venerate what he cannot understand.¹ It is however obvious that prejudice and sentiments are of no value to scientific exactitude which demands a disinterested search for facts and not an interested presentation of them.

A scientific attitude starts from the fundamental assumption that nothing lives for ever; that the facts of nature and environment determine the fact of organic human life as of all life generally. The cabinet system in England has had a full and successful life from 1714 till the beginning of the 20th century. If it now fails even in England—the bulwark of conservatism—it merely testifies to the fact of the new environmental pressure, which demands expression in institutional form.

¹ Burke, *Reflections*.

INTERNATIONAL PRISON LEGISLATION WITH REFERENCE TO LABOUR

By PANKAJKUMAR MUKERJEE, M.A., B.L.

THE prisoners are no more the outcasts of society for their criminality but they are now recognised as social beings who deserve treatment for their abnormality.¹ The civilisation of to-day is wide enough to accommodate those who are generally spurned and are compelled to become desocialised. Penology now wants to teach people to regard the value of the lives of those criminals and to utilise them for social development. From the point of view of humanity also it can well be urged that there is no right of one part of mankind to cut off another because of the latter's weakness or disease without trying for its recovery. Amputation is recommended by surgery only where no other alternative is left. With the development of the science of penology the theory of punishment also has undergone a great change.

Italy has taken an important lead in this line of work. Her new penal laws are perfectly humane and adapted to the present needs of mankind. America has become conscious of the growing importance of prisoners. Germany is fast advancing in the treatment of criminals under the lead of Dr. Viernstein, the Director of Mental Hospital in Bavaria. England has improved her penal system by her recent laws regarding the criminals.

In India the problem of the treatment of the convicts requires an immediate recognition. Though the Prison Commission of 1919 in India has thoroughly investigated her penal system and recommended a good many important reforms, they have not been carried into effect to this day.²

Convict labour is daily increasing in number. If the statistics of 1930 be compared with that of 1926 it will be found that the convicts have increased by 223,466 (from 684,850 to 903,316).³ The

¹ See Oppenheimer : *Rationale of Punishment*, London, 1913; Ruggles-Brise : *Prison Reform at Home and Abroad* (London, 1924); *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Philadelphia, Sept., 1931), special number on the "Prisons of Tomorrow."

² See *Indian Jails Committee Report*, 1921 (Summary of Recommendations). For modern achievements in penal treatment see Sutherland, *Criminology* (New York, 1924).

³ For figures relating to prison life see the *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1931-32, p. 104.

jail industry is also rapidly expanding. This expansion is being alleged to have given rise to a sort of competition between the jail administration and the private industrial organizations.

Our penal laws are almost retributive in nature. Reformation is not possible where threat and unnatural confinement of the inner forces are the only weapons with which to fight out criminality. New penology does not advocate desocialisation but just the reverse of it. Socialisation of the prisoners is the basic principle of penal treatment today in theory and practice.

Theories of punishment¹ can broadly be divided into three or rather four classes, viz., "retributive," "preventive," "reformative," and "deterrent." In primitive times mankind used to live in small families within a clan. The father of the clan had to do justice for the wrongs done by its members. Punishment in that age was based purely on revenge, i.e., ear for ear, nose for nose, and limb for limb. If A cut the ear of B, then A had to lose his ear. But people began to realise that pure revenge could not form the basis of punishment, because in that case neither the accused nor society would derive any benefit. So the preventive theory of punishment arose. People began to consider that punishment ought to be inflicted for the prevention of further crime so that future society would derive the benefit of penalty. Later appeared the theory of reformation. This theory is the maximum evolution of human mind with regard to the penal laws. The reformatory theory of punishment upholds the view that penalty should be modified in such a manner as to reform the accused who will not reiterate the same action in future. The thief ought to be reformed into an honest man.

Finally, the theories of "expiative" or "deterrent" nature may be said to be the subdivisions of the theories of retribution and prevention respectively. The deterrent theory of punishment puts forth that the ideal of punishment should be such as to threaten other prospective criminals in such a manner that they fear to perpetrate similar offences. That is to say, punishment must be so severe as to deter others from doing the same action. The expiative theory of punishment affords compensation to the injured party and thereby releases the accused.

¹ For an account of modern criminology as expounded by Lombroso, Tarde, Aschaffenburg, Parmelee and others see B. K. Sarkar's *Political Philosophies since 1905* (Madras, 1923). On the subject of criminality see Sorokin's critical observation in *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York, 1928), pp. 162-163, 559-561 and on punishment see Hobhouse's discussion of the idea of justice in *Social Evolution and Political Theory* (New York, 1911), chapter on "Evolution and Progress."

Now, the question is often raised as to what is the true theory of punishment ? ¹ According to certain thinkers it is retributive, others again are of opinion that it is preventive, whereas another group upholds the reformatory theory as the truest theory of punishment. But in reality the combination of all the three demonstrates the true nature of punishment.

In India almost all the three theories of punishment exist behind her penal system. The system of flogging is retributive in nature, the system of rigorous imprisonment and secular confinement preventive. Capital punishment may as well be put under the group of retributive punishment as it implies a life for life. The system of fine stands in the group of expiatory theory of punishment. With the exception of juvenile punishment which can be grouped under the reformatory theory, there is no other form of punishment which can directly be brought under it.

But each form of punishment can be so interpreted as to imply a reformation of the delinquent. The idea of punishment implies that the delinquent must understand the cause of his punishment which lies in the violation of such rights that form the common or public good. That an actual violation of a right or omission to fulfil an obligation to society has given rise to the infliction of punishment ought to be impressed upon the mind of the delinquent. On the other hand, the authority punishing the man must also base his decision on the right conception of the violation or omission of a right or obligation which the accused could have refrained from if he had so desired.

The conception of right founded on relation to public good ought to be the criterion of punishment. That criterion alone would give rise to a "just punishment." The significance of the "just" may be said to exist in the complex condition of an individual in society for the realization of his capacity of contribution to social good. If the former conception of social good as the criterion of punishment stands confirmed then no other theory but the theory of reformation alone can be adopted. The theory of reformation must be such as to regard the subjective reforms rather than a physical reformation. The science of penology is based on the reformation of subjective personality through the creation of environment and the treatment of the mental and physical maladies of the criminal.

¹ For an analysis of the different schools of criminology see *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XIth Ed. (Article on Criminology), also the chapter on punishment in *Parsons's Criminology* (New York, 1920).

Mr. Robert Taylor in his presidential address at the 17th Annual General Meeting of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce made a sweeping remark against the rising competition between the jail industries and the private industrial enterprise. He remarked that Government's policy seemed to tend towards the conversion of jails into industrial concerns engaged in supplying all the needs of different departments of the Government.¹ There are reasons to suspect the rise of competition out of Government policy from the very position of the Government which is stronger than the private industrial concerns due to three reasons. The convict labourers are not paid regularly like those in the factories. The prison labour is put to a greater discipline and remains under stricter control than the factory labour. Lastly, it may be suspected that convict labour being not skilled produces the coarser quality of goods which may be sold in the market at a low price.

But such suspicion can well be shuffled away on considering the circumstances by facts and figures. It is better to compare at first the statistics of convict labour with that of factory labour. Next, the kind of production in prison and those of the factory, and lastly, the question of skilled and unskilled labour in those places may be taken up for consideration. From the statistics of 1930-31 the total number of convicts engaged on working days is 123,464. Those who are employed in preparing articles for use like wheat-grinding and weaving of bed-sheets and other sundry articles number 15,312 and those who are actually employed in manufacturing concerns number 40,670² whereas the number of workers engaged in the factories in the year 1930 is as follows:—

Men	...	...	1,235,425
Women	...	...	254,905
Children	...	...	37,972
Total			1,528,302

Leaving aside the numbers of workers engaged in different departments of prison other than the manufacturing concern, we find that the number is negligible. It amounts to 179,446 only, whereas the total number of factory workers is 1,528,302 in 1930. The difference

¹ *Labour Gazette* (Bombay), Sept. 1932, p. 31

² *Indian Year Book*, 1933, p. 449. For figures relating to the employment of convicts sentenced to labour, see *Statistical Abstract for British India up to 1931*, Table No. 48.

of these two totals is sure to convince us that there is hardly any case for the competition of the jail production with that of the factory. Large-scale production in an Indian jail is almost a rare event. The main principle laid down with regard to jail manufactures is that the work must be penal. Care is taken that the jail shall not compete with local traders. Moreover, the production of the jail is not so varied in kind as to be in a position to compete with the factory products. Finally, the question of skill stands foremost to solve the doubt of rising competition of the jail products with that of the factory. It is absolutely true that all the jail hands can never be trained in the different branches of work like those in the private factories. Unskilled labour in jails cannot produce quicker and finer stuff than factory workers.

The regulation of jail production in such a manner as to avoid competition with private industries should be attended to more carefully while framing the Indian penal laws. The time has come when penal legislation ought to set before itself the ideal of treating the convicts for the purpose of rehabilitation. And with this object in view should be introduced the method of payment to convict labour. The large expenditure for a penal administration may well be realised from the statistics given by the Government.¹ The payment may be made to the prisoners out of the sales of the produce of convict labour. In that case the Government would not be loser whereas the public also will not be able to think of an unjustified competition between the jail and private industry. Moreover, the Government will not be in a position then to make an undersale in the market. Thus the apprehension of economic competition can thoroughly be put an end to.

With the system of payment, if convict labour be put under the inspection of some officer belonging to the category of factory inspector, the question of overwork or strain and forced work may also be eliminated. Thus the Indian legislature may profitably pass some laws concerning the prisons of India with distinct provision for payment and inspection of convict labour by outside inspectors other than jail officials. The ground of introducing outside inspectors may be indicated to lie in an expectation of a better administration of the factory laws and a greater confidence of the people. The prison labour ought to be governed in cases of hours of labour and safety of health by the factory laws of India.

¹ For amount of expenditure see *Statistical Abstract for British India up to 1930-31*, Table No. 52.

It is accepted on all hands that work is essential for the prisoners not only as a disciplinary method but also for training and reformation.¹ But the meaning of the term 'work' is not taken in the same manner by all the nations. Japan includes exercise, instruction, appearance before the court, even interrogation, into the category of work, whereas the Swiss cantons interpret the said term in a different way and confines it only to the work of free industry. Then, as regards the period of work, the hours are different in different countries. The principles on which those differences lie are two in number. They are as follows:—

(1) Some consider that the hours should be varied according to the nature of the sentence so that a proper correction may be expected. The example of this system may be found in the present Penal Code of Germany.

(2) Others are of opinion that within the walls of the prisons, the convicts are the same, so their working hour ought to be the same. There is some consideration for the women convicts who get certain privileges more than the males.

In England the maximum working hour is ten. The recent Berne Commission on the minimum standard rates has insisted upon fixing a maximum working period which may vary according to the nature of sentence. But the legislature before determining the maximum hours, variable according to the nature of the prisoners, ought to examine the nature of the work as well. For the nature of the prisoner would show one side of the card, whereas the other side, that is, the nature of work, would remain unknown, which requires investigation for a correct determination of a fixed maximum period.

There is another consideration with regard to the working period. It is in reference to the question whether a cessation in the work of the convicts is essential or not. The Berne Commission recommends that every prisoner should have the opportunity of satisfying the needs of his religious life. In America prisons also observe Sunday as the day of rest. Each Sunday ought to be reserved for the stoppage of every form of activity when moral or religious training can be imparted freely.

For the sake of rehabilitation or socialisation, the prisoners ought not to be kept absolutely outside society. People with an intellectual ability and of social habits ought to be allowed to come in the prisons and to talk with their inmates. Because the prisoner ought not to get

¹ Baggley-Brice, *Prison Reform at Home and Abroad* (London, 1924). See also *International Labour Review* (Prison Labour), April, 1932.

an opportunity to think that he is an outcast he must be trained to think that society will again welcome him if he only reforms himself. Means ought to be adopted through legislation by which the criminals can avoid that sort of mental degeneracy. Society on the other hand is to be moulded so as to guide and sympathise with the criminals like the diseased persons returning from the hospital.

Regarding the aim of the penal treatment Mr. Jose Almaraj, President of the Supreme Council of Social Defence and Prevention in Mexico, says that the aim of penal treatment is not intimidation but cure, regeneration and re-adaptation.¹ The Indian Penal Laws ought to be framed upon the said principles of Jose Almaraj.

With regard to the work of the convict labour, the 'Quota System' has been adopted by the civilised nations of the world. The task system or the quota system implies nothing but an assignment by law or by prison regulations of certain daily, or weekly quota of work fixed in advance for each prisoner. The Indian Penal Laws ought to consider the quota system carefully so that the prisoners may not become the victims of the warders who are no better than the prisoners themselves. According to the "principles for treatment of prisoners" (1923) in Germany the quota ought to have a basis in the average productive capacity of a healthy prisoner who is acquainted with the work. Another method of determining the quota consists in ascertaining the physical and mental ability of the convict to guard against any monotony of work, because the stereotyped work affects the psychology of a prisoner. The latter system of fixing a quota is better than the German system, because the German method has neglected to consider the psychology of a prisoner unlike that of the latter system. The reformation of a prisoner is the ultimate aim of any prison law. Discipline is meant to bring about the normal psychology of a prisoner rather than to turn it into a blunt and shapeless one.

Prison Law should also include the health and safety provisions for convict labour. Like the ordinary factory labourer, the workers in the prison should be governed by protective laws against danger. In many countries provisions have been made for the compensation of injury dealt out by accident.² Germany recognized the importance of such protective law for the prisoners as early as the beginning of

¹ *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sept. 1931 (Prisons of Tomorrow).

² Sarkar, "Accident Insurance in Comparative Legislation and Statistics" in the *Insurance World* (Calcutta), January, 1933.

the twentieth century. The Prisoners Accident Assistance Act of 1900 in Germany has enabled the prisoners and their dependants to claim an invalidity pension or survivor's indemnity. The Hungarian Act of 1927 includes all undertakings of the employed persons confined in a reformatory or in a house of detention as well as those detained persons within the purview of the Accident Insurance System. In India the scope of the Workmen's Compensation Act may well be extended to the prisoners. In the alternative, a portion out of the payment to the prisoners may be deducted for the purpose of contribution in an insurance fund which will help in exigencies. So the Government shall have to bear little burden for such insurance system, whereas the prisoners would receive a great privilege.

There are three principal systems of Prison Labour Organisation, *viz.*, (1) the contract system, (2) the piece-rate system, (3) the state-management system. The contract system has been again subdivided into three classes. The first is the lease system, the second the general contract system, and the third the special contract system.

The contract system implies the hiring out of prison labour to private persons, companies or associations. By the lease system, the lessee, or the person to whom prison labour has been given in contract, has to bear the whole burden of the prisoners and in exchange he would get the privilege of employing them. That is, the lessee has to bear the costs of boarding, lodging and clothing of the convicts and in addition to that he has to arrange for their guards also. In exchange of all these, he only gets the advantage of their labour. Under these circumstances, it can easily be surmised that the lessee hardly undergoes any loss by sympathising with the convicts. He must exact labour out of those convicts as much as possible to realise his outlay and to make profit over it.

In the general contract system, the prison labour is guarded and put in Government detention but the contractors supply the implements for work as well as fooding for which they get the prison labour at their disposal. The contractors here have to pay large sums for use of prison labour to the Government.

The special contract system is just like the general contract system, the only difference lying in the fact that the Government retains the whole administration of the jail in its own hands. The contractors have to supply the tools and raw materials and get in return the whole output. Prussia adopted the system of special contract. But it has now been abolished with the formulation of certain "principles for the treatment of prisoners," according to which the

prisoners may be allowed to work under private contractors only when the latter undertake any job on the prison account.

The piece-rate system affords the contractor the advantage of state control in the direction of prison labour and its general management and he receives the goods made according to his order by supplying raw materials and fixed price to the authority. The contractor does not have to pay for the spoilt products nor has he to repair any implements if supplied.

By the system of state management, the state provides the materials and tools, and also directs the prisoners to work according to its own purpose or for that of the public. If the products are meant for the state, it is called the state-use system, and if these are meant for the public it is called the public-account system. The state-use system is the best possible method in which the prisoners can be put to work. Work of the following nature generally falls under the state-use system: construction or maintenance of prisons, roads, public works, bridges, embankments, the clearing of the waste lands and other agricultural operations.

It may be suggested that, for Indian prisons, the combination of the state-management system with the piece-rate system is desirable.¹ The contract system has the greatest drawback in the fact that the prisoners would be overworked and badly treated, for contractors will exact the maximum production of the labour which has come in their control and for which they have to pay. The result of such work would tell upon the body and the mind of workers.

The piece-rate system may indirectly give rise to a sort of competition in business life. Moreover, the prisoners cannot be expected to get a continued supply of work under this system as the orders cannot be expected to be continuous. Finally, the work for the state-use could not be done at the same cost as that in the state-management system, because the state has to get that work done by hired labour from outside. So to keep the prisoners engaged and to give them a sort of lesson for rehabilitation, the combination of the two systems is best.

By the combination system, the prisoners would not only get a continued supply of work but they would also get a chance of coming across varieties of work which will eliminate the drudgery of monotony. To adopt pure state-management system is no doubt the best, but it

¹ For general regulations relating to factory and other industrial labour see, for instance, the Indian Factories Act, 1922, and *Report of the Indian Labour Commission* (1931).

would mean such a huge amount of initial expenditure to set up machineries and other things and to make proper arrangements for labour control that a poor country like India cannot launch into such an adventure in the very near future.

If we want to follow the new ideals of penology then we cannot forego the system of payment to the prisoners. The modern idea of treating a criminal is not based on revenge but on reform. If reformation is to be achieved, it ought to be achieved from both the subjective and objective sides at one and the same time. Because they are almost inalienable twins. It would not be exaggeration to say that the mind requires first to be treated and then the body of the criminal. If that proposition be once taken for granted then the problem of payment can easily be solved. As in society we have the right to work and to get remuneration for that, so also a prisoner retains the right to claim payment for the service done to the society or the state. It does not matter whether the service is under compulsion or freely offered. The soldiers in times of war are often recruited under compulsion but for that reason, they are not deprived of their remuneration or other privileges. The prisoners often come out with degenerated frames of mind at the expiry of their term due to exaction of forced labour. The reason behind it is nothing but the nauseous atmosphere of the prison life and the sordid indifference of society to put them in proper position.

The compulsory system of work in prison stands as an obstacle to the realisation of the new ideals of penology. The link of compulsion in jail work can be eliminated by two processes. In the first place, the system of remuneration may be introduced, and in the second place, the system of allotment of task by qualified supervisors may be enforced to do away with the idea of compulsory work. Two benefits are derived from the system of payment for work to the prisoner. They would not think it a drudgery to serve and so an initiative to work would be given to them by such system. They would get a training to work and to earn in prison-life which they may profitably use when they would come back to society. One of the best means of socialisation is the system of payment for work in prisons.

Arguments can also be put forth from the financial point of view.¹ The prisoners might contribute to the penal administration by

¹ *International Labour Review*, March and April 1932; *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1931 (Prisons of Tomorrow).

maintaining themselves. In the penal system of Italy it has been ascertained that the prisoner maintains himself out of the remuneration he gets from service. In England there exists no legal provision for payment to the prisoners. The system of remunerating the prisoners had its origin in the Continent. In Swiss cantons the prison authorities determine the payment of the different prisoners. France has a system of indirect payment, i. e., once a sum is credited in the name of the prisoner, he will receive that for good. The new Italian Penal Code has made it obligatory to pay the prisoners. The Penal Code of U. S. S. R. goes even further than the new Italian Code by giving prisoners the right to sue the state for sums due to them. Now it can be suggested that Indian Penal Law ought to recognise this system of payment in both the financial and psychological aspects. The system of payment is required to be made obligatory instead of depending on the whims of the authorities in charge.

Another most important question relating to prison labour that often arises in the mind of a penal law reformer consists in the consideration as to whether prisoners ought to work together or should work separately, in other words, whether prisoners should work in associated confinement or cellular confinement. There exist three systems of imprisonment throughout the world, viz., the classical form of cellular confinement or the Pennsylvania system, then the collective detention or the Auburn system, and lastly, the Irish system.

The Pennsylvania system is based on the conviction that complete isolation would induce the prisoner to reflect within himself and thus there would be a self-reformation. This conviction, however, is associated with a deformed notion of psychology. The modern theory states that a man in cellular confinement loses his divinity and becomes more demoralised and gets lasting moral and mental disorders. By the end of the 19th century the whole of Europe abandoned the Pennsylvania system and adopted the New Pennsylvania system which implies work and isolation combined.

The Auburn system means that the prisoners would work in the day in groups but at night they would be separated. Finally, the Irish system has classified the prisoners and their work. The prisoners get promotion from one group to another upon the earning of conduct marks. The sentence begins with cellular confinement, followed by work in common and separation at night. In each higher conduct class, the restriction to liberty is further relaxed. The "intermediate prison" is the last stage from which the final

discharge is available. The Irish system is also known as the "progressive stage system."

The Indian penal law may adopt the Irish system for the prisoners with long sentence and the New Pennsylvania system for those delinquents who have a short-term sentence. The short-term prisoners will not have the time to pass through all the stages of the Irish systems nor will they be able to receive proper training in all those stages. So the Pennsylvania system along with the fixed quota of work would afford the short-term prisoners a great aid.¹

Calcutta.

¹ Text of a paper read at the *Āntarjātik Bāṅga Parishat* (International Bengal Institute), Calcutta.

RISE OF THE REPUBLIC OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA¹

By TARAKNATH DAS, PH.D.

DR. Eduard Benes, Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs, has attained the status of a very distinguished statesman, through his activities for the progress of his own people and as a champion of democratic ideals. He was born in 1884. After finishing his education in Prague he went to France in 1905 and spent nearly a year there. Then he went to England for several months and returned to Paris. In October 1907 he spent a year in Berlin University to study social conditions in Germany. He came back to France (Paris and Dijon) to take his law examinations and having completed his studies returned to Prague in September 1908. After his return to Prague, he pursued the career of a publicist and educator, while interested in politics as a member of the Progressive Party, composed mostly of intellectuals and followers of Dr. Masaryk.

Before and during the World War, Dr. Benes was a member of a secret revolutionary organization in Czechoslovakia, the object of which was to achieve complete independence of Czechoslovakia and the destruction of the Austrian Empire. He was the General Secretary of the Czechoslovak National Council, which during the World War, worked in various world centres especially in the *allied countries* to win the support of Great Powers to the cause of Czechoslovak independence. When the Czechoslovak National Council was transformed into a provisional government, recognised by the Allied Powers, Dr. Benes became the Foreign Minister; and for the last fifteen years he has played a very important part in shaping the destiny of his people and the course of world politics in general.

Dr. Masaryk was the President of the Czechoslovak National Council; and his life-long activity for the cause of freedom of his people has earned for him the title of "the liberator of Czechoslovakia." Dr. Masaryk has told his story in the work *The Making of a State*, published by George Allen & Unwin. Dr. Benes in his work *My War Memoirs*, a book of five hundred pages, packed with facts, tells the story of the part played by Czechoslovakian revolutionists in foreign lands, during the World War which served as a war for the

¹ *My War Memoirs* by Dr. Eduard Benes, Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs, translated from the Czech by Paul Selver. London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1928, pages 512.

liberation of oppressed nationalities within the Austrian, German, Russian and Ottoman Empires. This book has a distinct value from the standpoint of a phase of diplomatic and military history of the World War. It also provides the most interesting and successful account of the liberation of a people, whose leaders utilised the international situation to their revolutionary cause.

Czechoslovak nationalist movement (national revival) derived its theories of national liberty from humanitarian philosophy of the French, just as the other Slavonic nations did, and just as certain other nations derived from it the principles of their national unification (p. 494). Before and during the World War, this movement was divided into various parties or groups. The Conservative nationalists (Right Wing) were for national autonomy within the Austrian Empire. They were in favor of the preservation of the Austrian Empire, through a federation of various national states. Many of the Catholic party supported this group. The Socialists (the Left Wing) were thinking of a socialist state and were not interested in national autonomy or mere national independence. This group was not particularly interested in Czech nationalism, but anxious to co-operate with German and Austrian socialists and radical elements in Russia to bring about a new social order in Europe. There was a powerful pro-Slav group who were for Czech independence ; but they placed undue emphasis on its achievement through Russian support. Dr. Masaryk was the philosopher of Czech independence ; but he was not a dreamer. He was a statesman of unusual breadth of vision. He headed a group of nationalists, primarily intellectuals, who had a definite political philosophy of linking Czechoslovak national aspirations with the humanitarian and democratic ideals of the progressive western nations. While the Czechs were to do their share at home, they must enlist the support of these nations, who were bound to come in conflict with Austro-Hungary, for their liberation. The people of Czechoslovakia owe primarily to Dr. Masaryk and his brilliant followers their national independence. It may be said without fear of contradiction and without minimising the work of hundreds of Czechoslovak patriots that Dr. Benes was and is one of the most important collaborators of Dr. Masaryk.

When the World War broke out the Allies took but little interest in the cause of Czech independence and it was up to the Czechs, if they desired to gain something for their nation during the war, to get to work and draw attention to their claims (p. 39). Dr. Masaryk advised his followers of the necessity for them to follow a policy which

would prevent them from being crushed by the war and which would enable them to derive the greatest advantage from it (p. 27.). In November, 1914, Dr. Masaryk presented his plans without reserve:—

“ Whatever happened, we must carry on an active opposition to the Government, otherwise we should obtain nothing from Vienna, even if Austria were not victorious.....For political and moral reasons, active opposition to the Government must be carried on, whatever the outcome of events.....” (p. 29).

To carry out this idea, Prof. Masaryk decided to leave Prague and to remain abroad throughout the war and begin a resolute struggle against Austria with a full acceptance of the personal and political consequences to himself which this would involve. “ What he aimed at was to organise the first modern group of Czech *political emigres* who, in concert with the politicians at home, would take open and responsible action against Austria-Hungary ” (p. 39).

Prof. Masaryk was convinced that no foreign work would lead to any success, unless there was co-operation between Czech political exiles abroad and the Czech political leaders at home. Dr. Benes was entrusted to carry on necessary work at home while Dr. Masaryk took charge of foreign work. In this connection one may read with interest the last instruction of Prof. Masaryk to Dr. Benes:—

“ The last subject of our discussion was the question of how Professor Masaryk was to keep in permanent touch with our people at home. He told me to form a secret committee from among our political workers. In the manner of the Russian revolutionary methods, such a committee would have numerous ramifications at home; it would illicitly keep up communication with abroad and would be permanently in touch with official Czech and Viennese politics. From behind the scenes it would keep the organised political *emigres* informed about what was happening there. He also mentioned to me that it would be necessary to distribute this organization over the rural districts, to have a secret printing press, and devoted helpers at once to replace any of the members who might be arrested (p. 41).”

Dr. Benes did organise this Secret Committee and acted as its Secretary. He gives a detailed account of his method of securing official information through trusted men in the army, police and high political offices of Vienna and Prague.

After several months' stay in Switzerland where he founded effective organisation for spreading information regarding Czech

national aspirations, Prof. Masaryk felt it to be necessary that a few more able workers from home should join him for furthering the cause of Czech independence through international action. In the meantime the work at home progressed rapidly and the authorities, to crush the movement, adopted very severe measures and arrested many trusted co-workers of Dr. Benes. Dr. Benes ultimately fled from Prague to Switzerland and joined Professor Masaryk and others. Dr. Masaryk left Dr. Benes in charge of the work at Switzerland and went to England where he was in closest touch with many persons of high academic and political standing. After carrying on his work in Switzerland for a few months Dr. Benes decided to go to Paris to be in touch with the French authorities. Here it may be noted that in the work "My War Memoirs" Dr. Benes gives the whole history of Czechoslovak independence movement in Switzerland, France, Italy, Russia and the United States and particularly the detailed history of dramatic efforts of the Czech leaders (exiles) to organise a national Czech army from the Czechs living outside the Austrian territory and the Czech soldiers who were taken prisoners by the Allied Powers. This Czechoslovak army formed in foreign soil and aided by foreign powers played the most important part in promoting the cause of Czech independence through international action. This army of 150,000 men "who of their own accord were willing to sacrifice their lives for their ideals, must be regarded as having very significant implications" (p. 499).

Czechoslovak independence was achieved through two forces—Czechoslovak efforts supported by the Allied Powers. Dr. Benes writes:

"In our struggle for liberty each of the Allies occupied its particular position in accordance with its views and interests. They did not present us with our liberty as a gift, but let me add that we ourselves would never have won our liberty by our strength and labour. It was a joint achievement. Every Czechoslovak is under an obligation always to bear this in mind (p. 499)."

At the beginning of the World War the Allied Powers felt that they should try to detach Austria from Germany and if possible make a separate peace with Austria and thus isolate Germany. This policy was most unfavourable to the cause of Czechoslovak independence. Czechoslovak policy was to bring about a change in world politics to such an extent that it would result in absolute destruction of the Austrian Empire which would lead to independence of various

nationalities within it. Of course, Serbia and Poland were in favor of this policy. It is interesting to note that Italians, to promote their own national interests, were supporters of the Czech programme:—

“The Italians—whether they belonged to non-official political circles or whether they were in an official position—constantly had one idea in mind; they had entered the war and in return for that were promised Trentino, Dalmatia, Trieste, and the Littoral. If the war were concluded before Austria-Hungary was compelled to grant these concessions, they would neither receive what was promised nor an adequate return for their share in the war (p. 149).”

In the chapters “The Peace Offensive of the Central Powers” (pp. 141-158) and “Attempts at concluding an Undecisive Peace—Allied Negotiations for a Separate Peace with Austria-Hungary” (pp. 219-258) Dr. Benes supplies very valuable data regarding the peace projects of the Vatican, peace efforts of President Wilson as well as those of the Central Powers—Germany and Austria. It is interesting to note how cleverly Czechoslovak leaders worked to influence world politics, especially the policy of the Allies on their behalf:

On December 16, 1916, President Wilson through representatives in the belligerent countries delivered a special note calling upon all the belligerent powers to inform President Wilson of their war aims. Professor Masaryk in London, Captain Stefanuk in Russia, and Dr. Benes in Paris began to work hard so that the allied reply to President Wilson would definitely champion the cause of Czechoslovak independence. In this they were successful. In his memorandum to the French Foreign Office, delivered on the 29th December, Dr. Benes laid special emphasis on this point:—

“The Czechs form an element which, under present condition, causes Austria-Hungary the greatest internal difficulties. If, in replying to Wilson, you recognise our political aims and plans, you will strengthen their opposition to Austria, which will thus be completely disorganised (p. 155).”

It should be noted that the allied reply to President Wilson, dated January 10th, 1917, contained the following significant passage:—“Peace is not possible until a reparation of all infringed rights and liberties has been secured together with a recognition of the principle of nationality and the free existence of small states” (p. 152). This declaration was made primarily due to French

initiative. One may point out that France took the initiative for upholding the *principle of self-determination*.

In the chapter on "Triumph of the Policy of Self-determination" (pp. 300-351), Dr. Benes discusses details of Czechoslovak co-operation with Jugoslavs, Poles and Rumanians during the World War to further the policy of dismemberment of the Hapsburg Empire. Unless one carefully reads this chapter, he cannot fully understand the real significance and the origin of the rise of the Little Entente and Polish-Czechoslovak relations.

Speaking of the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav relations Dr. Benes writes: "At the Peace Conference also we took joint action in all common and fundamental problems. The treaties of alliance which were concluded later on between the two independent States, through the co-operation of Trumbic, Vesnic, and Nincic, formed merely a logical conclusion of our common policy during the war" (p. 310).

The basis of Czechoslovak-Polish co-operation was: "In order to achieve the Polish aims (independence) it would be necessary to destroy Austria-Hungary" (p. 313). In October, 1917, Dr. Benes met Take Jonescu and Titulescu, the Rumanian statesmen, when a definite policy of co-operation was formulated. Dr. Benes writes:—"In discussing the situation we agreed that we should win in the end, and after the war we should pursue a common policy in Central Europe" (p. 315). The root of the formation of the Little Entente lies in the co-operation of these states during the World War. Dr. Benes expresses his idea as follows:—"In spite of the passing difficulties which were encountered at the Peace Conference between the Jugoslavs and the Rumanians on the subject of Banat, and between the Rumanians and ourselves regarding Carpathian Ruthnia, this co-operation during the war prepared the ground for that post-war Little Entente policy at which Masaryk and the rest of us had been systematically working since 1917" (p. 316).

The Great Powers furthered the cause of Czechoslovak independence most effectively. France was the first nation which recognised the Czechoslovak National Council and Italy followed France. Great Britain was not anxious to commit herself to any policy which might be regarded as in favour of the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is very interesting to note that men like Mr. Wickham Steed, Dr. Seton Watson and Lord Robert Cecil had much to do in aiding Dr. Benes in his negotiations with the British Foreign Secretary, Balfour. By the Declaration of August 9, 1918, issued by Mr. A. J. Balfour, it was decided that the British Government would not

make any treaty with the Central Powers without Czechoslovak independence. The following is the text of the important document:—

“ Since the beginning of the war the Czechoslovak nation has resisted the common enemy by every means in its power. The Czechoslovaks have constituted a considerable army, fighting on three different battle-fields and attempting, in Russia and Siberia, to arrest the Germanic invasion.

“ In consideration of its efforts to achieve independence, Great Britain regards the Czechoslovaks as an allied nation, and recognises the unity of the three Czechoslovak armies as an Allied and belligerent army waging regular warfare against Austria-Hungary and Germany.

“ Great Britain also recognises the right of the Czechoslovak National Council as the supreme organ of the Czechoslovak national interests, and as the present trustees of the future Czechoslovak national interests, and as the present trustee of the future Czechoslovak Government, to exercise supreme authority over this Allied and belligerent army.

August 9, 1918.

A. J. BALFOUR.” (P. 407.)

On September 2, 1918, President Wilson issued a proclamation, regarding the Czechoslovak independence which exerted the profoundest influence in shaping the Allied policy. It is well-known that Prof. Masaryk who was at that time in the United States was in close touch with President Wilson. The proclamation reads as follows:—

“ Washington,
September 2, 1918.

“ The Czechoslovak peoples having taken up arms against the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires, and having placed in the field organised armies, which are waging war against those Empires under officers of their own nationality and in accordance with the rules and practices of civilised nations, and Czechoslovaks having in the prosecution of their independence in the present war confided the supreme political authority to the Czechoslovak National Council, the Government of the United States recognises that a state of belligerency exists between the Czechoslovaks thus organised and the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires.

“ It also recognizes the Czechoslovak National Council as a *de facto* belligerent Government, clothed with proper authority to direct military and political affairs of the Czechoslovaks.

"The Government of the United States further declares that it is prepared to enter formally into relations with the *de facto* Government thus recognized for the purpose of prosecuting the war against the common enemy, the Empires of Germany and Austria-Hungary." (P. 416.)

After the actions taken by France, Italy, Great Britain and the United States, Japan on September 11, 1918, also made a declaration in favour of Czechoslovak independence. "Professor Masaryk's visit to Tokio in April, 1918, had a decisive influence in this respect. His personal intervention, his negotiations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other authorities, the appointment of a representative of Czechoslovak National Council at Tokio and the activity of Czech soldiers in Siberia led to this recognition." (P. 413.)

On September 15, 1918, the French Government not only extended full recognition of the interim Czechoslovak Government, but on the 28th of September Dr. Benes, on behalf of the Czechoslovak Government, signed an alliance with France and made arrangements for the proclamation of national and state independence on November 8, 1918.

While the international situation was progressing in favour of the Czechoslovakian people, the Central Powers were facing a military defeat. The Czechoslovakian statesmen at home in the past did not take any action which might be prejudicial to the activities of the National Council in Paris. With the collapse of the Central Powers, they took bolder steps in supporting the work of the National Council. These statesmen formed a National Committee to take over the actual government of the country and sent a delegation to meet the representatives of the National Council. These representatives met in Geneva and agreed to accept Professor Masaryk as the President of the Czechoslovakian Republic. Dr. Benes¹ as the Foreign Minister and General Stefanik as the War Minister. Later on the work of the Czechoslovakian statesmen at home and abroad and the sacrifice of the Czechoslovakian people for the cause of their independence was crowned with success by the international recognition, through the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. In conclusion it may be noted that after three hundred years' servitude under an alien rule, the Czechoslovak people attained their goal of national independence.

Florence, Italy.

¹ Knowledge of various languages—English, French, German and Italian—was a great asset for Dr. Benes in his foreign work.

MEDIAEVAL BENGALI LITERATURE

(*A Catalogue.*)

By DR. TAMONÁSHCHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A., PH.D.,

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BENGALI literature of the mediæval period has many characteristic features deserving of special notice. When we apply the term "mediæval" whether in respect of Bengali literature or in the field of Bengali politics, we mean that period which began with the decadence of the Hindu-Buddhist power and ended with the downfall of the Muslim supremacy, that is to say, roughly the period between 1199 A.D. (conquest of Navadwip by Muhammad Bin Bakhtiyar Khiliji) and 1757 A.D. (Battle of Plassey). This is, no doubt, markedly different from the European conception of mediæval epoch which begins with 476 A.D. (fall of the Western Roman Empire) and ends with 1453 A.D. (fall of Constantinople) or 1494 (discovery of America by Columbus).

If one asks what is the moving force behind mediæval Bengali literature, we should at once answer—it is religion. Bengali literature of this period is mainly illustrative of Hindu religion and is written invariably in verse. It may conveniently be divided into three main sections according to the characteristic features each of them holds. They are as follows:—

- (1) The indigenous literature.
- (2) The translation literature.
- (3) The Vaisnava literature.

(1) THE INDIGENOUS LITERATURE.

The peculiar feature of this type is its intensely religious and national character which, perhaps, no other branch of our literature can claim in equal proportion. Every locality of Bengal had, at one time, a deity of its own. This gave rise to numerous novel cults which, in their turn, were responsible for a large body of very popular laudatory verse. These poems may not have attained originally the status of literature, but they at least supplied incentive to later poets to write lengthy poems of considerable literary worth.

depicting not only the beneficent powers of particular deities but also incidentally the national life of the period. This literature may be subdivided into two classes, viz., (1) the *Sivāyanas* and (2) the *Mangal-kāvya*s.

So far as the spirit is concerned the *Sivāyanas* and the *Mangal-kāvya*s are essentially Bengali in character representing true rural Bengal unalloyed by any extraneous elements. As regards language it has grown more and more sanskritised with the passage of centuries, thus showing the influence of Brāhmanic ideals and culture.

A marked difference exists between the two subdivisions of indigenous literature, the *Sivāyanas* and the *Mangal-kāvya*s, as regards subject-matter. The *Sivāyanas* deal invariably with the fortunes and domestic life of the rural god Siva (later on identified with the *Paurāṇik* god of the same name to whom Buddha's attributes were added) while the *Mangal-kāvya*s deal with the fortunes of human beings whose sufferings were due to their want of belief in a certain deity whom they were afterwards compelled to worship. Moreover, in the *Sivāyanas* we do not meet with any devotee for whose sake the deity condescends to perform any miracles as is the case in the *Mangal* poems. The latter also contain almost invariably a *Bāramasi* and a *Chautisā* which are its peculiarly characteristic features. In common, however, both the types furnish us with true pictures of Bengali domestic life which go to prove the purely national character of these poems both in their spirit and outward features. It is not clear why, with the exception of a brief reference to Siva and his agricultural exploits in the *Sunya Purāṇ* (11th century), we do not come across any mention of the god in a separate literature hallowed by his name, till we come down to about six centuries later (17th century), when the *Sivāyana* reached a high degree of perfection in the hands of Ramkrishna and Rameswar. It is difficult to explain the existence of this big gap stretching from the 11th to the 17th century.

The *Mangal-kāvya*s, however, flourished up to the middle of the 18th century and Bharat Chandra's *Annadāmangal* is perhaps the last great example of this particular type. But the poem which represents truly this kind of literature and characterises the decadence of the indigenous spirit and advent of the Sanskrit influence is Kavikankan Mukundaram's celebrated *Chandi-kāvya*. It depicts the Bengali home in a wonderfully realistic way which has no parallel in other *Mangal-kāvya*s. Among the *Manasāmangal* poems the works of Bejoy Gupta, Bansidas and Narayan Dev, and among the

Dharmamangal poems those of Ghanaram and Marik Ganguli attract our special notice for the wealth of poetry and information they contain.

(2) THE TRANSLATION LITERATURE.

When we speak of translation literature, we mean that kind of Bengali literature which grew up from translations of Sanskrit religious works. This literature falls chiefly under three heads, *viz.*,

- (i) The *Rāmāyana*.
- (ii) The *Mahābhārata*.
- (iii) The *Bhāgavata*.

A word should be said as to the origin of this particular type. The Mahomedans conquered Navadwip from Raja Lakshman Sen (1199 A.D.) Henceforth, it seems, they gave more attention to the conquest of the land than to the study of the culture of the inhabitants. Thus, perhaps, about two centuries elapsed before the force of their iconoclastic tendencies was spent up. At last they found out that as they became settlers of the soil and were put by providence into the position of rulers it was more profitable for them to administer the land and its people with sympathy than to kill or oppress them. The internal administration of the country was naturally in the hands of the Hindus. It dawned in the minds of two Pathan Sultans, Husen Shah and Nasarat Shah (15th-16th century) that it was necessary for them to get some knowledge of the religious works of the Hindus and for that purpose to invite learned Sanskrit scholars to translate them into Bengali so that the Pathan rulers might understand them and compare them with their own *Koran*. The famous Sultan Husen Shah being backed by his officers and Zaminders (both Hindu and Mahomedan) did yeoman's service to our then poor literature by encouraging not only writers of indigenous literature but also men like Kavindra Parameswar, Srikaran Nandi and others to translate the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhāgavata* and other Sanskrit works.

The Moslem rulers being primarily concerned with the political administration of the country the management of the Hindu society fell into the hands of its natural leaders, the Brahmanas. Due to the influence of the Brahmanas, the *Paurāṇik* form of Hinduism with its Sanskritic ideal came into vogue and the Buddhistic ideals of society were gradually relegated to the background. Coupled with this, the endeavour of the Moslem rulers to befriend our literature

helped Sanskrit culture to make much headway. Hence, in the field of literature, Sanskrit poetics and expressions as well as old Hindu heroes and heroines began to predominate in a very large measure. So we see that indigenous Behulā, Ranjāvati, Lakhā, Sanakā, Phullarā, Chānd, Kāketu, Lāusen, Kālu and others had gradually to make room for Sitā, Sāvitrī, Chintā, Gaurī, Rāmchandra, Yudhisthir, Satyavān, Harischandra and others of *Paurāṇik* and epic fame. Faith in God and faith in the Brahmanas were considered the highest virtues in this age and so it became the object of our literature to extol and illustrate these virtues.

Another factor, the tantrikism with its mother-worship, was incorporated both in Buddhism and Hinduism, and although the tantrik spirit is much more noticeable in the indigenous branch of our literature, it had none the less some influence upon the translation and the Vaisnava literatures as well.

However, though we sometimes miss in translation literature sturdy ideals like those we find in the indigenous, we have a consolation in the fact that we are indebted to Sanskrit influence for the wealth of fine expressions to be found in Bengali as well as for the welding up of the many races of Bengal into one whole nation.

(3) THE VAISNAVA LITERATURE.

This branch of our literature has certain unique features. While Hindu society was being reconstructed in the 16th century according to orthodox views by giant intellects like Raghunandan and translation literature was being produced as a result, under the patronage of Moslem rulers, the great Chaitanya brought about immense changes in society and literature by preaching the gospel of " Bhakti " or devotion. Consequently Bengali literature was strengthened to an unprecedented degree. In translation literature Sanskritic stories and ideas were rendered into fine metrical Bengali while in Vaisnava literature Bengali was embellished by Sanskrit quotations. In language the introduction of *Brajabuli* and other partly exotic dialects enriched our language and vastly enhanced its expressive qualities. The Vaisnava literature with its many-sided activities inaugurated and enriched two new branches, viz.,

- (i) Historical-Biographical literature.
- (ii) Lyrical literature.

(i) *Historical-Biographical Literature.*

This particular literary type was absent (barring some genealogical records) until the advent of the Vaisnavas. Chaitanya's life and activities, as well as those of other Vaisnava saints, furnished the devotees of the sect with a rich theme for biographical writings which they did not fail to utilise to the full. In these biographical works, the illustrious authors have given us much incidental description of contemporary Vaisnava society and thus have provided us with very helpful side-lights. Among the most prominent of such works may be mentioned *Chaitanyabhāgavata* (Vrindabandas), *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* (Krisnadas Kaviraj), *Chaitanyamangal* (two works by Lochandas and Jayananda), *Bhaktiratnākara* (Narahari Chakravarti), *Prem Vilās* (Nityanandadas), and a *Kaṇḍā* (Govindadas).

(ii) *Lyrical Literature.*

The Vaisnava lyrics are unique in the annals of Bengali literature and some of the pieces rank amongst the very finest in the whole range of world literature. These poems express very well the emotional side of the Bengali character and are saturated with the spirit of the Bhakti cult which found in the story of Radha and Krishna a very convenient and poetical vehicle for conveying the subtleties of its profound philosophy. Chandidas, Vidyapati, Jnanadas, Govindadas, Balaramdas and a host of other lyric poets (*pada-kartās*) embellished this type of our literature, and Chaitanya's life, teachings and God-vision gave it an unparalleled impetus. The dreamy beauty and ethereal melody of these *pada* songs with their subtle suggestion of more than earthly love have ever charmed and haunted the Bengali mind, whether ancient or modern. But, there is also a dark side to the picture. The mellow ideal of the cult of love, however beautiful in itself, could not but have an enervating influence on the Hindu society, which, as a result began to lose heavily in the political chess-game against stronger and more unscrupulous antagonists. But all this notwithstanding, the good of Vaisnavism certainly outweighs its bad. When we remember that it was Vaisnavism that roused the country from the heavy stupor of degenerate tantrikism into which it had fallen, combating all the while courageously with deep-rooted evils like caste-distinction—we shall think twice before burdening it with the numerous charges that are every now and then being levelled against it by a host of unsympathetic critics.

There are some other types I have not yet mentioned, *viz.*, (1) the *kulajis*, (2) the folk-tales, (3) and the ballads. The genealogical records (*kulajis*) were mostly written in Sanskrit. There are yet extant some written in Bengali, which deserve special notice as they speak much of contemporary history just as the Vaisnava biographical literature did. The connection with Sanskrit works tempts us to include them as adjuncts to translation literature. As regards the folk-literature it may be said that they are precious heirlooms of the Bengali nation. Some of them have come down from mouth to mouth from the dim past, with slight changes, and are valuable as an indicator of the cultural progress of our people. As for the ballads it may be asserted that some of them are old enough to trace their origin from the days of the Palas (*e.g.*, the Gopichand songs) though doubtless they were committed to writing in a subsequent period. There are, of course, some which are not so old, but contain both fiction and history. The ballads are extremely precious as they contain a good deal of high class poetry and seldom show any Sanskritic influence. In this respect they may be well compared with the Vaisnava lyrics, although the outlook of the former is mundane while that of the latter is essentially spiritual. Ballads are no doubt valuable assets of the indigenous literature and they contain far less court influence than the *Sivāyanas* or the *Mangal-kāvya*s.

The following, necessarily meagre, list of the more important works will show the development of Bengali literature from the 13th to the 18th century. It will be seen from the list that literary production is especially prolific in the 16th and the 17th centuries. Both the Vaisnava and non-Vaisnava (indigenous and translation) literatures

¹ As examples of indigenous poetry, the Bengali ballads occupy a unique position..... Chronologically speaking, most of them are comparatively modern, but the earliest of them are to be traced to the early Pala-period, as we find mentioned in the inscriptions of Dharmapala and Mahipala.....Some of the folk-stories, published by the University, may be traced to the 10th century or earlier.

The poetic value of these ballads has elicited a high appreciation from the foremost European scholars and some of them, like the distinguished artists Mr. Rothenstein and Mrs. Hogman, have spoken of them very highly. In the opinion of the latter some of the ballads are superior in poetic merit to the masterpieces of Maeterlinck and Madame de Lafayette.

Rothenstein calls the heroines of a few of the Bengali ballads as figures of Ajanta fresco-paintings, endowed with life and clothed with the imaginative poetry of those wonders of Hindu art. According to Mrs. Hogman "They deserve to be on the same shelf, as eternal classical masterpieces amongst the books that never grow old and in which each generation discovers new reasons to love them."

Having no element of Hindu mythology or religious legend, these secular tales have a direct appeal for the Europeans who appreciate them more than Vaisnava poetry.

began to progress just like two parallel lines, ending in the deterioration of both in the 18th century (the age of Raja Krishnachandra) and their final exit in the 19th due to the combined influence of the English missionaries and English administration. During the first years of the British administration the printing press, coupled with European incentive, was responsible for the production of large numbers of secular works ¹ which marked the departure of the old era and ushered in the new.

13th Century.

Indigenous literature—

Manasāmangal by Kana Hari Dutt; *Dharmamangal* by Mayur Bhatta;
Chandimangal by Manik Dutta; *Chandimangal* by Dwiya Janardana.

14th Century.

Translation literature—

Rāmāyana by Krittivasa (age disputed—14th or 16th century?); *Mahābhārata*
by Sanjaya.

Vaisnava literature—

Padas by Chandidas (age disputed).

15th Century.

Indigenous literature—

Manasāmangal by Bijay Gupta. (Completed the work in 1494 A. D. during
Husen Shah's reign.) *Dharmamangal* by Govindaram Banerji;
Dharmamangal by Ruparam.

Translation literature—

Mahābhārata by Kavindra Parameswar (written between 1495-1500 A.D.);
Mahābhārata by Dwiya Abhirama; *Mahābhārata* by Srikanan Nandi;
Bhagavata by Maladhar Vasu (completed trans. in 1480 A.D.)

16th Century

Indigenous literature—

Manasāmangal by Bansidas (later 16th century); *Manasāmangal* by Narāyan
Dev.

Translation literature—

Rāmāyana by Sankar Kavichandra (later 16th century).

Vaisnava literature—

Chaitanya Bhāgavata by Vrindavandas. (Written in 1573 A.D.).

16th Century.

Indigenous literature—

Chandimangal by Dwiya Hariram; Kavikankan Mukundaram (written
1577-1569 A. D.). *Dharmamangal* by Manik Ganguly (written in
1547 A.D.)

Translation literature—

Rāmāyana by Dwiya Madhukanta; Ghanasyām Das. *Mahābhārata* by
Ghanasyām Das; Rajendra Das; Nityananda Ghosh (early 16th century);
Kasidas (late 16th century); Gangadas Sen; Chandandas Mandal.

¹ See Long's Catalogue.

Bhāgavata by Madhavacharyya (early 16th century); Kavichandra; Syama Das; Raghunath Bhagabatacharyya; Ramkanta; Gauranga Das; Narahari Das.¹

Vaisnava literature—

Chaitanya Charitāmṛta (1582 A.D.) by Krishnadas Kaviraj. *Chaitanya-mangal* by Lochandas; by Jayananda, Nityananda Bangsamālā by Vrindabandas. *Padas* by Govindadas.

17th Century.

Indigenous literature—

Mauasāmangaḥ by Ketakadas Khemananda (written in 1650 A.D.); Jagatjiban Ghosal (end of the 17th century). *Rambinod. Sivāyana* by Ram Krishna. *Chandimangal* by Krishnakisore Ray. *Dharmamangal* by Ramchandra Banerjee; Ramnarayan.

Translation literature—

Rāmāyana by Dwija Dayaram; Krishnadas Pandit, *Mahābhārata* by Bisarad (written in 1612 A.D.); Dwija Srinath; Vasudeb Acharyya; Nandaram Das (brother of Kasiram Das) (written *Drona Parva* in 1660 A.D.); Poet Saral (of Utkal) (mistakenly called Saran); Krishnananda Vasu; Dwaipayandas; Ananta Misra; Ramchandra Khan; Dwija Krishnaram (*Aswamedh Parva* only); Trilochan Chakrabarti; Rameswar Nandi. *Bhagavata* by Kavisekhar; Daivakinandan; Haridas; Abhiram Das; Narasingha Das; Achyutadas; Rajaram Datta; Dwija Parasuram.

Vaisnava literature—

Karnānanda by Jadunandandas (1607 A.D.). *Premvilas* by Nityanandadas (written 1600 A.D.) (real date possibly later than 1640 A.D.). *Karnananda* by Jadunandandas (1607 A.D.). *Padas* by Jnanadas; Govindadas (young man in 1600 A.D.) (older opinion for both of them—16th century, later opinion—17th century). *Vaisnava Padas* by Balaramdas.

18th Century.

Indigenous literature—

Sivāyana by Jiban Maitra (written in 1744 A.D.); Rameswar Bhattacharyya (1760 A.D.). *Manasāmangaḥ* by Dwija Rasik (end of the 18th cen.); Jiban Maitra (middle of 18th century). *Chandimangal* by Bhabanisankar Das (written in 1779 A.D.); Jayanarayan Sen (first part of the 18th century). *Kālikāmangal* by Dwija Kalidas. *Dharmamangal* by Ghanaram Chakrabarti (written in 1713 A.D.); Sahadev Chakrabarti (written in 1740 A.D.)

Translation literature—

Bhāgavata by Sankardas; Jiban Chakrabarti; Bhabananda Sen; Uddhabananda. *Rāmāyana* by Advaitacharyya (real name Nityananda), (written in 1742 A.D.); Dwija Lakshmana; Dwija Bhabanidas; Jagatram. *Mahābhārata* by Lakshmana Bandyopadhyaya.

Vaisnava literature—

Bhaktiratnākara by Narahari Chakrabarti (written between 1716-1740 A.D.). *Bamaś Śiksha* by Purusottam (written in 1710 A.D.).

¹ Though the *Bhāgavata* belongs to the Vaisnava literature we include it in Trans. Lit., for obvious reasons.

One of the best *Rāmāyanas* was written in the 19th century. It is the *Rāmāyana* of Raghuśūndar Goswami composed in 1830 A.D.

VILLAGE SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BENGAL

The Constitution of the Union Board

By NARESHCHANDRA ROY, M.A.

SOON after the Bengal Village Self-Government Act was passed it went into effect in some of the progressive districts, and gradually during the last one decade and more it has been extended over most parts of the Province. During the discussion of the Bill in the Legislative Council, some members expressed the opinion that the Act should be at once applied to every part of the Province. But this point of view was unacceptable to the Government and negated by the Council. It was thought wise that the Union Boards should first of all be given a trial in the more suitable and congenial areas and as they proved successful there, they might be introduced step by step in other localities.

The Union Boards or, for the matter of that, the earlier institutions, the Village *Panchayets* and the Union Committees, are the creatures of the Government. They have not grown from below but have been imposed from above. Their existence as corporate bodies is not in any way independent of the Provincial Government. In fact, as they are brought into being by the Government, so at any moment they can be withdrawn also by the same authority. There is a definite provision in the Act empowering the Executive Government to abolish by notification the Union Boards in any district or part of a district where they have been introduced. At the time of the passing of the Bill in 1919 there was an attempt made by some of the members of the Council to withdraw this power proposed to be given to the Government. It was their opinion that the districts where the Union Boards had once been introduced, should not be deprived of them by the fiat of the Government. But this amendment was rejected by the Council at the instance of the Government spokesman. The Union Boards are thus absolutely dependent on the Government for their very existence.

When the Union Boards are to be introduced in any district, the Government of Bengal have to consult the views of the District and Local Boards of that area. It is of course not necessary that the opinions of the District and Local Boards should be binding upon the

Government. But as the co-operation of these bodies is essential for making the experiment of Union Boards successful, the Government do not, as a rule, extend the V. S. G. Act to those areas where the District and Local Boards are doubtful as to the necessity of its extension or the possibility of its success. Even when the local officers of the Government are enthusiastic about the introduction of Union Boards in a particular locality, the Government of Bengal do not usually fall in with their suggestion when the District Board is hostile or even apathetic. The fact that the Village Self-Government Act is still inoperative in the District of Midnapore, is wholly due to the positively hostile attitude of the District Board there.

The number of members of a Union Board has to be fixed by the Government of Bengal, but the Act provides that they must not be less than six or more than nine. Within these limits the Government are to exercise their discretion. Usually the Union Boards have the maximum number of members. Of the total membership of a Board not more than one-third may be reserved to the Government for nomination by the District Magistrate. Although the Government may, under the Act, reserve for such nomination less than one-third of the total number of members, everywhere during the last fourteen years that the Act has been in operation, one-third of the members has been invariably nominated by the District Magistrate. The District Magistrate can, under the Act, nominate only those persons to be members of a Union Board, who are eligible to be elected by the rate-payers in that capacity. It is the Circle Officer who in the first instance prepares the list of persons who may be nominated to a Union Board. This list may be revised by the Sub-Divisional Officer and the revised list is then submitted to the District Magistrate who is to make the final appointments. The list of selected members is then forwarded to the Commissioner of the Division who sends it up to the Calcutta Gazette for publication. The procedure of nomination involves considerable delay. Very often, more than six months pass by after the general elections before the nominations are gazetted and the Boards properly constituted. Besides, the right type of men to be nominated is not available in many places.

Some District Officers on these grounds have advocated that the system of nomination should be discontinued, and all the members of the Union Boards should be elected by the rate-payers. It is also held that the principle of nomination by the agents of the Government is not in keeping with the ideals of democracy and the spirit of the times. Against these views, however, it is urged that the system of nomination

is still essential to prevent the over-weighting of the Boards by any single community and the under-representation of other groups. It has been the policy of the District Officers to nominate two Hindus when the majority of the elected members is Mahomedan, and to nominate two Mahomedans when the majority of the elected members is Hindu. The system of nomination constitutes the only method to maintain a balance between the two rival communities. This argument of minority representation is not, however, quite a valid one. If any provision for such representation is at all necessary, reservation of seats for the two communities on the basis of the voting strength in the Union will be a welcome change. It is a fact of course, that here and there through nomination certain good and desirable men have come into the Union Boards. But generally speaking, only those persons who can curry favour with the Circle Officers have found their way to these institutions through the channel of nomination. As a rule, they are the most talkative, the most incompetent and the most self-seeking. Now that the Union Boards have been experimented with for about fifteen years, the principle of nomination may be wholly abandoned and all the seats should be thrown open to election.

Two-thirds of the members are now returned by election. Women have not yet been admitted to the privileges of franchise. Only the male persons who are of the full age of twenty-one years are entitled to vote provided they have a place of residence within the Union and pay one rupee as tax or cess. A joint undivided family which pays such a tax, rate or cess, may nominate any of its male members of twenty-one years to exercise the vote in its behalf. A Union usually consists of ten to twenty small villages and has a population of six to ten thousand. The number of voters extends from eighteen hundred to three thousand. Generally the Union is divided into Wards. Two to three villages make up a Ward, and the number of Wards extends from four to six. Whether a Union should be divided into such Wards or not, it is the duty of the District Magistrate to decide. The actual constitution of the Wards also is a function vested in him by the Village Self-Government Act. These duties are, of course, discharged by the Circle Officer subject to the final sanction of the District Officer. In most of the Unions every Ward returns one member to the Board. In some Unions, however, one or two Wards have been allotted two members. The number of voters in a Ward extends from three to five hundred. The electoral roll of every Union is prepared Ward by Ward on the initiative and responsibility of the Circle Officer and at least two months before the date fixed for an election the list of voters has to be published

at a conspicuous place within a Ward. This publication gives an opportunity to many people to point out the inaccuracies in the preparation of the electoral roll. The name of a person qualified to vote may be left out, and the name of a person not so qualified may have been entered. These inaccuracies must be brought to the notice of the Circle Officer at least one month before the date fixed for election. Whether the corrections intimated to him are valid or not, it is for him to decide and his decision is final. The revised list which he issues after these necessary amendments is the final register of persons entitled to vote at the election and no person whose name is left out of it is permitted to vote.

Any person who is a voter may stand as a candidate for election to the Board. He may be a voter in one Ward, but he is all the same entitled to stand as a candidate in any other Ward. In practice of course, a man from another village does not stand much of a chance of success in the election. Consequently it is very rare that a resident of one Ward seeks the suffrage of another. Even in Municipalities where the citizens of one part are not unknown to those of another, localism is the dominating sentiment of the people, and the residents of one Ward are not usually entertained as candidates in another Ward. This spirit is all the more noticeable among the rural population and it can be explained by the fact, that one village is separated from another by at least half a mile of arable lands. Social intercourse between them is not very intimate nor are communications very easy. A town has a corporate unity of its own ; but a Union is an artificial combination of disjointed villages. Consequently, it should be expected that every Ward will find its own candidates.

At least six weeks before the day of election the Circle Officer issues notices calling for names of candidates for each Ward. Such notices are published at every village within a Ward. Within the next four weeks those who want to stand as candidates for election have to send their names to the Circle Officer supported by five other voters. Usually the elections in every Ward of a Union are contested. As a rule two candidates stand for every Ward. Now and again, however, there are as many as three in the field. Sometimes, of the two candidates one is strong and influential while the other enters the arena more or less out of fun. In such cases the competition not being keen, the percentage of actual voting is not very high. About fifty per cent. of the electors exercise in such elections their franchise, but very often the two rival candidates are set up by two opposing parties or factions and consequently the competition becomes keen and the attendance of voters very large. It is not infrequently

that eighty to eighty-five per cent. of the electors are found in the polling booth. There can be no complaint, therefore, as to the unwillingness to exercise their franchise by the rate-payers. A rule framed by the Government of Bengal under Section 101 of the Act provides that if ten per cent. of the registered voters do not record their votes, a contested election "shall be held to have failed." There are indeed some stray instances of failures of elections on this score. But on investigation it has been found that the voters failed to appear not out of apathy and want of interest, but out of a pre-meditated policy. In many places the introduction of Union Boards was not welcome to the people and when they were set up in the teeth of popular opposition, the voters refused to exercise their franchise as a protest against it. If the exercise of vote is a mark of political advancement, the rate-payers of the Union Boards are no longer backward. Most of them are no doubt illiterate but they have learnt to take sufficient interest in local politics. In certain districts the voters have, of course, been found to be open to illegal gratification. They have to be absent from their work on the day of election and lose in consequence the day's wages. The amount they have to forego on this account has to be made good by the candidates. But in most of the localities of other districts such corruption has been unknown. The voters in these areas only allow themselves to be treated to refreshments. Their interest in the election is genuine.

Vote by secret ballot has been considered out of the question, as most of the voters are illiterate and inexperienced. In a particular place all the voters who appear are assembled together. The Presiding Officer who is either the Circle Officer himself or a person nominated by him, explains the nature and object of the meeting to the assembled voters and reads out the list of candidates and the number of vacancies. He then proceeds to take a poll for each candidate with his own hand. The agents of the candidates who are allowed to be present in the polling booth may object to a voter exercising his franchise only on the ground that he is not the person under whose name he claims to vote. Such objections are not infrequently raised by these agents, but the Presiding Officer has been empowered to dispose of these objections summarily and finally. He has by his side the Secretary of the Union Board who collects the Union rates from house to house and therefore knows by face practically all the voters. It is as a rule, with his help, that the Presiding Officer makes his decision. The voting being open, it often places the voters in a difficult position. The influence of the Zamindars and the

money-lenders is in many instances brought to bear upon them. In many cases they have been found to exercise their independent judgment even on the face of landlord's threats. But in other areas, the voters have been so cowed down as to allow themselves to be dictated to by the Zamindars. In spite of the obvious defect in the existing arrangement of voting, no better substitute can be suggested until literacy spreads more widely among the people.

A member is elected or nominated for a period of three years. He is of course subject to removal by the District Board during the term of his office on certain specified grounds. If he is convicted of any non-bailable offence; if he is declared to be insolvent; if without a sufficient excuse he absents himself from six consecutive meetings of the Union Board; or if two-thirds of the total number of members of the Union Board recommend at a meeting his removal on grounds of misconduct in the discharge of his duties, he may be removed from his office by the District Board. Such cases of removal are very rare, if they have occurred at all. An elected member usually remains in office for two terms. The principle of rotation in office does not appeal very much to the electors. If a member can give a good account of himself, his return in the next election is almost a certainty. It is only the incapable and corrupt members who lose the confidence of the rate-payers and have to be content with only one term of office. Either they do not stand at all as candidates in the next election, or even if they stand, they find themselves with few supporters. An honest and efficient member is never forsaken by the voters. It is not rare at all that a person has been associated with the Board for more than three terms.

Every Union Board has a President and usually also a Vice-President. Both these officers are elected by the Board from among its own members. Within a week of the publication of the names of the elected and nominated members in the Calcutta Gazette, the Circle Officer is deputed by the District Magistrate to convene a meeting of the Board. Such a meeting becomes valid only if five out of nine members are present. This meeting is presided over by the Circle Officer himself. It elects by majority of votes a particular member to be the President. The votes are usually recorded in writing. Of course if a member is illiterate, the Presiding Officer has to record his vote according to his direction. If within one month of the District Magistrate's order the members of the Board fail to elect a President, the fact is to be reported by the Circle Officer to the District Magistrate who shall then call upon the District Board to

appoint one of the members to be the President. No such instance of default has been discovered anywhere on investigation by the writer. Once the President has been elected and the Board finally constituted, it proceeds to consider whether a Vice-President is necessary or not. Most of the Boards usually decide in favour of electing a Vice-President. A meeting is then held and one of the members is elected in this capacity. The President and the Vice-President both remain in office for a period of three years. It is not necessary that the President should be elected from among the elected members only. It is not rare at all that the choice of the Board has fallen upon a nominated member. It has already been related that here and there persons of some local reputation are nominated to the Board. Such persons, in spite of the fact that they are not returned by election, inspire all the same the confidence of their colleagues and are placed by their suffrage at the head of the Board. It has happened that a President who entered the Board during the first term as an elected member and evinced considerable interest and efficiency in the activities of the Board refused to stand for election in the second term. He, however, became nominated to the Board and was elected President unanimously by the members.

The Union Board itself cannot remove the President. It may recommend by the votes of two-thirds of the total number of its members the removal of the President on the grounds of misconduct and persistent negligence in the discharge of his duties. This recommendation, however, is effective only when the District Board approves of it. This latter authority may also on its own initiative remove the President on the same grounds as an ordinary member. The Union Board has greater control over the Vice-President who may be removed on specified grounds by this Board itself, of course only with the votes of two-thirds of the total number of its members. There are very few instances of the President being removed by the District Board. Not long ago a Circle Officer in a particular district sent a report against the Presidents of two Union Boards to the District Magistrate. The grounds of his report were that they were incapable of acting in this capacity. These reports were sent by the District Officer to the District Board which issued an order for their removal. Some time ago a petition was sent to the District Magistrate by some rate-payers of a Union in another district to the effect that the President of the Board had been convicted of a non-bailable offence, and as such he should not remain at the head of the Board. The petition was forwarded by the District Magistrate to the Chairman of the District

Board. The latter found on investigation that the offence had been committed long before this gentleman was elected to the Board. His interpretation of the section of the Act which empowered the District Board to remove a President was that the offence should be committed during the term of office as an ordinary member or President of the Union Board. He took legal advice and became confirmed in the opinion which he had already formed. The District Board consequently refused to take any step against the President in question.

The term of the President is the same as that of an ordinary member, *viz.*, three years. Usually, however, when the President is not definitely incompetent, and there are no violent factions in the Union, his terms are renewed. It is not rare at all that a person has been the President of a Board continuously for three terms. Here and there absentee Presidents are of course noticeable. They have got their house in the Union, but they reside usually in some neighbouring town. As, however, they have some local reputation and influence, they are elected President. Once a month they come to the village and preside over the Board meeting. Once this duty is done they go back to their work in town. In their absence it is the Vice-President who has to discharge the duties of the President. This arrangement does not redound either to the credit of the gentleman who is elected President or to the efficiency of the Union Board work. If he does not allow himself to be elected President, another useful man may get into the office. But as the latter would not agree to be the Vice-President, his services are considerably lost to the Board. Usually such absenteeism is not encouraged and the President, as a rule, lives within the Union. Very often he is an ambitious member of a local landholding family. In view of the fact that some members of the Board are illiterate peasants, some are petty shopkeepers and grocers, and one or two are teachers of a primary school or village doctors, the scion of an ancient family which had a long tradition of local influence and prestige, is marked out almost inevitably for the Presidentship. Not infrequently such a choice proves to be of real benefit to the Union. The President possesses a natural and hereditary talent for administration and exercises a healthy influence over the other members of the Board. The factions are kept down and the interests of every locality are looked after. Not unoften, however, this recruit from an ancient family proves to be high-handed, unscrupulous and unjust. His fortunes are waning and the influence of his family dwindling. He now wants to make good his loss by the unscrupulous exercise of his

powers as the President of the Union Board. He proceeds to replenish his depleted treasury by taking bribes and otherwise opening himself to corruption. He tries to make his authority felt by the dishonest exercise of his powers in matters of assessment and other fields of Union Board activities. It is on this account that in certain Unions these high-handed pseudo-aristocrats are opposed by more popular candidates and a local doctor or a local tradesman is elected to the Presidentship. In certain Unions retired executive or judicial officers take a keen interest in the local affairs and are either elected or nominated to the Union Board. As they inspire confidence in their colleagues, they are placed by their votes at the head of the Board. One retired subordinate judge has rendered a very useful service as President to a Union not far from Calcutta. But it is in Eastern Districts that these retired officers are found engaged more frequently in Union Board work. In certain Unions the *Bhadraloque* class does not exist at all and the members and the President of the Union Board have all to be chosen from the peasantry. An influential *Jotdar* has in these cases to preside over the Board's work.

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INDUSTRIAL MORTGAGE BANKS ¹

By SAROJ KUMAR BASU, M.A.

THE "Foreign Experts" who were invited by our Government to assist the deliberations of the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee observed that an "Industrial Bank" as described in the majority of suggestions and evidences to the Banking Enquiry did not exist anywhere. "Only in one country," remarks Dr. Jeidels in his memorandum, "is there an Industrial Bank which to some extent, seems to fit the model; the Industrial Bank of Japan."² As regards the Japanese institution, the information they seemed to possess was not only very meagre but was also misleading and even inaccurate.³ Their ignorance about the basis on which the Industrial Bank of Japan works is understandable. But it is strange that they did not know or at least professed not to know the existence in a number of European countries of specialised institutions designed for financing industries almost exactly in the manner as suggested in the evidences.

During the post-war years, industries in several European countries found it exceedingly difficult to satisfy their long-term needs. These countries had been utterly impoverished by the effects of a war unexampled in history; and there was a shortage of industrial capital as never before. The prolonged slump that followed in the wake of the war only served to aggravate the acute financial position of the affected industries. Their long-term needs had to remain unsatisfied or had to be satisfied from short-term funds, a policy which was at once costly and dangerous. Again, in many instances, the ravages left behind by the war had to be repaired. Old industries damaged by the war had to be rehabilitated; modernisation of plant and adaptation to post-war requirements were urgently called for in a number of others; and new industries had also to be started and nourished. Never was there a greater demand for long-dated capital for industry; and never was felt a more imperative need for organizing a special machinery to supply that capital. It is not surprising, therefore, that attempts have been made

¹ The back ground of this paper has been gleaned entirely from original and authoritative sources. The requisite materials are not available in India and have been collected direct from the banks themselves. My grateful thanks are due to the authorities of the banks for all the information they have kindly placed at my disposal.

² Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, 1931, Vol. IV, Discussions with Foreign Experts, p. 151.

³ See my article on "The Industrial Bank of Japan" in the Calcutta Review. May and June, 1932.

in some of the new and reconstructed countries of Central and Eastern Europe to establish a suitable machinery to furnish that much needed long-term capital to their national industries.

Ever since the *Landschafts* were first organized in Germany, the device of the mortgage bank has been employed with remarkable success to solve the problem of long-term real estate credit. The whole theory of the mortgage bank is based upon the debenture bond, the system of amortization and the sinking fund. The mortgage bank is a specialist institution granting long-term amortisation loans on first mortgages of property and issuing bonds to raise the necessary funds for financing these loans. It had its origin in the necessity for providing agricultural credits on reasonable terms; and this type of machinery was in the beginning exclusively employed for granting long-term credit on first mortgages of agricultural property. Its success in that sphere was so great and the advantages for financing long-term loans through such a device were found to be so numerous that it began to be employed for all kinds of real estate credit, not only agricultural but also urban and communal. Not only organizations founded in order to aid agriculture primarily have begun to devote increasing attention to loans on city real estate, but even municipalities, communal authorities and public bodies in general, have found that the same type of machinery is adaptable for financing their long-term operations; and special communal bonds have frequently been issued to finance such public utility undertakings as gas, electricity and water-works. In more recent times the operations of the mortgage institute have been extended yet further to the field of industrial credit. During the post-war years, the idea of a mortgage bank, granting long-term amortisation loans against industrial property, made an instant appeal to a number of European countries. Their economic position was shattered by the war; and they were anxious to hasten their economic reconstruction. The difficult task of supplying long-term finance to their industries had to be faced; and necessary funds had to be raised either at home or abroad. The machinery of long term real estate credit which had so successfully worked in other spheres was readily adopted by them to furnish long-term mortgage loans to industry. Since 1924 several countries in Central and Eastern Europe have established industrial mortgage banks, especially designed for financing industries. These institutions, like their confreres the land mortgage banks, are issuing mortgage bonds and granting long-term loans to industrial undertakings on first mortgages of industrial real property, such as factories, buildings, machinery, plant, etc. Like them, these industrial banks

have been organised both on the joint-stock and co-operative basis. Like them too, they have frequently been started under Government auspices and as a rule enjoy some form of state aid. The aid is usually given in the shape of a guarantee of the bonds to be issued by the institutes and or of a subscription, whole or in part, to their share capital. Wherever there is such state-aid, there is some corresponding governmental control or supervision. The needs of the small and middle-sized industries receive primary attention from these institutions, as it has always been difficult for them to approach the market. But the large industries are not neglected and receive also their due share of attention. The largest of these industrial mortgage banks whose bonds have been well received and are quoted in the stock exchanges of New York, Boston and London, are the Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland, Ltd., the National Hungarian Industrial Mortgage Institute, Ltd., and the Sächsische Landespandbriefanstalt (State Mortgage Bank of Saxony). Besides these three, there is another Mortgage Institute, the National Economic Bank of Poland, which was founded in 1924 by virtue of a special law to assist the economic reconstruction of the new state of Poland. It grants long-term industrial loans through the issue of "bank debentures" but it should be put in a separate class by itself as distinct from the other three institutions. It is not a mortgage bank specifically designed for financing industries alone, its activities are not restricted to the granting of industrial credit only, not even to that of long-term credit. Its activities comprise the granting of both short- and long-term credit, not only to industries, state and private, but also to municipalities, rural district authorities and owners of agricultural estates. Different types of bonds, "communal" "bank," etc., are issued to finance the varied operations of the institute. Besides fulfilling all these functions, it conducts every description of banking business. In other words, it is not a special but a mixed mortgage bank.

A study of the work which has been done in Europe as regards the organization of industrial credit and of the results achieved there will, at the present moment, be at once highly interesting and instructive. The question of "industrial banks" has been looming large in the public eye for a long time. Their establishment for solving the problem of industrial finance in India was recommended by the Industrial Commission and the External Capital Committee and has also been recommended by the recent Banking Enquiry Committees, Central and Provincial. But the only model for such an Institution before them

all has always been the Industrial Bank of Japan. The Japanese institution has captured the imagination of our countrymen, ever since the Industrial Commission spoke in highly eulogistic terms of it. But curiously enough although a large section of our economists have wanted to adopt the Japanese model for India, detailed information about its activities has always been lacking and much misinformation about it has consequently crept into India. But to-day in seeking a model for an Industrial Bank in India, we need not look solely to Japan. At present the Japanese Industrial Bank is not the only specialist institution engaged in the granting of long-term mortgage loans to industry. As already noted, in the post-war years a number of mortgage banks specifically designed for financing industries have sprung up in several countries of Europe. It is surprising that although they have been in operation for several years, they have failed to attract any attention in India, and even their existence was unknown to the Central and Provincial Banking Enquiry Committees. A detailed study of the basis on which these industrial mortgage banks are working and of their activities and achievements is for several reasons urgently called for. In the first place such a study will materially assist us in the solution of the problems arising in connection with the organization of industrial credit in India. It will help us to lay down the broad lines on which the scheme for a future Industrial Bank of India may be formulated. Again, it may be recalled, the history of state-aid for industries in the various provinces of India has been singularly unhappy. It appears that neither the Statutory Board nor the Department of Industries possesses the necessary machinery and organization to assess the credit worthiness of the applicants for assistance or to exercise anything like a commercial supervision over the loans granted by the Government. The question has therefore been frequently canvassed that if any financial assistance has to be rendered to industries, it must be done through an 'industrial bank,' and hence the administration of the State-aid to Industries Acts should be handed over to such special institutions. From the study we are going to make of the industrial mortgage banks in some selected countries of Europe, it will be possible for us to gather how far the Governments in those countries have successfully utilized their machineries to render financial assistance to the national industries. We propose, therefore, to give below a detailed review of the structure, organization and operations of these specialist institutions. The review is also intended to furnish a basis on which it may be possible to give a brief analysis and explanation of the underlying principles

of industrial mortgage banks and thus to show how far the principles of land mortgage banks have been embodied in them.

The Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland, Ltd.¹

The Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland is one of the earliest and most important Institutions that have been established in post-war Europe to grant long-term credits to industry through the issue of mortgage bonds. The full name of the bank, as given in the Articles of Association, is Suomen Teollisuus-Hypoteekkipankki O.Y.—Industri-Hypoteks-banken-i Finland A.B.” It was founded in 1924

with a paid-up share capital of 50 million Finnish marks, divided into 5,000 shares of 10,000 marks each. For some time before that negotiations had been taking place between the Bank of Finland and the largest joint-stock banks and the leaders of Finnish industry for the purpose of establishing a mortgage bank for the industries of the country. The idea was to obtain capital from foreign countries on reasonable terms by means of bond issues and to use the funds thus obtained for advancing amortisation loans to industrial enterprises on mortgages of their real estate: ground, forests, water-power and factory buildings. The plans attracted the attention of the Government, who considered the matter to be one of great public interest and on 26th May, 1924, laid before the Diet a proposal for a state guarantee of a foreign loan not exceeding the equivalent of 550 million Finnish marks.²

The scheme submitted to the Government for the statutes of the proposed bank was confirmed on 5th June, 1924, and the constituent meeting of the shareholders of the bank was held on the following day. It was announced in the meeting that the entire share capital of the bank had been paid up on the same day. The shares were divided into two series of which 80% belonged to series A and 20% to series B. The ‘A’ series of shares was taken over by the founders, the participating banks, viz., A. B. Nordiska Forenings-banken, Kansallis-Osake-Pankki and Helsingfors Aktie-bank; the remainder, the ‘B’ series of shares was to be taken over by those owners of industrial enterprises who would receive financial assistance from the bank.

¹ The entire information about this bank has been obtained direct from Finland. I am very grateful to Mr. Gustaf Fogelholm, the Managing Director of the bank, who very kindly replied to a detailed questionnaire and also furnished me with the Annual Report, Balance sheets and Articles of Association of the bank.

² Report of the Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland, Ltd., 1924, Helsingfors. (Report on the Bank's first year of business, submitted to the first ordinary meeting of shareholders held on March 5, 1925.)

Purpose of the Bank. The object of the bank is to supply the long-term credit requirements of the industries of Finland by granting amortisation loans to industrial enterprises on mortgage of their real estate in accordance with the existing banking laws.

Business of the Bank. The amount of loan granted in each case should not exceed 50 % of the appraised value of the industrial property mortgaged. Two unprejudiced specialists are to be employed by the Board of Directors for the purpose of valuation. In assessing the value of the property, attention should be paid not simply to its value as such but also to the security which the undertaking represents by its remunerativeness in regard to payment of interest and amortisation. The period for amortisation of loans is not to be more than 25 years.¹ The buildings and machinery belonging to the borrowing industrial undertaking must be insured against fire in an institution approved by the Board before a loan can be granted. According to Sec. 6 of the bank's statutes, the borrowing enterprise shall also furnish, besides the mortgage deed for the nominal value of the loan, a separate interest-bearing undertaking for an amount equal to 5 % of the nominal amount of the loan, as security for which a mortgage shall also be obtained.² The bank cannot lend more than 15 % of its total borrowings to one and the same industrial undertaking.³

Management. The Board of Directors of the bank consists of seven members, of whom one member is appointed according to the instructions of the Ministry of Finance because of the guarantee given by the Finnish State to the bond loans taken up abroad by the bank. This member participates in the management of the bank on the same rights and in the same way as the other members of the Board. The other members are elected by the participating banks and the borrowers of the Mortgage Bank. Originally it was laid down by the statutes that the owners of shares belonging to series 'A' should elect 3 members and those of shares belonging to series 'B' another 3 members. At a special meeting of the shareholders held on 25th June 1924, the statutes were altered in compliance with the wishes of the syndicate granting the bond loan, in such a manner that the holders of 'A' shares would elect 4 members and those of 'B' shares 3 members.⁴ The amendment was confirmed by the Government on

¹ Ch. 2, Sec. 5 of the Articles of Association.

² Ch. 2, Sec. 6 of the Articles of Association.

³ Ch. 3, Sec. 7 of the Articles of Association.

⁴ Ch. 3, Sec. 17 of the Articles of Association.

10th July, 1924. The duties of the Board of Directors are as follows:—

(a) To guide the management of the bank's business in accordance with the articles of association and with instructions laid down by meetings of shareholders.

(b) To determine the scale and other regulation concerning the valuation of property.

(c) To determine the conditions for the borrowing and lending of the bank.

(d) To decide questions concerning the taking up and granting of loans.

(e) To decide as to the purchase of property when this can be done in accordance with banking laws.

(f) To convene meetings of shareholders and submit reports to the ordinary meetings of shareholders.

(g) To have the cash of the bank, its stocks and other assets checked at least once a year by one or more of its members.

(h) To appoint a managing director and determine his duties; and

(i) To issue and cancel powers of attorney.

The bank has to transfer 25% of its annual profits to a Reserve Fund until the fund amounts to 25 % of the share capital. A dividend

Reserve Fund and not exceeding 6 % may only then be paid out to Profits. shareholders. Of the balance remaining, one half shall be transferred to a fund for amortising the guarantee undertakings referred to above.¹ The remainder is at the disposal of the meeting of the shareholders. The loss in any year is to be covered in the first instance by unappropriated profits and the reserve fund. But if these are not sufficient to cover the loss, the bank is entitled to have recourse to the undertakings delivered by the borrowers in addition to the mortgage deeds; the required amount will be divided among all the borrowers in proportion to the outstanding amounts of loans.²

The bank's negotiations for obtaining a bond loan from abroad were completed early in July. An American consortium, with Messrs. Lee Higginson of Boston at its head, agreed to grant to the bank a bond loan of 12 million dollars at 7 % interest; and the agreement was signed on the 7th of July in London. As soon as the bond loan was settled, the Board took steps to organize the business of the bank with great care

¹ See Sec. 6 of the Articles of Association.
² Ch. 4, Sec. 28.

and effort. The principles and manner of valuing the different forms of real estate to be mortgaged as security by the borrowers, forest land, machinery and water power, were carefully determined; and a staff of technical experts was employed to assess properly the value of these properties. Thus at a meeting of the Board held on 2nd August, 1924, separate "assessors" were appointed for valuing different forms of industrial property; two for buildings and machinery, two for landed and forest property, and three others (two being regular and one a substitute) for water-power. In consultation with these "assessors" the Managing Director framed questionnaires to which prospective borrowers were required to reply. Besides these specialists, the Board had already selected, as early as in July, three other gentlemen to participate in the capacity of experts in the decision of important questions by the Board.¹

At meetings of the Board, held on 30th July and 4th August, 1924, terms were drawn up for the amortisation loans which the bank would grant out of the funds secured by the bond loan on real estate security as prescribed by the statutes. The debt undertakings were to be made out in dollars and would bear interest at $7\frac{1}{2}$ % and be amortised by means of equal payments to be made semi-annually during the same period as the bank's bond loan, i.e. 20 years, reckoning from 1st July, 1924. The same capital rebate as allowed on the bank's bond loan would also be allowed on the amortisation loans. These terms were outlined in detail in a prospectus which was issued to owners of Finnish industrial concerns.

The bank began operation on 21st August, 1924. Applications to be sent in before the 15th October were invited for loans from owners of industrial concerns in Finland by issuing notices in the press. 105 requests for loans were received, amounting to a total of 560,255,000 Finnish marks. These applications were dealt with during October, November and December. Sixty-two applications, totalling 41,680,000 F. marks were refused and 27 amortisation loans were granted altogether for 387,824,814 Finnish marks equivalent to \$9,768,867 (at an exchange of 39-70). Of this sum 259,787,311-70 F. mk. (equivalent to \$6543,761) were taken up during the year. There still remained 16 applications amounting to 130,750,186 F. mk. to be dealt with while of the funds obtained through the bond loan 76,665,186 Finnish marks only were still available for disposal, when the year closed.²

¹ Report of the Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland, 1924. Helsinki, 1925.

² Report of the Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland, 1924. Helsinki.

The value of the property mortgaged by the borrowers as security for the amortisation loans granted during the year was assessed at F. mk. 1,040,678,701-25. The loans granted thus represented on an average 36·9% of the assessed value of the mortgaged securities and afforded ample security to the bank.

After 5 years the bank was again able in 1930 to assist Finnish industry by the grant of amortisation loans. It took up in that year a fresh bond loan of £2,000,000 at 6% to be redeemed by annual instalments in 25 years (15th April, 1955). The contract for the loan was concluded on April 15th, 1930, between a syndicate composed of several financial institutes,¹ the Bank and the Government of the Republic of Finland which signed a guarantee for the loan. According to the terms of the contract the proceeds of the bond loan were to be employed for granting amortisation loans to industrial concerns in Finland against a first or second mortgage on real estate belonging to them. The mortgage deeds of the amortisation loans were to be deposited with the Ministry of Finance as soon as they were duly completed. The proceeds of the bond loan were paid to a special account in the Bank of Finland. The Industrial Mortgage Bank would have to produce a certificate from the Minister of Finance that the mortgage deeds had been deposited with the Bank Inspectors or other approved securities equivalent to a corresponding amount had been presented whenever it wanted to draw upon the proceeds of the bond loan deposited in the Bank of Finland. As the completion of mortgage deeds takes a long time in Finland, the Board of Directors of the Mortgage Bank submitted to the Minister of Finance that the joint sureties of the three participating banks should be accepted as temporary security. It was also proposed that, in those cases in which the mortgages could not be completed at once, the Bank would pay the amounts of the loans for the amortisation loans granted on the temporary surety of one of these banks, in which case the joint surety of the three banks should remain in force, until all its mortgage deeds duly completed had been deposited with the bank Inspectors, to whom the Ministry of Finance had entrusted the charge of these documents. The proposal was approved on 15th April, 1930, and immediately afterwards the joint surety undertakings of the three shareholding banks was deposited there. The terms for the amortisation

¹ They were Hambros Bank, Ltd., London; J. Henry Schroder & Co., London; Mendelssohn and Co. Amsterdam; Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij N. V. Amsterdam; Stockholms Handelsbank, Stockholm; the Bank of Finland; A. E. Nordiska Föreningsskatten, Kansallis-Osake-Pankki and Kustantien Aktiobank; all in Stockholm.

loans to be granted out of the proceeds of the bond loan were decided by the Directors at their meeting held on the 23rd of April, 1930. The same term of amortisation was fixed as for the bond loan; the same capital rebate was also to be allowed as on the bank's bond loan. The annual instalments were to be paid every six months at the rate of 3.995% of the nominal amount of the loan, equivalent to an annual rate of interest of 6.2%. The mortgage deed and the guarantee of 5% of the amount of the loan as demanded by the statutes of the bank were to be made out in pounds sterling.¹

As before, notices were issued in the press, inviting applications for loans from Finnish industry. During May 1930, 128 applications were received, totalling F. mk. 938,272,150. One hundred of these were refused and one was left undecided, the valuation not being ready when the year closed. The remaining 27 applications amounting to F. mk. 380 302,350 (=£1,971,500) were granted.² The total assessed value of the industrial property hypothecated to the bank as security for the loans granted amounted to F. mk. 1,188 650,746. The amount of the loan therefore represented 32% of the total mortgage valuation. But in several cases the securities of the loans granted consisted of second mortgages. There were earlier mortgages on the property amounting to F. mk. 126,209,960 or 10.6%. These mortgages consisted mostly of the securities for the dollar loans issued by the bank in 1924 and 1925.

By 1932 the mortgage deeds for the 45 mortgage loans granted out of the funds obtained by the bank from the bond loan of July 1, 1924, were duly registered and deposited with the Bank Inspectors. Of the 28 mortgage loans granted from the proceeds of the bond loan of 15th April, 1930, 22 have been duly registered and deposited. No new mortgage loans were granted during 1932³ and 1933.⁴

The bank has furnished assistance to middle-sized firms as well as larger industrial concerns. Its assistance has generally been confined to the exporting industries, owing to the conditions of the guarantee granted by the Government for its bond issues. Both the bond loans of 12 million dollars and 2 million pounds have been guaranteed by the Government. There is no system here, as in the

¹ Report of the Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland 1930. Kuopio 1931. (Report of the business of the bank during its seventh year, submitted by the Board of Directors to the seventh ordinary meeting of shareholders held on March 5, 1931.)

² *Ibid.*

³ Report of the Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland, Ltd., 1932, Kuopio, 1933. (Report on the Bank's Ninth Year of business, submitted to the ordinary meeting of shareholders, held on March 6, 1933.)

⁴ Report of the Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland, Ltd., 1933, Helsinki, 1934.

case of the Industrial Bank of Japan, of the Government lending to it at favourable rates of interest. The bank does not work as a commercial bank but only for its industrial customers. It makes no short-term loans ; it discounts no bills ; and it accepts no deposits either long or short.¹

The financial results of the bank's business, as seen from the latest balance sheets and profit and loss accounts, are not unsatisfactory. The annual profits for 1930, 1932 and 1933 are found to be F. mk. 651,346-19, F. mk. 3,237,122-03 and F. mk. 4,633,271-12 respectively. In estimating the profits of the bank, the high amount of taxation paid should be taken into consideration. Finnish limited liability companies have to pay an unusually heavy income-tax as well as a tax on property. The amount which the bank has to pay as taxes every year is not inconsiderable.² This acts as a great burden on the institution and puts great difficulties in the way of its fulfilling the task of arranging cheap long-term loans for Finnish industry.³

According to the terms of the contract, the redemption of the bonds belonging to the bank's bond loan of 1924 has to be carried out on the 1st of January and the 1st of July every year. On January 1, 1934, the nineteenth redemption was made. The redemption of the bonds belonging to the second bond loan of 1930 is to be carried out every year on the 15th of April and the 15th of October. For the redemptions, the necessary amount of bonds is purchased in the open market in London, Amsterdam, Stockholm and Helsingfors. Generally when prices are low, bonds are often purchased beforehand for subsequent redemptions. The bonds outstanding at the end of various years between 1924 and 1933 are given below ⁴ :—

In Finnish Marks.			
1924.	1930.	1932.	1933.
476,400,000	719,940,000	645,511,290	613,556,307

¹ Source ; Letter from Mr. Gustaf Fogelhom, the Managing Director of the bank, dated 25th September, 1933, in which he very kindly replied to a questionnaire issued by the writer on the 26th August, 1933.

² For instance the bank paid as taxes F. mk. 539,036-60 in 1930 and F. mk. 769,045-70 in 1932.

³ Report of the Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland, Ltd., 1930, Kuopio, 1931.

⁴ Balance sheets of The Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland, Ltd., for the years 1924, 1930, 1932 and 1933.

MEDINĪ RĀI

By GOLAPCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A.

MEDINĪ Rāi, the Rājput minister of Sultān Mahmūd II of Mālwa, is one of the most remarkable figures of the earlier half of the sixteenth century. An account of his activities becomes interesting if viewed in relation to the great upheaval that was convulsing India—specially Hindu India—during the XVth and early part of the XVIth centuries. Almost contemporaneously with the dismemberment of the Turkī Sultanate of Delhi, there was fermentation and unrest—religious, social and political—throughout India. Great changes were brought about by the impact of Islam upon the old Indian civilisation, and these manifested themselves in almost every sphere of life. Not the least of these was the restlessness discernible in the sluggish channels of Rājput politics—a movement that had its parallel also in other parts of India. The incessant warfare between the Rānās of Mewār and the neighbouring Sultāns of Gujarāt and Mālwa, the recrudescence of Hindu political activities in the Ganges-Yamunā Doāb, the vaulting aspiration of Jasrat, the chief of the Khokāra to rehabilitate the empire of the great Chauhāns, the movement associated with the names of Ganēśa and Danujamardanadeva in Bengal, the consolidation and expansion of Orissa under Kapilendra and his successors, and the irreconcilable rivalry between the Rāyas of Vijayanagara and the Bāhmani Sultāns of the Deccan—all these bear eloquent testimony to a disturbance of the political equilibrium of the preceding centuries. The renewed political activities of the Hindus, and the decay of the Turko-Afghān power, have to be carefully borne in mind if a clue is to be found to the real history of this period. In view of the wider movement to which reference has been made, one need not be surprised if a Rājput chieftain aspired once more to guide the destiny of a powerful kingdom in Central India, now ruled by a new race of conquerors, professing a new faith, who had succeeded to the throne of the Paramāras, in the face of strong opposition and hostility, while he could look for support of his clansmen and co-religionists in the neighbouring provinces around him.

Apart from the general interest of our story as illustrating the ardent desire of the Rājputs to regain their lost power in Mālwa, a narration of the life and activities of Medinī Rāi is important because

it furnishes us with one of the many causes of the tripartite struggle between the three great kingdoms of Western India, *viz.*, Mewār, Gujarāt and Mālwa which ended in the humiliation of the last by the other two and its final absorption by Gujarāt. The relation of Medinī Rāi with Rānā Sāngā largely determined the latter's policy towards Mālwa and Gujarāt; and "in the downfall from power of the Māndau Sultāns, he (the Rānā) became possessed of many of their dependencies such as Rantambūr, Sārangpur, Bhilsān and Chandīr." The rise of Medinī Rāi also called for interference from the Sultān of Gujarāt in the politics of Mālwa which foreshadowed the ultimate extinction of the independent kingdom of Māndū.

The early life of Medinī Rāi¹ is enveloped in mystery. Muslim historians describe him as a Purbiya Rājput and he was perhaps a *jūgirdār* of the Sultān of Mālwa. It seems that he was noted for his valour and presence of mind, and had under him a well organised and thoroughly disciplined army composed of his own clansmen. The struggle for power between the last Khalji Sultān of Mālwa and the factious party of the nobles of the court, however, opened a career for this ambitious Rājput chief.

Sultān Nasir ud-dīn of Mālwa died on his way to Māndū in 1510, and a contest for the throne at once broke out among his three sons. The youngest 'Alā-ud-dīn Mahmūd II, the elect of the nobles, finally emerged triumphant, and on entering the capital was formally crowned with great pomp. His elder brother Sāhib Khān was kept imprisoned in the fort of Māndū, and Shihāb-ud-dīn, the eldest, made good his escape to Khandesh. Every inch a fighter, the new Sultān was not fitted for statecraft. The elevation to the post of minister of a Hindu named Basant Rāi, who attended the prince from childhood, was very much resented by the nobles of the court and Basant was murdered for the alleged offence of laying a scheme to overturn the government. Soon after two other personal friends of the Sultān were also removed for following in the footsteps of the Hindu minister. The young prince was very much perturbed at this desperate encroachment on his prerogative but prudently yielded to the wishes of the disloyal faction. The insolence of the nobles, however, transgressed its limit when one day Mahāfiz Khān, the governor of Māndū, while addressing

¹ Muslim historians give the following variants of the name:—*Medny Ray*, *Medāni Rāi*, *Malcolm* (*Central India*, I, 86) writes *Maderay*. The *Mirāt-i-Sikāndarī* says that *Medny Rāi* collected a vast army of the Hindus and conferred upon their leader the title of *Medny Rāi* in acknowledgment of his prowess. *Wateh* gives the meaning "the Lord of the South-Side" (*Mem. Gop.*, Vol. I, p. 308, n. 2). Sir D. Ross gives the name of the chief as Rāi Chānd Pānī (*An Arabic History of Gujarāt*, Edited by Sir D. Ross, Index.).

the Sultān in a disrespectful tone, proposed to him to put an end to the life of his elder brother Sāhib Khān. A sharp retort came from him. Mahāfiz Khān thinking his person insecure, raised the standard of rebellion, and his vindictive nature avenged itself by releasing Sāhib Khān and proclaiming him as the Sultān of Mālwa. The nobles who had nothing to lose and everything to gain promoted rather than suppressed the revolt. Mahmūd in the extreme moment of his distress escaped from Māndū and encamped at Ujjain where he was joined by some leading men of the city, who soon after left him to his fate. The Sultān asked Bihjat Khān, the governor of Chanderī, to give him an asylum in that fortress, to which the latter replied that "he was the servant of the king who held Māndū." Mahmūd in his embarrassment and desperation knew not where to turn and issued a general summons to the loyal officers of the state, "The first person of rank who joined his standard," says Ferishta, "was Medny Ray, a Rajpoot chief, accompanied by all his family, and a large force of his tribe." Mahmūd collected a vast army with which he marched to meet his brother who had also advanced from Māndū. The two armies met on November 28, 1511, and a severe engagement took place during which Sāhib Khān was completely repulsed with heavy loss and had to flee to the fortress of Māndū. "The fate of the action," says Ferishta, the Muslim historian, "was eventually decided by the gallant conduct of Medny Ray and the Rajpoot infantry who preserved a complete phalanx and with spears and daggers broke the enemy and obliged Sāhib Khān to take refuge in the fort of Māndū, many of his troops being compelled to seek protection in the caves surrounding the hills." Mahmūd made a fruitless attempt to induce Sāhib Khān to come to terms and the latter fled to the neighbouring kingdom of Gujarāt to invoke the help of Sultan Muzaffar.

Mahmūd was now firmly re-established on his throne. The leading nobles of his kingdom had proved faithless and factious. Their attempted revolt had been sternly suppressed with the aid of a Rājput warrior-chief. But the chief enemy was still alive courting favour from the hereditary foe. The Sultān, therefore, gave a new form to his government. A brave soldier, but a capricious and incompetent ruler, he left the entire administration in the hands of Medini Rai and retired into blessed seclusion. The new minister gained an undue influence in the king's council and became the real power behind the throne. The Arab, Persian and Abyssinian officials of the court saw the rise of an infidel to power with mingled disgust and apprehension and waited for an opportunity to strike at him. Medini Rai, who had now got complete ascendancy over the Sultān, persuaded him to

remove these recalcitrant nobles either by death or dismissal. The first man who fell a victim to his vaulting ambition was Iqbal Khān who was accused of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with Sāhib Khān and was quickly executed in public. The puppet Sultān at the instigation of his new minister next sent for Bihjat Khān, the Governor of Chanderī and Sikandar Khān of Satwās. Alarmed at the tragic end of Iqbal the former pleaded excuse for non-attendance. Sikandar raised the standard of revolt and was joined by the Rais of Gondwānā. The Sultān sent Mansūr of Bhilsa to reduce him but the commander of the royal forces, finding it impossible to cope with the rebels, asked for reinforcements. Medinī Rāi, whose aim was to discredit the old staff, answered the petition in the king's name to the effect that the appearance of the royal troops alone would be sufficient to deter the enemy from attack. Mansūr Khān was very much annoyed at the tenor and style of the reply and joined Bihjat Khān at Chanderī. The Sultān now mobilised all his forces and sent Medinī Rāi against Sikandar. The minister succeeded in routing the rebels and forcing their leader to return to allegiance. The influence of the minister after this event increased daily and he became the virtual ruler of the state, removing his rivals by death and exile and replacing them by his own followers. Bihjat Khān of Chanderī was irresolute and, perceiving the inordinate ambition and increasing power of Medinī Rāi, was very much distressed. When King Mahmūd marched in person against the insurgent nobles Bihjat sent a letter to Sāhib Khān, who had now taken shelter in Berār, inviting him to accept the crown of Mālwa. He also sent a petition to Sikandar Lodi of Delhi to espouse the cause of his nominee. The petition ran thus—"the infidel Rajput had gained an alarming ascendancy over the Muhammadans in Mālwa; and that one Medny Ray, a chief of that tribe, had virtually become master of the country and its resources, having persuaded the king to destroy many of the old and confidential officers of the state, while those who were left, had taken the alarm and fled to different parts of the kingdom...although Sultan Mahmud now regretted having exalted Medny Ray and having placed his reliance on the Rajputs, yet he has so given himself up into that chief's hands that he not only refused to listen to his Muhammadan officers and subjects, but seemed willing, in concert with his Hindu minister, to cut off the few who remained. That as for the laws of the Prophet, and the true worship, they had been wholly abandoned everywhere, and the mosques had been converted into receptacles for the infidels." Complaints in a similar strain were also made to the Sultān of Gujarāt. "He (Medinī Rāi) killed the Musalmān nobles and

attendants of the Sultān one by one as he found opportunity, and the infidels commenced to practise idolatry, tyranny and violence as is the way of these accursed wretches. The people of the city and the other towns were in much distress, and were prepared to emigrate and abandon their homes.' It has already been observed that Sāhib Khān after being defeated by his brother took shelter with Muzaffar of Gujarāt. The ruler of Gujarāt promised to march against Māndū and equally divide the country of Mālwa between the two rival brothers, and even directed his trusted servant Kaisar Khān to make himself acquainted with the condition of that country. Sāhib Khān, however, imprudently fell out with the Persian envoy at Muzaffar's Court, and fled away to Berār without taking leave of the Sultān, whereupon the King of Gujarāt became estranged from his cause.

The picture of Mālwa as given in the petition to the Sultān of Delhi with all its exaggerations, if any, was certainly not pleasing to the Muslims. It was even feared that Rāi Rāyān, the son of Medinī Rāi, would shortly be proclaimed king of Mālwa. The petition proceeds to say, "If then Your Majesty will condescend to send a force, around which the faithful may rally, Sāhib Khān, the brother of the present king, will enter the country, and public prayers may be read in his name as King of Mālwa in Chandery and in the surrounding districts."

Mahāfiz Khān, the partisan of Sāhib Khān at the court of Delhi, persuaded Sikandar Lodī to send an army of 12,000 horsemen under Imād-ul-Mulk to assist the rebels. Muzaffar of Gujarāt was also induced about the same time to invade Mālwa. The situation was made all the more complicated by the rebellion of Sikandar Khān for the second time. Medinī Rāi fully appreciated the gravity of the danger, but realised that everything depended upon his courage and prompt action. He directed the governor of Kuhndwa to oppose Sikandar Khān and himself marched against the army of Gujarāt which had now reached within a short distance of Māndū. Fortunately for him there was no concerted action on the part of the enemy, and although Sikandar Khān gained a little success after suffering temporary reverses, the Sultān of Gujarāt retreated to Ahmedabad.¹ Sāhib Khān in the meantime reached Chanderī and was proclaimed Sultān by Bihjat Khān

¹ The *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* says that the Sultān was reluctant to harass an enemy who was engaged with rebels at home. The *Akbar-nāmā* says that Mahmūd sent a letter of remonstrance to Muzaffar, and the Sultān of Gujarāt retired. Ferishta, however, distinctly says that the Sultān was defeated and retreated to Ahmedabad. The cause of his retirement was probably due to the interference of Sikandar Lodī whose sincerity and disinterestedness Muzaffar doubted.

and Mansūr Khān, supported by the force of Delhi. Sultān Mahmūd was also very much perturbed by the desertion of two sections of his cavalry who now joined the enemy. Medinī Rāi attempted to create dissension between the rebels of Mālwa and the general of the Sultān of Delhi. He sent secret messages to Imād-ul-Mulk, the Delhi commander, instigating him to read prayers and coin money in the name of his own master. Bihjat Khān, on the other hand, refused to surrender the cause of Sāhib Khān and the diplomacy of Medinī Rāi succeeded in separating the interest of the Delhi and Chanderī chieftains. The situation was made easier for the Rājput statesman by the recall of the Delhi forces by Sikandar Lodī who, being unable to send more reinforcements, ordered his general to fall back on the imperial city. At the same time Mahāfiz Khān, who went to invest Māndū, was defeated and killed in an engagement in the neighbourhood of Nalcha. Sāhib Khān and Bihjat Khān now despaired of all help and made overtures for peace which were readily granted by Mahmūd. The Sultān of Mālwa ceded to his brother the forts of Raisin, Bhilsa and Dhamoni and made a substantial grant for his immediate needs. Badauni seems to suggest that Bihjat Khān misappropriated the money and Sāhib Khān, fearing betrayal, fled away to Delhi.

Early in 1514 Mahmūd returned to Mālwa with renewed confidence in his minister. The astuteness with which the latter had manipulated the whole situation naturally enhanced his prestige in the eyes of the Sultān and the Rājput chief became the sole dictator of the state. The policy of Hinduisation proceeded in rapid strides and Medinī Rāi set himself to do away with the last remnant of opposition, until the Sultān, in the words of a later historian, evinced a general dislike for Muslims in general. "The very Muslim females," says Ferishta, "who had been educated in the seraglio of Sultān Gheis-ud-Deen, now became mistresses of Medny Ray and the rest of the Rajpoot officers. The guards of the gates were composed entirely of Hindus and the old system of government subverted." The friction between the Rājputs and the malcontents increased as days rolled on and Ghalib Khān, a former governor of Māndū, shut the gates of the fortress and refused admission to the Sultān when one day he returned from hunting. He was, however, seized and executed. Medinī Rāi scenting danger made a clean sweep of the whole body of Muslim officials so that all the offices of the government, except the personal attendants of the Sultān, were filled by his personal followers. Jealous of his too powerful minister, the Sultān now began to suspect his motives, and resolved to disband all his Rājput soldiers. He accordingly sent

packets of *pān* (betel) directing the minister to distribute them among his soldiers and dismiss them. The wounded feelings of the Rājputs who had lately proved their steadfast loyalty to the Sultān on fields of battle and defended his person and kingdom with their blood, goaded them to treason. They now proposed to remove Mahmūd from the throne and place the crown on the head of Rāi Rāyān. The crafty minister, however, refused to entertain any such idea and replied, "As to the government of Mālwa, it has long been in my hands ; but if I were to usurp the crown, the kings of Gujārāt, of Kandish, and of the Deccan uniting, would very soon reduce Mālwa to their subjection, inspite of every effort on our part." He, therefore, appealed to Mahmūd to reconsider his order. The Sultān, however, insisted that the Muslim women should be set free and the old Muslim officers should be reinstated to their respective offices. Further no Hindu should hold any civil office. Medinī Rāi conceded all these demands from prudential considerations and was even more than before assiduous in gaining the king's good will. But the impudence of one of his followers named Sālivāhana, who refused to set free the Muslim concubines and repeatedly gave offence to the Sultān, brought about his fall. Mahmūd decided to get rid of Medinī Rāi and Sālivāhana by assassination. The former escaped wounded but the latter was killed. All the Rājputs in Māndū flew into arms and attacked the Sultān in his palace. Mahmūd, who was not a coward, fought with his bodyguard with desperate courage and held the rebels at bay, till they retired to the house of their leader and begged him to lead them against the Sultān. Medinī Rāi, however, with remarkable adroitness checked them and sent words to the king in great humility and remorse. 'He was ready, for the good of the state, to lay down his life and that if His Majesty was of opinion that his death was necessary for the promotion of that object he was prepared to submit himself to execution if that be the pleasure of His Majesty.' Mahmūd, convinced of Medinī Rāi's loyalty again received him into favour, but the seed of suspicion was sown in the latter's mind and each time he went to see the Sultān, he was well surrounded with a large bodyguard. Habīb Khān, a leading Muslim noble of Mālwa, went to Gujārāt and there recounted before Muzaffar the harrowing tales of misery that had lately fallen on his province. Shortly after, Mahmūd, very much disturbed in mind at the conduct of his minister, slipped out of Māndū, accompanied by his master of the horse, his favourite mistress, and a few followers, to ask for the assistance of the Sultān of Gujārāt.

The appeal of the Sultān of Mālwa for help was readily entertained and Muzaffar marched at the head of a large army to deliver Mālwa from the "infidels" and to restore a brother prince to his legitimate heritage. Medinī Rāi left a garrison at Māndū under his son Bhew Rāi (Rai Pithora ?) and himself went to Dhar. Fearing to give battle to so strong an adversary as the Sultān of Gujarāt, now that the moral support of Mahmūd was gone, and he was left only with his Rājput followers, Medinī Rāi fell back on Māndū and there, after leaving instructions to hold out and to carry on negotiations with the enemy, went to Chitor to invoke the aid of Rānā Sāngā. The Rānā promised to advance as far as Sārangpur, but said that afterwards he would act as circumstances required. Muzaffar invested Māndū and, as was pre-arranged, the besieged evinced the desire to open negotiations. The Sultān suspected treachery but fearing molestation of the females of the harem of Mahmūd, conceded to their request. But when he heard that the Rānā with Medinī Rāi had advanced as far as Sārangpur, he detached a force to keep watch upon the movements of the enemy, and made a strenuous assault on the fort. In or about 1518 the impregnable stronghold was stormed, the ladies performed the "consecrated" *jauhar*, and it is said that nineteen thousand Rajputs fell on that memorable day including the son of the dictator.

The news of the fall of Māndū reached Medinī Rāi when he was in the camp of Rānā Sāngā. He was so much overwhelmed with grief that he wanted to put an end to his life. "All my relations and tribesmen are dead, and our wives and children are captured in the hands of the Muhammadans, so what is there to live for." He would have killed himself, had he not been prevented from doing so by the Rānā, who took him away with him and went off to Chitor. After this, in the words of Bābar, he became "Rānā Sāngā's great and trusted man." The important places of Chanderī and Gāgraun still remained in the possession of Medinī Rāi. Sultān Mahmūd ever anxious to recover them made an attack against Gāgraun, and provoked the Rānā to march against him. Mahmūd's hastiness to begin the attack, when his men were weary and the Rājputs were fresh, decided the fate of the battle in favour of the Rājputs, and Mahmūd fell a captive into the hands of the Rānā who, with characteristic chivalry, sent the Sultān to Mālwa.

Subsequently when a quarrel broke out between Rānā Sāngā and Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, Medinī Rāi seems to have rendered much valuable help to his Rājput benefactor. He won over Silhādi on his way to Gujarāt and induced him to make common cause with the Rānā.

Bābar mentions in his Memoir that he was also present at the battle of Khanua with 12,000 horse.

After the defeat and death of Rānā Sāngā Medinī Rāi retired to his residence at Chanderī. Bābar realising the strategical importance of the fort sent Āraish Khān with Shaikh Gūran "to speak to Medini Rao with favour and kindness and promise Shāmsabad in exchange for Chandirī." But the proud Rājput chieftain refused to comply with the request of the conqueror of Hindusthān. "It is not known," says Bābar, "whether Medni Rao did not trust what was said or whether he was buoyed up by delusion about the strength of the fort." Chanderī was stormed in 1528, and the great chief with all his followers preferred death like many of his compatriots rather than submission.

The character of Medinī Rāi has been painted by certain historians in the blackest colour possible and they have their own justification. He has been branded as ambitious, tyrannical, treacherous, and arrogant. That he was ambitious and also tyrannical to some extent no one can deny. His ambition was to found a Hindu kingdom by creating an atmosphere of delusion under the nominal leadership of a Muslim Sultān. Like Warwick or Somerset he aspired to play the rôle of a king-maker. His overbearing nature revealed itself in the execution of the Muslim nobles, plundering of their houses and confiscation of their property. But it may be argued that they were a political necessity, an act of the state. It has been suggested that these excesses were prompted by a sense of self-preservation. The question was "thy head or my head." Was he treacherous? On the testimony of the Muslim historians he was the first man to join the standard of King Mahmūd while the leading Muslim nobles deserted the king in the hour of his need. His promptitude, courage and diplomacy more than once baffled the intrigues of the disaffected element and brought victory to the king. The noblest trait of his character was his loyalty and devotion to the Sultān. His treatment of Mahmūd was quite honourable. He had the magnanimity to concede even to his master's most extravagant demands, if thereby he could save him from a position of danger. He had profound respect for his master's household. "It is said," says the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, "that when Mahmud fled to take refuge to Muzaffar, Medāni Rāi made no difference in the expense of Mahmud's harem—provisions and clothes, perfumes and money were supplied as before without any alteration once a day Medāni Rāi used to go into darbar and vow and protest that he had done nothing to Mahmud, which ought to offend him and drive him from his country, and he would say 'Write and ask him to take care of

his country and appoint another wazir, for I am willing to be his slipper-bearer.' Affairs went on as before, and as regards the women, the eunuchs attended to them just as in the days of Mahmud."

The impolitic conduct of some of his followers, however, brought about the downfall of Medinî Râi. A careful and diplomatic consideration would have rallied round him a group of Muslims who had certainly no love for the disloyal nobles. There was always a party who stood by the king and they would have proved a great bulwark against any outbreak within or invasion from without. The keeping of Muslim concubines and scant regard shown for Islam were made pretexts for war by the Sultāns of Delhi and Gujarāt. Respect for women and religion is the most vital factor in Indian life. And this certain followers of Medinî Râi failed to appreciate and thereby hastened the downfall of their leader.¹

¹ In preparing this article the writer has drawn largely on Brigg's "*Rise of the Muhammadan Power*" and Bayley's "*Local Dynasties of Gujarat*." He also acknowledges his debt to *Babar's Memoirs*, the *Akbar nāmā*, the *Muntakhib-ut-Tu'arikh*, and other standard works on the subject.

IDOL-WORSHIP IN PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA

By M. L. ROYCHAUDHURY, M.A., B.L.

DURING the time of Bard, the fifth in descent from Adam, there lived five very pious men who all died in one month. Their services to their fellowmen were too many to be forgotten by them. They did all that was possible for them to commemorate those saints. One amongst them, Kable by name, proposed that if the people so liked, he could make fine statues of those departed for their convenience. On being requested by them he built five very beautiful statues of the honoured dead. In course of time, the people from different parts of the country began to come to have a sight of the statues and pay respects to them. Naturally as time wore on, many a gossip gathered round the saints and their statues. At last the people forgot the saints and began to adore their statues. Soon afterwards, adoration changed into worship. They ultimately became the five gods, famous in Pre-Islamic Arabia: Wadd, So-ah, Ya-Gus, Ya-uk and Nasr.

Thus began idol-worship in Arabia. The cult of idol-worship gradually took a very wide form with its centre at Kaba. By the time of Noah, people entirely forgot about God and Noah tried his best to correct them. But he could not. He prayed to God for their punishment for they had forgotten God ; and then came the Flood sweeping away their favourite gods and the five statues. The statues were carried to the shores of Jidda and were covered with sands.

¹ *Mythical Origin :*

Adam
|
Sis
|
Anu-no
|
Katian
|
Mahl-Ail
|
BARD

Ibrahim's (Abraham) was the golden age, and so was Ismail's in Arabia. The descendants of Ibrahim became weak and began a civil war amongst themselves. The weaker side was turned out of Mecca. While going out, they took with them some stones of Mecca as a mark of respect for the city which they loved so much, and installed them in their new homes. Gradually respect changed into worship of the stones of Kaba outside Mecca. This was in the house of Ibrahim.

One of the priests of Mecca named Amar bin Khijai fell ill and was advised to go to a pond at Balk in Sham for a bath. He saw the Sham people worshipping gods for rain and victory. Amar got from them a god Hubal and posted him at Kaba.

According to a famous book, *Bal-u-gul Erab-fi-Ahwal lil Arab*, priest Amar bin Khijai was instructed by a 'Jinn' to go to Jidda where he would find five gods sunk under sands. He went there and discovered the ancient statues of Wadd, So-ah, Yagus, Ya-uk and Nasr—which had been deposited there by the Flood of Noah. He brought them to Mecca and people accepted them as gods. Auf bin Arzah was the first to accept them as gods and was rewarded by Amar with the idol of Wadd to be worshipped at Rumat-ul-Zandl. Therefrom idol-cult got current in Arabia so much so that every tribe developed its own god and deity and so did every city and every family, sometimes even individuals had their distinctive gods. When Muhammad came to Mecca, in the house of Kaba alone, there were 360 gods.

Here are the names and descriptions of some of the more important gods worshipped by the heathen Arabs.

Wadd: This god was worshipped before the age of Noah and was possibly the first in the Arabian pantheon. It was picked up by Amar bin Khijai from the shores of Jidda and was placed by Auf bin Arzah in the field of Wadi ul Quara in Rumut ul Zindl. We have a reference to it in the *Quran* in Sura, lxxi, 23.¹ He was worshipped by Bani Kalb. The statue was a tall one, clad up to the waist and wrapped in sheet all over; a sword hung from the neck; a bow in a shooting position was attached to him with a bag of arrows in front. On the top was a war flag flying. This statue was found in the oasis of Duma in North Arabia.

وَقَالُوا لَا تَذَرُنَّ آلِهَتَكُمْ وَلَا تَذَرُنَّ وَدًّا وَلَا سُرًّا ۝ وَلَا يَغْرُثَ رَ لَيعْرِقَ رَ نَهْرًا ¹

So-ah: This was worshipped prior to Noah, Sura lxxi, 20.¹ Its temple was in the land of Hudail. The periest was Bani Lahyan Mafa. Hamdan and Mazmaj tribes specially worshipped this god.

Yagus: It was one of the pre-Noah gods, worshipped in the land of Yamen by Mazmaj and Jarash, the chief of Bani Murad Sura lxxi, 23.² The statue was built of lead and zinc. The statue was worshipped on the back of a camel and the animal was allowed to take its own direction. The god was then worshipped on the very spot where the animal chanced to stop. They considered the house where the camel stopped as specially favoured by god.

Ya-yuk: This was also a pre-Noah god and worshipped by the people of Yamen and Hamdan. The sanctuary was in a village called Khawan in the province of Senai, Sura lxxi, 23.³

Nasr: This god was of the same rank as the last four belonging to the pre-Noah age. It was worshipped by Balk and Bani Hammar looked upon it as their chief god. Nasr means a vulture and vulture worship was very common in the Semitic lands of old, Sura lxxi, 23.⁴

Lat, Mauet and Uzza: They are the three daughters of God. Lat was worshipped in Taif, a town to the east of Mecca, specially by the tribe of Sahif. Her statue was a square stone of red and black placed in Taif just in the same place where stands at present the left minar of the mosque of Taif. The Quraish had also a temple in honour of Lat. The statue was set to fire and destroyed by Mogair bin Sabah.

Manat: Her sanctuary was at Farid between Mecca and Medina near the sea. All Arabs worshipped her, specially Aus and Kajraj. They sacrificed animals to her, and her worship was solemnised with great *éclat*. The image of this goddess was destroyed by Ali on the 8th Hijri.

Uzza: She was placed by Zahim bin Rasid in Makula Samia at about 20,000 steps from Zaitul Araque. A temple was built in her honour. She was the chief god of Quraish. Arabs often swore in the names of Manat, Lat and Uzza. A village named Wadi-i-Hiraj was dedicated to her worship. She had a sacrificial stand built in front named 'Gab Gab.' The temple compound had an enclosure. Some other tribes like Sakif, Aus and Kajraj worshipped her.

Hubal: This was one of the principal gods of Kaba, if not the most important. The God had a human form. The statue was made of

¹ *Vide ante.*

² *Vide ante.*

³ *Vide ante.*

⁴ Wadd was worshipped in the form of a man; Soah as a woman; Yayuk a lion, Yang a horse, Nasr an eagle or vulture. Md. Ali's *Quaran*, p. 1191, sec. 3577.

blood-red stone. Its right hand was broken. The Quraish built the hand with pure gold. The peculiarity of Hubal was that it could forecast future events by means of divining arrows kept near it. Two other deities were kept near Hubal in Mecca—Isaf and Naila.¹ Some scholars wrongly identify Hubal with Allah. The statue was burnt on the day of the conquest of Mecca.²

Sad: The god of fortune, Sad, had its seat not far from Jidda. It was placed there by the children of Kannat. A tall stone was the emblem of this god—it being called the Rock of Sad.

Zul Khalesa: This god had its sanctuary at a distance of 25,000 camel-steps from Mecca on the road to Medina. The temple was built of white stone; the statue had a crown on the head. Hashan, Aus, and Bhalia tribes worshipped this deity. Zorair destroyed the deity by setting fire to it.

Zul Kaffuin: It had two hands and was worshipped by the tribe of Aus. After their acceptance of Islam they destroyed the statue by fire.

Nahu. This god was worshipped by Mojina tribe. The priests of Nahu were held in great esteem. Khijai destroyed the statue when he turned Mahomedan.

Da War: This god, always represented as "wide-awake," was very widely worshipped by men and women. Its sanctity is testified by the way in which the poets referred to it in Moabka.³ The great poet, Imra-ul-Kayas, has made mention of Da War in more places than one. The form of its worship consisted in parading the god in procession and festivities.

Um-Yanus: The tribe of Khulam generally worshipped this god. Peasants usually dedicated a part of their firstling of the flock and harvests to this deity.

Allah: In pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, Allah is represented as a great deity. The heathen Arabs regarded Allah as the Supreme Being. Men turned to Allah in times of distress. He was recognised by them as their creator and giver of rains (*Quran*, XXIX, 61 H).⁴ Allah has sometimes been identified with Hubal. There are also references in pre-Islamic poetry to Allah as the head of the pantheon

¹ Sale's *Preliminary Discourse*, sec. 1.

² Muhammad Ali's *Quran*, p. 1121, note 2577.

³ Moabka is a poem hung up at the gate of Kaba

رَ لَيْلِنَ سَأَلْتَهُمْ مَنْ خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَشَجَرِ
الْشَّمْسِ وَالْقَمَرِ لَيْقُرَوْنِ اللَّهُ ۝

of gods by the heathen Arabs. The three Goddesses Lat, Manat and Uzza are believed to be his daughters.

Besides these important gods there were many minor gods and idols worshipped by the heathen Arabs. As has already been pointed out, every Arab family had its presiding deity and in every work they used to take blessings from some god or other. When going out or coming in, the first duty of the Arab was to make obeisance to the family deity and to touch its feet was looked upon, as a great merit. Family gods were generally feminine.

Different kinds of Gods and Deities.

Gods with Statues: The statues were made after human beings out of stone, wood or metal. Their bodies were different in shape and size. Some idols were of animal shape, some combined the form of man and beast; sometimes it was an imaginary form of an angel.

Gods without Statues: They were made of stone cut beautifully or of ordinary plain stone of beautiful colour.

It was sometimes a custom with them to take four stones while going out on a journey. If stone was not available, a mound of sand was built and the camel's milk was poured on it. This made it look like a stone and the mound was worshipped.¹

Tree Gods: Tall trees were sometimes worshipped. Goddess Uzza was worshipped in the form of three trees.² The Najran tribe celebrated annual festivals below their sacred tree. On the day of the fair, beautiful cloths and ornaments were placed on it. This tree lost all glory when it was uprooted by storm. Palm trees were generally looked upon as sacred in Arabia.

As mentioned already almost every tribe had at least one god, if not more, as specially sacred. The prosperity of the devotees depended on the competence of the god. If a tribe or family or an individual was prosperous, the prosperity was supposed to have been due to the blessings of the deity. So often there were wars regarding possession of gods as found in ancient Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria. Without least hesitation the people caught hold of deities from different places and perforce placed them in their own pantheons. On the other hand, if a man would not get his desired object even by

¹ *أمنم العرب*

² The same god may have had different forms in different parts of the country.

worship of his deity, he would impeach his god for the nonfulfilment of his desires. A divinity pervaded each stone, tree or idol they worshipped and each attendant angel or Jinn was ever ready to help the devotee and punish the recalcitrant.

The Invisible 'Jinns' : They were no gods but objects of fear, mischievous or even destructive. But if they so wished, the 'Jinns' might sometimes prove friendly. They were shadowy invisible things but could assume forms at will, of lizards, snakes, scorpions.

Demons : Pre-Islamic Arabs were extremely afraid of demons. Demons had distinct names. The most dangerous were Ghuls, female demons. Demon-worship was not a cult, and demons were worshipped not for favour but for not doing any harm. Specially in times of building new houses, the demons were propitiated lest they would spoil their work.

Soul : The seat of soul was the heart and they firmly believed in the soul. When the soul moved upwards, death was near. To the dead soul they made material offerings.

Directions for worship :

- (1) Bow down head, fall prostrate and pray.
- (2) Walk round the image.
- (3) Kiss a part of the image or the temple.
- (4) Offer sacrifices in some form.
- (5) Distribute alms in the name of the deity.
- (6) Never turn your back to the deity.
- (7) Priests employed—male and female.
- (8) Both men and women could offer worship but not a woman during her monthly courses.
- (9) Kindle fire in honour of the deity in but a few instances.
- (10) Worship the star.

Offerings and Sacrifices : Generally worshippers offered to the deity something material. Offerings of butter, milk and other delicacies were common. To tree-deities, ornaments and valuable dresses were offered. Wine was often poured on the image, stone or tree, but most often animals were sacrificed. The blood of the victim was poured over the idol or smeared upon it as an act of merit. The god as a reward for the drink-offering was expected to grant special favour to the worshipper.

An Arab sacrifice in 401 A.D. One white camel was brought to the famous temple of Uzza before sunrise. The devotees marched

three times round the spot chanting a hymn. Then the chieftain—a priest—struck a blow at the victim; blood came out and the priest drank a part. Thereupon the crowd rushed forward and devoured the animal, raw and half-flayed—bones and entrails and all before the sunrise.¹ Even now, the Aiswas group of Algerian Muhammadans perform a kind of religious rite in which they devour a raw he-goat, skin and hair.²

In other instances the Arabs like the ancient Hebrews allowed the blood of the victim to flow away “giving the element of life to the deity” or else applied directly to the idol. The flesh of the sacrificed animal was sometimes given to birds. The list of the animals acceptable to gods included camels, sheep and goats. The number of animals thus sacrificed was often large.

There are instances when the people of Dama annually sacrificed a boy and buried him under an altar which would serve also as an idol.

Infanticide due to poverty or belief in religious practices was common (Sura xviii, 31).

The firstling of their flock or herd was often given to gods in the manner of the Hebrews. Sometimes after the birth of the child, his head was shaved; the hair was given to a god together with an animal as a substitute for the child. A portion of agricultural produce was frequently reserved for the family deity.

Animals were often set at liberty either in fulfilment of a vow or in expression of gratitude to the deity for the increase of the flock. The animal freed was sacrosanct and bore a distinct mark on its body.

Temples : Temples were very rare except in the extreme north. The heathen temple was not very high nor was it a very imposing edifice. Even the Kaba—the greatest of their shrines—was rather a small house built of wood obtained from a stranded ship. The most sacred duty of the heathen Arabs consisted in going to the house of Kaba, that is, performing Hajj. The Kaba gained its fame in the desert of Arabia for its being adjacent to the great well Jam Jam. It was believed by the people that Adam met Eve at the famous hill Arafat outside Mecca, and the Hajj consisted in a procession

¹ Migne lxxi, 612 ff.

² *Encyclopædia of Religion*, Vol. I, p. 565, footnote §.

³ *Mahammad Ali's Quran*, p. 567, note 425

from the hill of Arafat to the hillock of Mina, where the sacrifice of the animal would be completed. Originally amongst the heathen Arabs, their pilgrimage had little or nothing to do with Mecca and Kaba. Kaba became prominent in the latter part of the 5th century and by the time Muhammad was born Kaba¹ and Mecca were the chief centres of the heathens and the procession between Arafat and Mina was merely a subsidiary part of the religious ceremony.

In other parts of Arabia there were very unassuming mosques or Mashjids; the word 'Mashjid' was possibly derived from Aramaic 'Masgeda,' a place of worship. The sanctuary in which the idol stood was usually not enclosed with walls but marked off by means of boundary stones. But in spite of their humble appearance the Mashjid was always looked upon with utmost veneration.

Priests: They were called 'Kahin'; it is possibly Aramaic in origin. The institution of priesthood was as old as their religion in Arabia. There were priests both male and female. Priests were highly honoured and had great dignity. The dignity was generally hereditary. We do not know if there were any hierarchy of priests. They generally wore the costume of very primitive ages consisting of skin. Ibn-ul Kalbi² in his famous book *Kitab-ul-Asnam* gives the names of gods along with those of the priests associated with them.

People believed that the priests were especially favoured by the deity. To priests were supposed to have been revealed the secrets of gods of which they were the repositories but were not the dispensers. Belief in soothsayers and magicians was common; though not always priests, they were always revered by the people.

Circumcision which was universal amongst the heathen Arabs was a religious practice and done through the priests whenever available.

The ancient Arabs believed in augurs. Some birds and animals specially foretold luck. When an animal crossed a man's path, it gave a meaning according to the direction from which it came and in which it went. The meaning of such omens was made out by the priests.

Bhagalpur College, Bhagalpur.

¹ Abraham and Ismail built Kaba. Ibn Khaladdin has refuted the myth associated with Kaba.

² The real name of the author is Hasan bin Muhammad Kalbi. Possibly his is the earliest known book in Arabic mythology written as early as 820 A.D.

THE DEATHLESS FOUR ¹

By SIR DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY, KT., LL.D.

The Warden of the Seven Seas,
Guardian against storms and squalls and fogs and shoals,
Dauntless, ever-awake and ever-ready.
Where lies it now, with its Deathless Four ?

Less than half a minute, in all Eternity,
Sufficed to send down the fathomless deep,
The best of men.
Greatest of heroes in bloodless strifes,
That ever made light of danger and toil,
In keeping the Warning Light alive, in ceaseless stream,
Ever-awake and ever-ready,
To guard ocean leviathans in their peaceable course.

Fifty thousand tons of steel and wood
With loads of undisturbed balm of sleep
Bore down upon their Guardian Angel,
And sent down their Protector to its doom,
And rode on to destination and duty,
With half-mast flag,—in sorrow.

Yet such another had itself been crashed
When pitiless iceberg cut it in twain,
And bombs and signals and beams, and thousand others of
science-device,—

¹ On the 15th of May, 1934, in a dense fog the huge North American liner, *Olympic*, crashed into the light ship *Nantucket* and cut it in twain. Of eleven of the crew seven succeeded in extricating themselves and were rescued by the boats of the *Olympic*. Four of the crew, however, who were in the hold could not escape. Three of those who were rescued subsequently died.

Saved not the ~~Titanic~~ nor the ~~Nagasaki~~,
Giant and dwarf alike succumbed
As *Mahakal*'s fateful call was tolled.
Knell for the brave and think of the true,
In silent thanks bow down your head
That you were not of the Four,
And slept well in your berth of ease
And testified to Olympic calm.

Alack and alas, how the silent Guardian fared,
While the Guarded, bore it down in its ruthless course.
Where were ye gods that protect the brave
Who risk their lives for others ?

THE THREE PAHARIA TRIBES OF THE RAJMAHAL HILLS

By PRAPHULLACHANDRA BISWAS, M.Sc.

The Mal-Paharias, Sauria-Paharias and the Kumarbhag-Paharias are the three most interesting hillmen tribes of the Rajmahal, which extends from the bank of the Ganges at Segrigalli, in latitude $25^{\circ} 15'$ North and longitude $87^{\circ} 8'$ East to the Brahmani river and the boundary of Birbhum district. The Census report fails to distinguish between the three groups omitting the last altogether which has also curiously enough eluded the eyes of the recent controversialist in "*Current Science*."¹ The District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas speak of the Kumarbhag but only as a sub-tribe of the Sauria-Paharias, but Dalton² pointed out long ago that "the Paharias are divided into three tribes, Maler (Sauria), Mal and Kumar." In the course of the field work last year in the Godda-Pakur border area the three hillmen groups clearly came out to me as distinct tribal entities.

Linguistically the Malto language of the Saurias, classed as an intermediate group, forms an archaic northern extension of the Dravidian family, and marks these people out from their Austro-Asiatic-speaking Santal neighbours. Ethnically they are still more important in the light of the recent thorough classification of Prof. von Eickstedt.³ He has found in India the most primitive strain as the Veddoid race divided into two groups, the Gondidae and the Malidae. This is sharply distinguished from the Melanid race of which there is a northern and a southern branch. Thus the Santals are classed as the northern Melanids and the Saurias as the Malid subtype of the Veddoid race considerably influenced by the former.

Thus from the ethnic standpoint these tribes are the northernmost survivals of a type reckoned to be one of the most primitive, *c.g.*, the Veddas of Ceylon. Linguistically also their Dravidian language shows how conservative they have been though surrounded by Aryan and Austric-speaking tribes.

Perhaps nothing brings out so fully the primitive character of the Saurias and the Kumarbhags as the complete absence of the clan organisation amongst them fully corroborated by their kinship terminologies. On the other hand the Mal-Paharias have a distinct clan organisation though their recent investigator Mr. S. Sarkar, perhaps failing to distinguish the Kumarbhags from the Saurias, stated that the Mal-Paharias living in the border areas have no such system. It is also hard to believe that the Mal-Paharias derived their clan organisation from the Hindus for in Kataldihi village 16 miles from Katikund which itself is 17 miles from Dumka and thus far from the madding haunts of modern civilization, the Mal-Paharias examined by me showed a division into at least 14 clans. Amongst the Saurias as well as amongst the Kumarbhags there is a tendency to group together in the same terminology, related either through the father or through the mother. Thus the mother and the mother's brother's

¹ *Current Science*, August, 1933; *Man in India*, 1933, Vol. 13, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 150.

² Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 270.

³ *Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit* (Stuttgart; 1930), p. 184.

wife are given the same name "Aiya," so also ~~father's~~ mother and the father's mother are given the same term "Bediyo." There is also often a tendency to class the different generations or the different sexes together. Thus "Bediyo" is applied equally to the mother's brother, elder brother, father's mother and mother's mother. This is obviously characteristic of a system without clan organisation, the Hawaiian as Lowie calls it. Clan exogamy brings with it a clear demarcation of the father's and mother's line and also of the different generations—the Dakotan or rather the Tamil system as it may be called. There is, however, the anomalous feature of cross-cousin marriage existing side by side with their non-exogamous grouping and warranted by their kinship terminology which makes the terms for the father's sister's child and the mother's brother's child to be same as of the wife—"Oro."

This they might have obtained along with their language from the Dravidian with whom the cross-cousin marriage is associated.

As distinguishing traits amongst the three groups, the following may be mentioned :

The more primitive Saurias bury their dead but the Kumarbhags and Mal-Paharias have taken to cremation. The marriage customs of the Kumarbhags are more akin to those of their neighbours, the Saurias but in birth-rites they differ from them. The Saurias still eat beef but the other two abstain from it. The Kumarbhags possess a set of kinship terminology quite distinct from those of the Saurias. Physically they resemble the Saurias. In social customs they have adopted only some rites of the Mal-Paharias. Thus we can speak of the Saurias as more primitive with greater Dravidian culture trait and the Mal-Paharias as more Hinduised and the Kumarbhag Paharias as being intermediate and perhaps with less Dravidian influence.

Thus a comparison of the cultural and physical traits of these northern outliers of a Dravidian-speaking people though of Vedoid race might throw considerable light on the non-Melanid, non-Austic, pre-Dravidian culture phase in India.

Calcutta.



*Top : A Sauria Paharia
(male)*

Left : Two Sauria women



*Right : A Mal Paharia
woman*





Left A Mal Paharia (male)

Right A Kumaibhag Paharia (ma'e)



A Sauria Village at Sundar-Pahari Bungalow over hill top

ALMA MATER JENA

By HERBERT GÜNTHER.

There are university towns in which one sees few outward evidences of student life, but the students set an unmistakable stamp on Jena, the charming old city in the valley of Saale, in the Thuringian Forest. The university was founded by the Elector John Frederick the Magnanimous in 1558, and could thus celebrate its 357th anniversary this year. The statue of the Elector stands in the middle of the Market Place, which is half filled with tables and chairs from the first warm day in spring until cold weather comes, and here one sees the students, in their varicoloured caps and bands, drinking beer and eating the small grilled sausages for which Thuringia in general is noted. On the days when this or that student organisation celebrates an anniversary, one sees also the "Old Boys" or "Old Grads," who have left their businesses and professions to spend a day with their young corps brothers.

Jena looks back on a rich history, full of the names of noted men. In the "Gasthof zum Schwarzen Bären" Luther, under the name "Junker Jörg" came together in 1522 with the Swiss students, in 1524 he had his disputation in the same place with the iconoclast Karlstadt, and over 450 years later Bismarck stopped in the same house.

The university, which developed from a Lutheran academy and was long known as "a fortress of genuine Lutheranism," experienced its first flourishing period under Goethe's leadership, when Schiller began his work as professor with his lecture on "How and why one studies universal history," and Fichte, Schelling and Hegel belonged to the faculty. A second flowering followed, when the Schlegel brothers, Humboldt, Jean Paul, Tieck, Novalis and Brentano made Jena the chief seat of older romanticism, surpassing even Heidelberg.

Many places in the town still recall these great names. On the Fürstengraben, Jena's most beautiful street, near the Botanical Garden, stands the ivy-mantled house of the Bookseller Frommann, in which Goethe made the acquaintance of the charming Minechen Herxlieb, the Ottilie of his "Elective Affinities." In the Schiller Gässchen is the house in which Schiller wrote his "Wallenstein," and in the garden is the stone table at which he and Goethe so often sat together. Schiller's wedding took place quietly in the Schiller Church, and on a walk through the meadows of the Saale valley, not far away, Goethe wrote the "Erlkönig."

Jena, first mentioned in contemporary documents in 850, received its city charter in 1280. It still contains a number of mediaeval buildings, such as the Johannistor (city gate) with its "Käsekorb," literally cheese basket, a bow-window in which common scolds were exposed, and the Pulverturm (powder tower). More striking testimony is given to past days of greatness, however, by the many small name-plates on the houses, or by the graves from classic days in the Old Cemetery. Northward from the "Napoleonic stone" on the Windknollen one has the best view of the battlefield of 1806, the prelude to the crushing of Prussia by the Comte de. Only nine years later, in 1815, the German Burschenschaft

was founded in the "Gasthaus zur Tanne," the Duke of Weimar was the first prince to grant it a constitution, and the Jena professors worked out its details.

Natural science and technique brought the university its third triumph. Three well known names in particular are connected with that era—Ernst Haeckel, creator of the Phyletic Museum for the study of the development of man, for almost 60 years professor at the university and occupant of Villa Medusa, now maintained as a museum; Carl Zeiss, at first mechanic and then founder of the world-renowned optical works; and Ernst Abbe, Zeiss's ingenious assistant, who refused an opportunity to earn millions in order to establish in 1889 the Carl Zeiss Foundation, and thus became a benefactor of the city and its university.

Two men who did much to make Jena a favourite university for foreign students were Eucken, the Nobel prize-winner, and Rein, the pedagogue. Rein established regular courses for foreigners, and the Rudolf Eucken House, presided over by the philosopher's widow, is still their gathering place.

In addition to its main building, the university of Jena possesses institutes for commercial law, the law of associations and corporations, sociology, economics, medical history, pedagogy, social anthropology, agriculture, and a great number of special institutes for agrarian research. In addition to the modern clinics, mainly of recent construction, special mention should be made of the many institutes for natural science equipped in most up-to-date manner, chiefly with funds from the Zeiss Foundation.

A splendid Student Home exists, with all comforts, and from it one has a fine view of the surrounding hills. Noted places lie in the neighbourhood of Jena. It is a short trip to Weimar, and Leipzig and Halle are only an hour away by train. The three elevated Dornburg palaces, with memories of Goethe, represent a combination of natural and artistic beauty. The Naumburg Cathedral contains the finest works of mediæval German plastic art. Klopstock Fichte, Ranke and Nietzsche attended the nearby Schulpforta. It is but a short tramp to the ancient Rudelsburg and Saalleck castles.

Unusual opportunities present themselves for all kinds of sport. There are swimming and boating on the Saale, tennis, a new university gymnasium, and, of course, splendid foot tours in the wooded hills around the old town. And in winter the students have the ski home of the university in Geblberg, in the Thuringian Forest.

"In Jena lebt sich's bene" (life is pleasant in Jena) says an old student song, and it is true.

Jena, Germany.

SYSTEMS OF SICKNESS INSURANCE

By **BENOYKUMAR SARKAR**

In regard to the organization of sickness insurance we have to note the distinction between voluntary and compulsory systems. To go into details about the organization, it is necessary to observe that the compulsory system itself comprises various types. That is, even in countries which compel certain classes of persons to insure not all compel to insure with certain specified societies or funds. Indeed, it is quite possible that the persons compelled to insure are free to choose any societies they like for their assurance.

Organizational Compulsion in Germany.

In Germany the compulsion is very strict. There is no freedom of choice on the part of the persons seeking insurance. The workmen and clerks are organized in trade unions according to occupation or profession. Sickness insurance funds (*Krankenkassen*) have to be sought by the men and women from among their own unions. They are not permitted to go beyond their professional associations, guilds, unions or factories in search of insurance societies. This "organizational compulsion" was absolute until 1923 when for the first time the law brought into being a small number of supplementary funds (*Ersatzkassen*).

The sickness insurance societies or funds of Germany at dates 1914 and 1926 are indicated in the following table:

Denomination.	1914.	1926.
1. Local	2,788	2,165
2. Provincial	505	432
3. Factory or Business Company	5,524	4,283
4. Guild	947	804
5. Mining (<i>Knappschaft</i>)	146	19
6. Supplementary	67	56
Total	10,067	7,679

There were 10,067 *Krankenkassen* of all denominations in 1914 and 7,679 in 1926. The diminution in number is due to "rationalization" which has involved the abolition of overlapping, duplication, etc., and the introduction of administrative economy.

Russian Compulsion Territorial.

The German principle of "organizational compulsion" in regard to sickness societies on the basis of occupational unions is followed in

Austria and Czechoslovakia. In Russia also the ~~organizational~~ ~~compulsion~~ in regard to the funds is absolute and strict. But there the basis of work is not the occupational union. Persons are compelled to insure with societies according to districts or territorial jurisdictions, no matter what be their professions or occupations. The law compels them to insure with one or other society within certain geographical areas, according to their domicile. The Russian system is to be found in Poland and Jugoslavia also.

British System Restrictive.

The almost exact antipodes of the German (Russian) system is furnished by Great Britain, where although certain classes of persons are compelled to insure, there exists no "organizational compulsion," i.e., no compulsion to insure with certain funds or societies. The benefit societies are "free," i.e., the persons are at liberty to select any funds they like for their insurance.

The British system is however "restrictive" to a certain extent in so far as it admits the principle of "recognized" funds. The funds or societies have got to be approved by the Government in order that they may be entitled to insure the persons who by law are compelled to insure. On the recognised or approved list are to be found (1) trade union funds, (2) mutual assurance companies, (3) funds established by ordinary assurance companies, provided these funds are not run on profit-making basis and are subject to the exclusive influence of the persons seeking insurance.

It is to be observed that even in Great Britain the law can compel persons to insure with certain funds, for instance, with postal savings banks, in case the voluntary method has not been availed of. Not more than 2 per cent. of the persons compelled to insure may be described as belonging to this "organizational compulsion" in regard to funds.

Both Compulsion and Freedom.

Between the two poles of extreme compulsion and extreme freedom lie certain countries in which freedom is the foundation but is supplemented by compulsion. The compulsion is enforced when freedom has not been availed of. Countries like Norway, Portugal and Hungary belong to this category. The problem of compulsion *versus* freedom is essentially a problem of doses of one or the other. The three different categories may be envisaged in the following analysis:—

Country.	Compulsion in regard to Funds.	Freedom in regard to Funds.
Germany	Fundamental	Very little
Russia	Absolute	Nil
Great Britain	Very little	Fundamental
Norway	Provided freedom is not availed of.	Principle ..

Common Sailors' Funds.

In regard to sailors there are certain special features so far as the organization of insurance is concerned. The *Seekasse* (Sea fund or sailors' fund) is the name of the general institution. It comprises (1) invalidity and (2) old age, widowhood and orphanage interests. Then there is the *Seerberufsgenossenschaft* (Seamen's co-operative society). With these two institutions is intimately connected the sailors' sick fund (*Seekrankenkasse*), which, however, is a special organ and is separately administered.

The co-operative society is an exclusive employers' association. The *Seekasse* is half employer and half employee in constitution. But on the sick fund the sailors command three-fifths of the votes, leaving the rest to the employers.

Attempts at Administrative Unification.

Organizationally speaking, an item of importance refers to the law which ordains that it is only with the approval of *Betriebsrat* (works-council) that sick funds can be established under the auspices of factories or other enterprises.

At the present moment there are five or rather six different branches of social assurance independent of one another from the standpoint of organization and administration, namely, (1) sickness, (2) accident, (3) invalidity, (4) employees (*Angestellten*), (5) miners (*Knappschaften*), and (6) unemployment. For some long time, in reality almost since the beginning of social assurance legislation, there has been going on an agitation in favour of concentrating all these branches under one system and bringing about a uniformity in regard to legal procedure and administrative technique. Not much progress has however been realized up till now in the direction of consolidation. Only one or two items are worth mentioning. First, the law of 1923 has rendered the establishment of new sick funds very difficult. Secondly, one and the same juridical organization has been established for the two branches, invalidity and employees.

The demand for reforms in this direction is incessant and is for the present embodied in the proposals of the two institutions, General German Trade Union Congress and the General Union of the German Sick Funds. In 1928 both these bodies formulated the plan, first, of concentration in sick funds, secondly, of consolidation of all the different branches of social assurance. The plan treats the sick funds as the nuclei and as the foundation of the entire system. According to this new plan there would remain only two branches functioning independently of and separately from each other: (1) social assurance proper, i. e., the first five branches of the present regime, and (2) unemployment insurance.

It is in the same direction of unification that the labour ministry has been thinking when it has since 1927 been elaborating the plan of abolishing the handicraftsmen's co-operative societies as independent insurance societies and transferring their accident questions as those of other such enterprises to the common provincial insurance authorities.

Employees separate from Workingmen.

These unifying, centralizing or consolidating tendencies in the social assurance organization of Germany should not be made too much of because the exactly opposite tendencies are no less strong. The

"employees," for instance, have long been seeking separation from the workingmen, and their agitation has indeed already led to the establishment of the *Reichsanstalt fuer Angestelltenversicherung* (Imperial Institution for Employee Insurance). This partition of classes has been followed by another partition, namely, that of branches of insurance. Thus the attempts that were made in post-war years to amalgamate the insurance interests of the employees with invalidity insurance have proved abortive and to-day the two are administered independently of each other. By the law of 1927 the employees are empowered whenever they will to establish special sick funds of their own separate from those of the workingmen. The sick funds of the miners' associations also are divided into two compartments, one for the employees, and the other for the workingmen. Altogether, the partition tendencies that are embodied in the Austrian legislation of 1926-27 appear to be more and more prominent in the sentiments as well as in the regulations of Germany.

The forces against unification are at work in other items as well. For instance, in the interest of centralization there were attempts made to establish uniformity among sick funds on territorial basis, i.e., according to districts or local jurisdictions. But this principle has not been able to win universal recognition. The interests of "special institutions" are still too strong to be ignored. The guilds of professional unions have succeeded in maintaining their independence. They have further obtained the privilege of being able to organize the sick-funds of different guilds in a locality in a combined manner. In 1924 there were 947 sick funds with 891,000 assured. But in 1926 the number of assured rose to 464,000 although that of the funds went down to 804 on account of rationalization.

The Insured as Administrators.

The internal administration of the funds or societies is regulated by the ideal of self-government. The ideal has been realized in practice also and is very prominently embodied not only in sickness but in accident as well. The agitation is at present directed towards the appointment of higher officials by the insured as well as the fixing of contributions and benefit rates by themselves. The authority of the Government or of Governmental corporations in special assurance questions has been gradually giving place to that of the members of the funds, i.e., either the insured (workingmen and employees) or the insured and the employees. Self-determination is the atmosphere in which the organization has been advancing during the last few years.

For a long time the insured commanded votes to the extent of 50 per cent. in the administration of the mining assurance societies (*Knappschaften*). But recently they have been granted the voting strength of 60 per cent. The same proportion of votes, namely, 60 per cent. is now being enjoyed by the insured in the administration of sailors' sick-funds also. This predominance of the insured, i.e., workingmen and employees in sick and other funds is being justified on the ground, that the contributions paid by the employers are really parts of wages and salaries and not doles or charities.

In 1928 it has been proposed at the Congress of General German Trade Union Associations that the representatives on the insurance funds are to be elected not individually by the insured and the employers but through their respective unions. The name of such unions is legion.

Centralization in France.

In France the tendency to centralize the entire organization is very prominent. Down to 1927 the administration was diverse according as insurance institutions were governmental or private. This diversity has now been removed. The old *caisses primaires* (primary funds), established as they were by professional associations continue to be the fundamental basis of the system. The plan according to the new legislation comprises the establishment of funds in the *departements* or districts with which the primary funds can be reinsured. The departmental funds are then to constitute the essential organ of social assurance. The preparation of the lists of members as well as the distribution of contributions among the primary funds belong to the functions of the departmental funds. They are further authorized to look after the insurance of those who are not insured with any primary funds.

The administrative council is composed of eighteen members in the following manner. The insured have at least 9 representatives, the employers have 6, and medical men 2. The governmental authority is to comprise a departmental organ as the first instance and a superior insurance office at the metropolis.

The labour ministry is to be furnished with a supreme insurance council to be composed of 69 members. They are to represent the Government as well as to be persons interested in social assurance legislation. In regard to the consummation of insurance as well as charges in legislation this supreme council is to function as a court. The French system does not contemplate the institution of special courts of law for social assurance.

The Russian Teustrath.

All branches of insurance are unified in the Russian system, as we have observed before. The lowest organs are distributed throughout the length and breadth of the country and are built up according to the territorial principle. They must have a minimum membership of 2,000 persons. The receipt of premium, the entertainment of applications for help, as well as the payment of benefits, all belong to the jurisdiction of these local funds. Over them are found the departmental organs which supervise the local bodies and look after the administration of the law.

The departmental organs are diverse in constitution according to the conditions in the constituent republics. In each of these republics the labour commissariat and the council possess the chief insurance offices which supervise the work of the departmental organs. Superior to these offices in administrative authority is the *Teustrath*, the central office of social assurance, which is attached to the labour commissariat at Moscow. The rates of premium and benefit are determined by this office. It is to be observed that all the four organs of this hierarchy are administered exclusively by the insured, or rather by their trade unions.

The supreme authority is the federal council for social assurance. The council is composed of (1) representatives of trade unions, (2) representatives of industrial and economic associations, (3) supreme economic council, (4) commissariat for finance and transport. The functions of this body comprise looking after the interests of the insured as well as those of the entire body economic. This is the organ that exercises control over the *Teustrath* and is the highest court of justice in regard to social assurance.

The centralization altogether is nearly 100% except that the interests of the railwaymen and sailors lie beyond the jurisdiction of the supreme council. There are special funds for those two classes of transport workers, and for them the highest administrative and judicial authority, is the *Teustrath*.

Three Branches in Austria.

The usual five (or six)-branch system of social assurance has been abolished in Austria during 1926-28. The Austrian system of to-day comprises the following:—

- (1) "Employee" insurance.
- (2) Workingmen's insurance.
- (3) Unemployment insurance.

The "employee" insurance comprises all the different branches, sickness, accident, invalidity, etc. So also does workingmen's insurance. Each is thoroughly centralized and exclusive of the other. The separation between the two classes is complete. There is a little exception, however, in so far as unemployment insurance is taken care of by a common organization, namely, the bureau of employment which comprises both workingmen and employees.

The law of 1926 supplemented by that of 1928 regulates the transaction of employee insurance. There is a small number of insurance institutions in agricultural and forest areas. But practically there is only one institution and this is the *Hauptversicherungsanstalt* (Chief Insurance Office) in Vienna, which for sickness as well as for other branches, has established a special fund in every province or state of the federation. The chief office is administered on the principle of 50: 50 by the insured and the employees. But on the funds in the agricultural and forest areas as well as the provincial centres the insured command 80 per cent. of votes. On the other hand, on the bodies which supervise and control the transactions of these funds the employers possess an overwhelming majority (80 per cent.).

The workingmen's insurance of to-day is governed by the law of 1927. The old sick funds have continued to exist although much rationalized, i.e., reduced in number. In regard to other branches the *Arbeiterversicherungsanstalt* (workingmen's insurance office) in Vienna is the only institution with jurisdiction over all Austria. This is administered 50: 50 by the workingmen and the employers. Government representatives have a number of seats on the administrative council. The sick funds, however, are governed predominantly by the workingmen both in the assembly as well as in the administrative body. Only, as in the case of employee insurance, in regard to the control over the transactions the employers command 80 per cent.

The British Ministry of Health.

The ministry of health is the highest authority in health insurance matters in Great Britain. The recognition or approval of societies, the appointment of judicial commissions, the making of regulations, etc., belong to its normal functions. The two important organs which function under the ministry and carry out legislation according to its directions are (1) the approved societies and (2) the insurance committees. The administration is pretty centralized.

The three cash benefits, namely, (1) sickness, (2) disablement, (3) maternity, are administered by the approved societies. In internal administration these societies are virtually self-determined. As noted above, no society can be approved if it carries on business for profit. Besides, the society must be under the absolute control of the insured persons. The approved societies can recruit from anywhere and from any profession according to their discretion. And they are not bound to accept every person who seeks membership.

The fourth benefit, namely, the medical, is administered by the other organ, the insurance committees, in every county and county borough. They prepare the "medical list" by communication with the local doctors. The insurance committees are composed of twenty to forty persons, of whom four are women. The constitution is as follows: 60 per cent. to be appointed from the insured, 20 per cent. from the county council or borough council, 2 appointed by a local medical committee, 1 medical man appointed by the local council, and the rest appointed by the minister.

Italian System.

The National Maternity Fund of Italy is an autonomous branch of the *Cassa Nazionale per le assicurazioni sociali* (National Fund for Social Insurance). The growth in the number of benefits for child-birth and miscarriages is noted below:

1912	...	5,701
1925	...	37,187
1926	...	39,526
1929	...	41,273
1930	...	44,030

The National Fund for Social Insurance is responsible for the management of tuberculosis insurance in Italy (introduced in 1927). By 1931 some 3,000 beds were provided and 8,000 more were being provided for. From January, 1929 to September, 1931, tuberculosis benefits were enjoyed by 89,502 persons for a total of some 14,000,000 days.

Miscellany

Women's Work in Japan—The Banque de France—British Researches in Industrial Fatigue and Industrial Psychology—Principles of Industrial Physiology—Gumpłowicz and Ratzenhofer in Modern Social Thought—Economic History through Mussolini's Eyes (BENOYKUMAR SARKER)

WOMEN'S WORK IN JAPAN.

In Japan the number of active women between fifteen and sixty years of age is 16,731,000 of whom about 60 per cent. have some occupation (agriculture, 62 per cent ; industrial employment, 14 per cent. ; commerce, 9 per cent. ; domestic service, 6 per cent : public institutions 3 per cent. ; factories, 9 per cent. ; transport, 6 per cent) In 1892, 856 182 were employed in industry, 71,349 were in mines, 331,972 in other occupations (13 per cent. of the female population). Recently 74 per cent. (about 856,000) of the women workers were in factories, of whom 756,153 were in the textile industry and dyeworks, 14,394 in engineering workshops, 51,549 in the chemical industries, and 21,995 in different industries.

In Japan the largest number of women work, as has been said, in the textile industry and dyeworks (86 per cent. of all working women) where 80 per cent. are of the female sex According to the recent statistics, among the 856,000 women workers in factories, 220,000 were female young persons under sixteen years of age, of whom 200,000 were employed in textile mills and dyeworks. It is important to remember too that 80 per cent. of the women worked ten to twelve hours a day, and that some time ago 55 per cent. of the factories working night shifts were textile mills and dyeworks, and 23 per cent. chemical works. The Labour Act of 1928 prohibits employment of women in factories from 10 P. M. to 5 A. M. Prohibition has also been proposed of the employment of women and young persons (up to sixteen years of age) in underground work

The systematic recruitment of female labour from the rural districts is pushed very much in Japan, and it is so expensive that by way of compensation for the loss incurred, wages have had to be lowered and hours of work increased. The majority of the women employed in these factories (89 per cent. at least) live in hostels belonging to the factory, which ensures them lodging and food. The importance of this for the young working woman is evident. Although the nourishment furnished by the factory yields about 2,000 calories and contains about 50 grm. of protein daily (for a girl of 40 kg. weight, 50 calories is about equal to 1 grm. of protein per kg.), the researches of Simazono go to prove that this quantity is not enough for a growing girl. He considers that the food again is insufficient in protein and in vitamin B. The food as well as the environment explain the high incidence of absence from work and sickness.—*Occupation and Health* (International Labour Office, Geneva).

THE BANQUE DE FRANCE.

The Annual Report submitted to the general meeting of the shareholders of the *Banque de France* is justly considered as of the utmost significance. Nor could there be found elsewhere any clearer tangible reflection of the political, economic and social conditions not of France alone but of the whole world.

In the midst of the universal confusion, the continuity of the French monetary policy has asserted itself throughout. The Government of France upheld the principle of the gold standard. The *Banque* made it a point to avoid any interference with the free play of the movement of

gold. Consequently, while seeking neither to hasten nor to moderate the inflow of the precious metal into France, it has at no time sought to oppose the calls made upon its stock of gold.

The *Banque's* gold reserves and holdings in foreign currencies were depleted to the extent of 9,500 million francs in 1933.¹ This is a symptom of the economic crisis that according to French bankers should not cause any undue anxiety, for it is to be observed that the natural wealth of France and her qualities of industry and thrift are a promise of unfailing recovery after the hard times she is passing through.

Events abroad have had repercussions by which the whole world has been affected. The Government of the United States in April 1933 suspended the operation of the Gold Standard, and in spite of a gold cover of 60 per cent. the value of dollar fell swiftly. Thereupon the florin and the Swiss franc were subjected to assaults which resulted in an inflow of gold into Paris offsetting the losses sustained under the influence of the relatively increased value of sterling.

The unanimous determination of the countries attached to the Gold Standard found expression in sundry technical arrangements. In July the Governors of the Banks of Issue of Belgium, Italy, Holland Poland and Switzerland met in Paris and agreed to a joint plan of defence. Speculative operations on the florin and the Swiss franc had to be brought an end to forthwith, and a flow of foreign capital to Paris set in, attracted by the security of the franc as contrasted with the uncertain behaviour of the pound, which had fallen from 86.09 to 80.80 between July 1 and September 1.

None the less did the exodus of gold set in once more under the influence of current events, though there was no cause for uneasiness. The inroads upon the stock of gold amounted to less than 5,000 million francs, equivalent to nearly 6 per cent. of the total reserves.

The life of the *Banque de France* is bound up with the life of the French nation. The shares are distributed among a large number of people. The number of bearers of but one share represents 43 per cent. of the total, while the proportion of holders of 1 and 2 shares amounts, together, to 65 per cent. as will be seen from the following table:—

Shareholders possessed of	1 share	17,889
" "	2 "	9,021
" "	3-5 "	8,021
" "	6-10 "	3,533
" "	11-20 "	1,466
" "	21-30 "	581
" "	31-50 "	376
" "	51-100 "	169
" "	over 100 "	87
Total		41,148

¹ Exchange parity £1=124.21 francs. Average rate for 1933, maximum 90 fr., minimum 77 fr.

During 1933 the total productive ("active") transactions of France amounted to 101,955 million francs, a figure lower than that of the four preceding years, as is shown by the following statement:

1923	...	82,247	Mill. fr.	1929	...	144,164	Mill. fr.
1924	...	108,276	" "	1930	...	129,899	" "
1925	...	109,810	" "	1931	...	134,007	" "
1926	...	109,788	" "	1932	...	103,626	" "
1927	...	74,106	" "	1933	...	101,955	" "

These figures exclude share deposits, transfers, cheques negotiated free of charge, operations for Treasury account and bills discounted by the French Treasury, or State loans to foreign Governments.

The amount of discounted "trade bills" which was smaller in 1932 than in 1931, was still more so in 1933. It is interesting to compare the figures for the last ten years, in order to have an idea of the trend of business, as follows:—

In 1924	...	31,103,000	bills to the value of	57,283,000,000	fr.
In 1925	...	35,018,000	" "	58,581,000,000	" "
In 1926	...	35,017,000	" "	74,276,000,000	" "
In 1927	...	26,585,000	" "	45,291,000,000	" "
In 1928	...	37,030,000	" "	53,798,000,000	" "
In 1929	...	31,590,645	" "	104,030,151,700	" "
In 1930	...	32,061,080	" "	83,077,878,500	" "
In 1931	...	34,777,085	" "	80,864,991,400	" "
In 1932	...	28,235,566	" "	43,634,008,200	" "
In 1933	...	24,790,133	" "	38,988,943,100	" "

The effect of the depression is clearly shown in the above table, and a further indication is to be found in the decrease observed in "loans on securities." These loans, which amounted to 29,266,040,600 francs in 1932 declined to 23,395,249,300 francs in 1933. It goes without saying that the amount of loans on securities is directly proportionate to a country's activities.

A decline is likewise recorded in the amounts "paid in," as indicated below:—

	1929.	1930.	1931.	1932.	1933
1. Number of bills handed in for collection ...	4,920	5,159	5,874	5,753	4,987
2. Value of said bills in millions of fr. ...	29,383	31,551	35,287	33,326	30,941
3. Issue of notes payable to order, transfers, and cheques passed on (in millions of fr.) ...	182,012	187,165	180,726	106,119	95,594

Branch establishments of the *Banque de France* are holders of postal current accounts with the local post offices. The value of these accounts has increased from year to year: in 1927 it was 80,956.90,300 francs; in 1932 it rose to 117,183,163,000 francs; but in 1933 it declined to 114,183, 163,000 francs, practically the amount recorded for 1931.

In 1933, the transactions effected by the *Banque* for Treasury account amounted to 368,890,954,000 francs as compared with 353,796,545,000 francs in 1932 and 269,176,500,000 francs in 1929.

BRITISH RESEARCHES IN INDUSTRIAL FATIGUE AND INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY.

The Industrial Fatigue Research Board (London) exists to consider and to investigate the relationship between working conditions and methods, and industrial fatigue, paying due regard to output, and the preservation of the workers' health. The Board encourages, organises, and facilitates, by financial or other means, research work in different industries undertaken with a view to discovering the best practice as regards hours of work, breaks, etc. The results of the research work carried out hitherto are now embodied in a considerable number of reports dealing with industrial accidents, rest pauses, repetitive work, vocational selection and guidance, time and motion study, etc. Particular attention has been paid to the mining, metal-working, textile, boots and shoes, pottery, glass and laundry trades.

The work of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology (London) embraces the following matters: movements of the worker, methods of training, selection tests, the reduction of monotony, interest in work, the distribution of working and rest periods, the reduction of waste, the arrangement of materials, the lay-out of factories, and the effects of lighting, ventilation, etc., on efficiency.

Like the Industrial Fatigue Research Board, the National Institute of Industrial Psychology undertakes research work in different industrial establishments and investigates particular cases as they arise.

PRINCIPLES OF INDUSTRIAL PHYSIOLOGY.

The Association of German Industrial Doctors (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft der deutschen Gewerbeärzte*) has enunciated a number of physiological principles. They read as follows:—

1. All protracted work, physical or physiological, should be interrupted by rest periods; otherwise, there will be an excessive increase of fatigue, and a considerable decrease of productive capacity. The need of rest periods has been proved by scientific research and practical experience alike.

2. Rest periods should be granted during working hours. It is injurious to the workers' health to suppress rest periods during working hours on the pretext that the men can rest themselves sufficiently at the close of work. The fixing of the time and duration of breaks will depend upon the nature and the duration of the work: in addition allowance must often be made for external circumstances (time of trains, etc.).

3. Output normally diminishes towards mid-day. The daily curve of physiological activity descends then, indicating that it is at midday that the main break, for rest and meals, should occur.

For this double purpose an effective break of at least an hour must be fixed, assuming that the worker has not far to go from the workshop to the place where he has his meals. If this distance is considerable the break should be lengthened proportionately.

A similar extension should be allowed in favour of employees working with toxic substances; so as to enable them to cleanse themselves properly and to change their clothes.

For the benefit of workmen who, for reasons of distance, cannot take their meals at homes, refectories should be installed near the workshop. If they are attractively furnished they will help to rest the workers.

4. The (English) unbroken working day is a product of large towns. Certain superficial advantages of this system are set off by considerable disadvantages from the point of view of industrial physiology,—disadvantages proving that this mode of organising the daily work cannot pose as the only one that is equitable. The essential pre-requisites of an unbroken working-day are a nourishing breakfast before work is begun; and a short break at midday for a second meal, which, wherever possible, should include a hot dish (tea or soup).

5. In addition to the main break, secondary breaks should be allowed. For certain kinds of work, breaks or periods of slackening off are imperative; where they are not granted, there should be one break of ten to fifteen minutes in the morning, and another of equal length in the afternoon. The suitable moment for, and the duration of, these breaks will depend on the special circumstances of each case. If work is begun very early, for example, and the men have to travel a long way to the workshop, a fairly long break in the first part of the morning will be required. In some cases so-called "short hours" (*Kurzstunden*), consisting of fifty minutes work and ten minutes rest, may prove efficacious.

GUMLOWICZ AND RATZENHOFER IN MODERN SOCIAL THOUGHT.

It is only in recent years that some of the modern German sociologists have become known in India. But by the beginning of the present century Gumplowicz (1838-1909) and Ratzenhofer (1842-1904) appear to have been well assimilated in Western Europe and the Anglo-American world. Gumplowicz's *Rassenkampf* (The Struggle of Races), published at Innsbruck over half a century ago was translated into French as *La Lutte des Races*. His *Grundriss der Sociologie*, published at Vienna in 1885, was translated as the *Outlines of Sociology* by the American Academy of Political and Social Science in 1899. Gumplowicz's doctrine of the struggle of races was compared by the present writer to the Hindu doctrine of *matsya-nyaya* or "logic of the fish" in his *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922) as well as in his *Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin 1922). Gumplowicz's ideas have in recent years formed the subject of discussion in Sorokin's *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (1928).

Equally, if not more well known in America, is Ratzenhofer's *Wesen und Zweck der Politik* (The Nature and Objective of Politics, Leipzig, 1898). The writings of sociologists like Small, for instance, in his *General Sociology* (Chicago, 1905), of Bentley in his *Process of Government* (Chicago, 1908), and of Ross in his *Principles of Sociology* (New York, 1920) have rendered Ratzenhofer's ideas on group-interest almost the first principles of modern American sociology. "With Ratzenhofer's *Nature and Aim of Politics*," says Small enthusiastically, "Sociology attained its majority." Ratzenhofer has since then been utilized in the works of Barnes, Hankins, Sorokin and other writers on historical sociology.¹

¹ Barnes: "Social Reform Programs and Movements" (*Encyclopædia Americana*, New York, 1919) and *Sociology and Political Theory* (New York, 1924); Hankins: "Sociology" in *The History and Prospects of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1925).

ECONOMIC HISTORY THROUGH MUSSOLINI'S EYES.

Here is reproduced a part of the speech delivered by Signor Mussolini in connection with the constitution of Corporations. This is a significant reading of Economic History by a most eminent man of action of the modern world.

I would mark three periods in the history of capitalism: the dynamic period, the static period and the period of decline.

The Dynamic Period.—The dynamic period is that going from 1830 to 1870. It coincides with the introduction of the power-loom and the appearance of the steam-engine. The factory arises. The factory is the typical manifestation of industrial capitalism; it is the period of wide margins and therefore the law of free competition and the struggle of all against all can have full play.

Some fall by the way, others die, and the Red Cross picks them up. This period also has its depressions, but they are cyclical depressions, neither long nor universal. Capitalism still has such vitality and such power of recovery that it can get over them brilliantly. It is the period in which Louis Philippe exclaims: "Get rich." Urbanism develops. Berlin which had a hundred thousand inhabitants at the beginning of the century touches the million; Paris from 560,000 at the time of the French Revolution also proceeds towards the million. The same can be said of London and the Transatlantic cities. During this first period of capitalism selection really works. There are also wars.

The dynamic period of capitalism begins with the advent of the steam engine and closes with the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez. It is a period of forty years. During those forty years the state looks on, is inactive, and the theories of liberalism say: "You, state, have but one duty, that of acting in such wise that your existence is not even perceived in the economic sector. You will govern all the more successfully the less you concern yourself with problems of an economic nature."

The Static Period.—But after 1870 this period changes. We no longer have the struggle for life, free competition, the selection of the fittest. We can note the first symptoms of fatigue and of deviation in the capitalistic world.

The era of cartels, syndicates, consortia, trusts, opens. I shall certainly not pause for you to note the differences existing between these four institutions. The differences are inconsiderable, or almost so. They are like those between rates and taxes. Economists have not yet defined them. But the taxpayers who have to meet them, find it quite futile to discuss the matter as to whether they be rates or be taxes, they must be paid.

It is safe to say that there is no sector of the economic life of the countries of Europe and America in which these characteristic manifestations of capitalism are not found.

The Decadent Period.—But what is the consequence? The end of free competition. As the margins were reduced, capitalistic enterprise considered that it was better to come to an understanding rather than fight, to form alliances, to amalgamate, to divide up the markets and distribute the profits.

Even the law of supply and demand is no longer a dogma, for it is possible through cartels and trusts to act both on demand and supply. At last this coalesced, trustified, capitalistic economy turns to the state. What does it asked for? Customs protection.

Free trade, which is only a wider aspect of the doctrine of economic liberalism, free trade receives a death blow. Indeed the first nation to raise almost impassable barriers was America. And now for some years England herself has rejected all that which seemed until now traditional

in her political, economic, and moral life, and has taken to protection of an increasingly pronounced kind.

The war came. After the war and as a result of the war we had the inflation of capitalistic enterprise. The scale of the concerns rose from a million to the billion. Seen from afar the so-called vertical constructions give the impression of something monstrous, Babelic.

The ideal of super-capitalism would be the standardisation of the human race from the cradle to the grave. Super-capitalism would like all babies to be born the same length so that cradles could be standardized, all children to like the same toys, all men to dress in the same uniform, to read the same book, to have the same tastes at the cinema and all to desire a so-called labour-saving machine.

It is then that the capitalistic concern, when in difficulties, throws itself like a dead weight into the arms of the state. At the present time there is no branch of economic activities in which the state is not called upon to intervene

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Philosophy of Bhedābheda, by P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A.,
Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras, 1934. Pp. 366.

This volume dealing mainly with the Bhedābheda School of Bhāskara is an important addition to the literature on Vedānta Philosophy and will be welcomed by students as well as teachers of Indian Philosophy. It deals with the Bhāskarite interpretation of the Vedānta teachings from the standpoint of Difference-in-Non-difference between the Absolute and the world of experience. Incidentally however it deals, by way of comparison and contrast, not only with Sāṅkarite non-dualism but also with the varied forms of non-dualism-in-dualism and non-dualism-qualified-by-dualism of which expositions in English are already available to the general reader of philosophy. A special feature of this work however is its attempt at a comparative appreciation of the philosophic issues in the light of modern European and American absolutism such as we have in the systems of Bradley, Bosanquet and Royce.

It is to be regretted however that the author should indulge in such puerilities as whether the Bhāskarite or any of the other interpretations give the true meaning of the sūtras. Questions like these betray a lamentable misappreciation of the real position of the sūtras and their relation to the glosses and commentaries. It is no more true to say that the sūtras are a fully-articulated philosophic system to which one or other of the interpretations must correspond than to say that the Bible is a completed structure of philosophy of which one or other of the medieval commentaries must correspond in every detail. It is nearer the truth to say that the sūtras are only the inarticulate suggestions of certain thoughts which are susceptible of further elaboration on different lines and that the commentaries and interpretations are a further working-out of the undeveloped suggestions of the sūtras admitting of interpretation on different lines. Besides, as the fact cannot be overlooked that the interpretations, despite mutual differences, are not without intrinsic philosophic value as rational and coherent accounts of experience, exegetical questions of agreement or disagreement with the sūtras had better be ruled out of court as philosophically inconsequent and irrelevant.

The work is divided into two Books, book I dealing with Bhāskara's philosophy and Book II dealing with other schools of the Vedānta and also allied forms of European Absolutism. It is remarkable however that while the author thus deals with almost every shade of monism, Indian, European and American, he has nothing to say on the Bengal school of Bhedābheda known as the *Acintya-bhedābheda* of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa. It may also be remarked in this connection that while the author's exposition is clear and intelligible on the whole, it is rendered halting and difficult of understanding at places on account of insufficient analysis and unexpected digressions into European and American parallels. Comparisons are certainly desirable, but not comparisons at the expense of continuity of exposition, i.e., comparisons which are distracting and mystifying rather than illuminating and really suggestive.

Despite these obvious deficiencies, however, the work is a scholarly and valuable contribution to Indian Philosophy and will be appreciated as such by all who are interested in Indian Thought in its different aspects.

S. K. M.

Report of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee. Published by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bengal Government Press, Alipore, Bengal. 1934.

The Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee was appointed by Government in response to a resolution passed by the Bengal Legislative Council for the appointment of a committee to make a systematic examination of the present economic depression in Bengal and to make suggestions as to what temporary and permanent measures might be taken to alleviate the present distress. It was recognised by Government that the fall in the price of raw and manufactured jute was one of the primary causes responsible for the acute economic distress in Bengal.

Of the terms of reference to the Committee, three questions were of outstanding importance—(1) the question of the regulation of the production of jute and (2) the marketing of jute and (3) the creation of a Jute Committee for the province of Bengal.

It is to be regretted that no unanimous report has emerged from the labours of the Jute Enquiry Committee. In addition to the majority and the minority reports, one of the members has written a separate report and there are three minutes of dissent. The differences of opinion between the majority and the minority extended not only to the ultimate goal which the respective members had in view but also to the method of presumption of the case. A careful perusal of the report discloses that the majority of the Committee were influenced by an attitude of *laissez-faire* to the existing state of things. The minority, however, wanted to do something definite but were hesitant about the methods to be employed for the desired end.

Take the question of control production. It is generally asserted that over-production of jute is one of the causes that have brought about this great fall in its price. The cultivators are disorganised and ignorant of the state of demand for their product and are not consequently in a position to adjust supply to demand. The question, therefore, is whether it is desirable as also practicable to control the production of jute so as to enable the growers to adjust supply to demand and thus avoid unremunerative price. On this vital question the majority hold that there is no justification for the compulsory regulation of production by legislation while the minority report urges the need for control. The majority contend that there was no over-production of jute up to the year 1929 because prices during this period show a steady rise aggregating about 150 p. c. But this view does not take into consideration the fact that allowance should be made for changes in the purchasing power of money. Throughout the post-war period the raiyat obtained less real value for jute than in 1913. The crux of the whole matter, as one member of the Committee points out, is whether the adjustment of supply to demand is taking place at a price remunerative to the raiyat.

It is admitted that over-production of jute manifested itself since 1930-31 but this was due to the shrinkage of demand caused by the onset of the world depression. During the last two years intensive propaganda and low price have resulted in reduced production but in the face of

limited demand prices do not show any substantial rise. The majority would rely on propaganda for a reduction in the production of jute and disapprove of any sort of state intervention by legislation in the matter.

The arguments adduced in support of the policy of non-intervention are that such intervention has always proved very expensive. Further, compulsory restriction and general control of jute crop would give rise to immense practical difficulties and might lead to a demand on the part of the cultivator for compensation or at least a guarantee against loss. It is also emphasised that under any scheme of compulsory restriction there is the danger of corruption or harassment, to which the cultivator is likely to be a victim. Further, compulsory restriction would constitute "a definite attack on the time-honoured freedom of the rayat to cultivate his land as he likes, and they could only be attempted if a sufficiently large force were available for purposes of coercion."

The minority of the Committee have contended that the jute-mill industry has systematically followed a policy of restricted production in the case of jute manufactures, and there is no valid theoretical reason to deny the same policy to the rayats if it can be practically put into effect. On the other hand, the realisation of the fact that agriculture as compared to industrial interests, needs special protection, has led many countries to organise agriculturists with a view to controlling production in relation to demand. The adjustment of supply to demand in the modern competitive regime takes place at a tremendous loss to the weaker parties and this applies with great force to the agriculturists. It has been a common experience that a surplus crop of one year keeps the price depressed for several years owing to a heavy accumulation of stock. It is therefore thought imperative that production should be controlled to a quantity that would satisfy the anticipated requirements.

While advocating a policy of controlled production the minority do not favour at this stage the introduction of any legislation to achieve the desired end. They advocate the establishment of a Provincial Jute Committee whose functions should be (a) preparation of the estimates of probable demand to be published before sowing commences, (b) apportionment of the entire jute area of the province into 'economic blocks,' (c) allotment of specified quotas of acreage to the different blocks to be carried into effect by local agricultural associations or by other agencies such as union boards.

Further, systematic and intensive propaganda should be adopted to acquaint the cultivator with (a) the amount of accumulated jute in India and other countries, (b) the acreage under cultivation during the last three years.

The main basis of the scheme proposed by the minority is the allotment of specific quantities to different blocks and the adherence of the cultivators to the fixed quotas. It is difficult to conceive that in the absence of suitable legislation this scheme can hold out any prospect of success. A large measure of reliance is placed on agricultural associations to be established in villages. People conversant with Indian villages know how difficult it is to manage the affairs of even a union board and to believe that agricultural associations will adhere to a policy of restriction when remunerative prices are expected is something beyond human credence. In the present stage of unorganised and scattered production deliberate control of production without an effective administrative agency seems out of the question.

The marketing of jute has been the subject of such concern in recent years. In the present organisation, it is admitted by many that the

raiyats do not get a fair price for their product owing to the absence of standardised weights and regulated markets. In the cotton trade Mr. Plyman points out from his experience of the regulated markets in Berar that the cultivator prefers to sell in the markets where they are assured of a "more square deal" and where all deductions, etc., are more strictly regulated than in the villages.

Another question which has raised considerable controversy is the jute futures market commonly known as the *Futka* market. Conflicting views were placed before the Committee as to necessity for a genuine futures market for raw jute. The existing futures market largely encourages gambling by people who have little stake in the trade. The question is highly controversial and recently no less than thirteen associations interested in jute have made a representation to Government for the suppression of the *Futka* market. In view of these developments the matter requires a thorough investigation before any action can reasonably be recommended.

The labours of the Jute Enquiry Committee have resulted in such divergent views regarding principles and action that it is doubtful if the Government will be able to take any definite action to improve the jute trade of Bengal.

R. M. CHAUDHURY

The Pastoral Elegy in English by W. C. Douglas, M.A. Oxford University Press, Madras.

The author of this treatise rightly apologizes for his title. He deals with two English elegies only, Milton's *Lycidas* and Shelley's *Adonais*, and has his misgivings when he includes *Adonais* among pastoral elegies.

Much has been written on the subject of pastoral poetry and its beginnings. Mr. Douglas endeavours to summarize within brief compass what has been said before on this subject, and proceeds to demonstrate the extent of Milton's indebtedness to Theocritus and Virgil. He places the right emphasis on Milton's inability to emulate the rapturous complimentary strain of his Latin prototype and on his apologetic attitude when introducing into his elegy thoughts that are alien to the classical traditions of the pastoral elegy.

Shelley's indebtedness in *Adonais* to Bion and Moschus hardly needs demonstration and Mr. Douglas has done well to pass on after a brief comment on this to matters that have been less dwelt upon. The contrast that *Adonais* presents to *Lycidas* is well brought out, but Mr. Douglas is inclined to be severe on Shelley, particularly when he speaks of the "vein of hysterical exaggeration running through *Adonais*."

When, however, Mr. Douglas examines the two elegies to seek justification for the pastoral element in them, his findings can hardly be challenged. It is difficult to justify the pastoralism, or rather the semblance of it, in *Adonais*. As Mr. Douglas says, Shelley is at his best "When he throws Bion and Moschus aside."

H. K. B.

Arnold and the Grand Style by Rev. A. J. Boyd, M.A. Oxford University Press, Madras.

A brief but thoughtful treatise on a difficult subject. Mr. Boyd begins by examining Arnold's definition of the grand style and quotes from Sir Joshua Reynolds's Third and Fourth Discourses to point out certain resemblances in the ideas of the two men on the subject. He pronounces Arnold's definition a failure and remarks that "definitions in the realm of poetry are not easy to come at." Arnold himself seems to have been conscious of the limitations of his definition when he says that the presence or absence of the grand style can only be *spiritually* discerned."

Mr. Boyd proceeds next to dwell on the emphasis that Arnold laid on *sustained* perfection as the supreme quality of the grand style. He quotes from Arnold's Lectures on translating Homer to show why he excludes Shakespeare from the ranks of the masters of the grand style and includes Milton without hesitation, even at the cost of "departing from his criterion of simplicity and directness of thought and expression."

Shakespeare is excluded because there are "variations" or inequalities in his style, and Mr. Boyd argues that in doing this Arnold countenances "the hoary fallacy" of looking for poetic greatness not *primarily* in the parts but in the whole of a work. Arnold's insistence on sustained dignity and perfection as the *sine quâ non* of the grand style is overdone, though it served a useful purpose in warning poets of the dangers of slovenliness, affectation and inanity.

In passing judgment on Arnold as the critic of the grand style Mr. Boyd rightly maintains that his conception will not bear close examination, as there is no *one* style which has an exclusive right to be called *the* grand style.

H. K. B.

Gleanings

HINDUISM IN THE PHILIPPINES

Dr. Dhirendranath Roy who is the only Bengalee Professor in the Philippines University contributes under the above caption a very interesting article in the current number of *The Prabuddha Bharata* (Calcutta, monthly).

Very few people of India are aware of the significant fact that Hinduism has a great history in the Philippines. Indian anthropologists and antiquarians have rarely, if ever, considered this rising archipelago in their study of what is known as Farther India. Even the researches of the Greater India Society have thrown little light upon the history of Indo-Filipino relationships.

But India can hardly afford to forget or neglect this aspect of her larger self. "If India is to go forward as India, it must go back first of all to get in touch with the broken Indian tradition." It was indeed one of the finest statements which Mr. Macdonald had made before his great change into a British Prime Minister. A fallen people needs every bit of its glorious tradition to sustain itself up till it has revived its old self-confidence to rise and move as proudly as in its golden past.

Unfortunately, it has not been an easy task for those in the Philippines who are doing researches on this line. This is especially because the Spaniards who ruled or rather tyrannized over the people for more than three hundred years, fanatically sought to wipe out all vestiges of native culture so that the people would not think of their history beyond the beginning of Spanish sovereignty. When we remember that these blessed Spaniards were none others than those who so successfully wiped out of existence the Aztecs, the Mayas, and the Incas,—highly civilized peoples who compared very favourably even with the civilized Greeks at that ancient time—we can only imagine how they tried to destroy everything of the pre-Spanish Philippines. Another important difficulty is that those who are doing researches here on Indo-Filipino relationships can hardly be regarded as possessed of a satisfactory knowledge of the principal Indian languages which are supposed to be abundantly mixed up with the various Philippine dialects.

Professor H. Otley Beyer, an American in the University of the Philippines, has made and is still making a collection of the ancient relics of the Hindu civilization in the Philippines. There are some other private individuals who have also their own collections. But the full meaning of them, I presume, is yet to be deciphered by some who are sufficiently versed in the Indian languages. If some South-Indian university,—Madras or Mysore—could engage a scholar with the necessary qualifications to study in co-operation with some local anthropologists the data that are and that may be available, it may bring to light more interesting and important facts on India's relation with the ancient Philippines. This article is prepared with the sincere hope that India in her pious indifference does not forget that the Philippines, this beautiful "Pearl of the Orient Sea," once formed an integral part of Farther India.

Professor Dixon, the distinguished anthropologist of the Harvard University, spoke, in an address before the students of the University of

Philippines, about the ancient civilization of the Filipinos. He referred to the various striking evidences which Professor Beyer has been able to gather after years of careful and systematic investigation into the possible sources of the land,—ethnological, archæological and traditional. It will be quite an interesting and valuable study when Professor Beyer's three modest volumes, now in preparation, will be out to show the racial and cultural backgrounds of the ancient Philippines. This insular region, although cut off by the vast expanse of water and remote from all the possibilities which brought the ancient East and West into close contact, was able to attain a high state of social evolution at a time when the continent of Europe excepting Greece and Rome was not far advanced from its jungle life. "When the inhabitants of England," says Charles E. Russel in his *Outlook for the Philippines*, "were wearing skins, painting their bodies with woad and gashing their flesh in religious frenzies, the Filipinos were conducting great commercial marts in which were offered silk, brocades, cotton and other clothes, household furniture, precious stones, gold and gold dust, jewellery, wheat from Japan, weapons, works of art and of utility in many metals, cultivated fruits, domesticated animals, earthen ware and a variety of agricultural products from their rich volcanic soil." To many parts of the civilized world this may be a real surprise inasmuch as the Filipinos as a people were hardly known until recently when their struggle for political independence has served to attract the attention of outsiders. It has been said that the Philippines were discovered by Captain Ferdinand Magellan in 1521. Such discovery means, of course, like many other Western discoveries, that the country came to be first known to the West at that time. There is no truth, however, in calling it a discovery when the land had established its intimate relationships with different parts of Asia nearly as long ago as, if not earlier than, the supposed birth of Christ. Indeed, the Philippines formed an integral part of Farther India in times long gone by and there was a lot of truth in the fact that the Filipinos were called *Indios* or Indians by the Spaniards.

It is indeed an interesting study how the civilization of India came to the Philippines while there was no military conquest, no method of compulsion by the stronger power over the weaker. In ancient times there was in South India a powerful ruling dynasty called the Pallavas. They were in the zenith of their power from the middle of the sixth century to about 740 A.D. Their kingdom extended over a great part of the Deccan. But the Chalukyas and later the Cholas inflicted a heavy defeat upon them and caused the gradual disappearance of their power as a sovereign people. These Pallavas were expert seamen and merchants carrying on an extensive trade with Malay Islands and Indo-China. Professor Beyer seems to be quite certain that the Pallavas founded colonies as early as the first century B. C. in Indo-China and Malaysia, or in other words, Cambodia, Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, and Borneo. Professor Dixon of the Harvard University said, however, that the Hindu settlements in this part of the Orient might have been at a much earlier date. The Hindu population in these colonies was greatly increased when sometimes in the fifth century the Pallavas in South India were hard pressed by the coming of a large number of northern people. When Buddhism began to spread far and wide at the instance of the great Indian Emperor Asoka, it invaded these Hindu colonies and by the seventh century "Hindu Malaysia became Buddhist." The advent of Buddhism into the colonies meant some initial resistance from the faithful Hindus. Between the Buddhist converts and the Hindu colonists there began a great religious competition which revealed itself in the construction of many fine buildings and temples representing "a high type of artistic

development." In Indo-China the Kingdom of Chanpa was founded by Kaundinya who "came from the Pallava capital of Kanchi" in South India. In the twelfth century King Jayavarman VIII, founded an empire in Indo-China by uniting together the different kingdoms of Kamboj, Kambapura and Vyadhapura. This empire served as a centre of further extension of Hindu civilization towards the neighbouring islands through trade and other peaceful intercourse. There was, however, no motive of political domination, no land hunger. In Sumatra the Buddhists built a permanent city as their capital with many other cities around it. Thus here again was formed another Buddhist state called the Empire of Sri-Vishaya, the emperor himself claiming descent from the Sri-Vishaya (or Sri-Vijaya?) royal house. The capital of Sri-Vishaya was made another centre of Hindu influence which was spreading rapidly over the surrounding island regions of Malaysia. It was about the eighth century that from Gujrat in India there began a great influx of caste-Hindus in East Java where they founded a Hindu state in rivalry with the Buddhist state in Sumatra. These two rival states "made their influence felt throughout the island of Borneo and covered at least the greater part of the southern Philippines, and at times their influence was extended as far north as the island of Formosa."

Thus we find that Indo-China, Sumatra and East Java formed the three centres of Hindu influence over the neighbouring islands before the time of the Mohammedan invasion. Hinduism came to the southern Philippines from Indo-China long before Sumatran Buddhism had gained access there. This Hindu influence reached also the north-west coast of Borneo. The city of Bruni on the coast "was the most important centre in northern Malaysia for the extension of Brahmin influence in other islands and regions."

Soon after the twelfth century several high officials, or *datos* as they were called at the court of Bruni, somehow incurred the displeasure of the Raja of Borneo and left the island with their families and servants. They sailed along the coast of Palawan and finally reached the island of Panay. They were called the Visayans because they came from the land of Sri-Vishaya. They encountered little difficulties in settling along with the native people. Some of the *datos* sailed further north until they arrived near Batangas where they finally settled. The descendants of these *datos* migrated in different directions, one group settling around Laguna de Bay and another in the Bicol Peninsula. On the other hand, the Visayans in Panay were growing again rapidly in population and thus spread over the whole island. The Visayans at present include all those people in the southern Philippines whose dialects bear close resemblance to that of the Panayans. There are also in some people in Borneo numbering about three hundred thousand who are still known as Visayans. They still hold to their faith against Mohammedan aggression and maintain a tradition closely related to Hinduism. Professor Beyer says, "It seems quite evident from a study of various facts that the Visayans in Borneo and those in the Philippines are not only of common origin but are also closely allied to the peoples of South Sumatra. This term is almost certainly a direct survival of the spread of colonies from the pre-Buddhist Sri-Vishaya state into Western Borneo and thence into the central Philippines and probably also into Southern Formosa." It should be borne in mind that Sri-Vishaya was a royal house to which the different royal families in Indo-China, Sumatra and Borneo traced their descent. Their states were, therefore, associated with the name of Sri-Vishaya and the people were called the Sri-Vishayans. The people of the Philippines are at present divided into three groups which are represented by the three stars in their national flag. One of these

three groups is constituted by the Visayans, the other two by the Tagalogs and the Ilocanos. At any rate, it is now evident that Hindu blood came from southern India through a long course of him to these Islands and became mixed with the blood of the native people.

This close ethnic relation of the Filipino with the people of southern India is further adduced by the archaeological study of the lands. The original script of the people has been traced to the South Indian character. The various forms of writing, such as Tagalog, Ilocano, Vishayan, Pampongan, Pangasinan, etc., show their distinct relation with such forms of South Indian scripts as Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam and Kanarese. In northern Philippines these scripts ceased to be in use after the coming of the Spaniards. In the south, Islam introduced by Makdum or Sharif Awliya of Arabia prevented their further use and the Arabic alphabet in to vogue. But some pagan Mountain people, as they are called now, came are said to retain still their old scripts. "Careful study of these scripts," says Professor Beyer, "in modern times has shown that all the Philippine forms of writing most probably were derived either directly from Sumatran or from intermediate Bornean forms which are now lost. The Sumatran scripts in turn have been shown to go back to a South Indian origin just subsequent to the time of Asoka, which indicates that they were introduced into Sumatra with the earliest Hindu-Pallava colonies" (*A History of the Orient*, p. 124). Dr. David P. Barrows, then Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, Manila, and once considered to be the best authority on this subject, says, "On the island of Java this race (Malaya) had some ten centuries before been conquered by Brahmin Hindus from India, whose great monuments and temples still exist in the ruins of Boro Budor. Through the influence and power of the Hindus the Malaya culture made a considerable advance, and a Sanskrit element amounting in some cases to twenty per cent. of the words, entered the Malayan languages. How far the Hindu actually extended his conquests and settlements is a most interesting study, but can hardly yet be settled. He may have colonized the shores of Manila Bay and the coast of Luzon where the names of numerous ancient places show a Sanskrit origin" (*The Philippine Islands*, edited by Blair and Robertson, Vol. 36, p. 189).

Dr. Pardo de Tavera, one of the most distinguished Filipino scholars, says, "It is impossible to believe that the Hindus, if they came only as merchants, however great their number, would have impressed themselves in such a way as to give these islanders the number and the kind of words which they did give. These names of dignitaries, of caciques, of high functionaries of the court, of noble ladies, indicate that all these high position with names of Sanskrit origin were occupied at one time by men who spoke that language. The words of a similar origin for objects of war, fortresses and battle-songs, for designating objects of religious belief, for superstitions, emotions, feelings, industrial and farming activities and agriculture were at one time in the hands of the Hindus, and that this race was effectively dominant in the Philippines" (*History of the Philippines*, Barrows, p. 98). Again Mr. A. L. Kroeber, Professor of Anthropology, University of California, writes that, "It is rather remarkable that the number of Sanskrit words is about twice as great in Tagalog as in Visaya and the Mindanao dialects, in spite of the greater proximity of the latter to Borneo. This difference can scarcely be wholly explained away as due to our more perfect knowledge of Tagalog. It seems likely that the latter people received their loan words, and with them a considerable body of Indian culture, through direct contact with the Malay Peninsula or the coast of Indo-China which they front across the China Sea; and that the Sanskrit element penetrated Mindanao and the Visayan islands by way of Borneo" (*Peoples of Philippines*, pp. 201-202). The Hon. Justice Romualdez of the

Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, himself a real Filipino, derives his conclusion from G. A. Grierson's *The Indian Empire* published in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. He says, it seems clear that our dialects belong to the Dravidian family. It should be remembered that the Sanskrit language being primarily the language of the Indo-Aryans is entirely different from the languages of southern India used by the Dravidian people. That both the Sanskrit and Dravidian elements are found in the different dialects of the Filipinos, goes to show that the influence of the Hindus of the Aryan type who had founded an empire in east Java and that of the Hindus of the Dravidian type who also had their empires in Indo-China and Sumatra, had been present in the Islands. It is, therefore, admitted, as Justice Romuldez states, that the ancient culture of the Filipino people originated in India. Dr. Saleeby who has made a scientific study of the various dialects of the southern Philippines and seems to know something of the Sanskrit language, goes further and points out "that Sanskrit terms were used by Malaysians in general and by Filipinos in particular long before the invasion of Java and Sumatra by the Hindus of the third or fourth century A.D." Indeed Dr. Saleeby is inclined to hold a different theory from that of other students of Indo-Filipino relationships. He is convinced that the Filipinos were originally immigrants from India. He says, "And when side by side with the worship of such dewas (devas) and hantus we find that the head gods of the Indian triad and the earliest Vedic gods still hold the foremost place in the minds and devotions of the hill-tribes of Luzon and Mindanao and are still spoken of by the Maros.....the inference certainly becomes clear that the relation which the Filipinos hold to the Hindus is every much older than the Hindu-Malayan civilization to which we referred above. It reaches far back into the period when the worship of the Vedic gods of India was the dominant religion of the home land of the forefathers of the Philippine hill-tribes. For if we strip the hill-tribes of this element of their worship and if we strip their dialects of the Sanskrit element which we have just described, we leave them nothing that would be commensurate with their arts and culture.....All of which goes to show that these deities constituted the indigenous worship of these tribes and that the original home of these tribes was somewhere in the continent of India, where such worship was indigenous" (*Origin of the Malayan Filipinos*, pp. 25-26).

Besides these facts of language relationships there have been many other facts lately unearthed. It has been found that in the island of Masbate the ancient quicklime method of the Hindus was used by the gold-miners to excavate rock. The relics found in the island of Mindoro seems to prove that it "seems to have been the very centre of Hindu civilizing influences." Mr. Russell says that "every settled town had a temple and most temples had collections of books." They were written in the native characters on palm leaves and bamboo and stored with the native priests. But unfortunately the Spanish people destroyed that precious heritage of the people. It has been said that "one Spanish priest in southern Luzon boasted of having destroyed more than three hundred scrolls written in the native character."

About the interesting folklores Professor Kroeber thinks that they are "quite demonstrably of Hindu origin and all are cast in Hindu mould. Inasmuch as many of our own fables are also known to be of Indian origin or patterned on Hindu examples, it is not surprising that these tales from the Philippines have a strangely familiar ring in our ears. It is no wonder, since both we and the Filipinos have derived them from the same source" (*Peoples of the Philippines*, p. 197). Images of bronze, copper and even of gold representing the god Shiva, one of the Hindu Trinity, have been discovered by archaeological exploration. There is one statue, supposed

to be some Hindu god, which has been preserved at the Ateneode Manila, a very ancient Catholic college. One Dutch archæologist thinks that it is the statue of Ganesha. In Chao Ju-Kua's description it is found that "In the thick woods of Ma-yi, the ancient name for the island of Mindoro, are scattered copper statues of Buddha but no one can tell the origin of these statues. The islands received an abundant supply of brass, bronze copper, tin armour and various types of weapons from India. "The characteristic sarong, turban, bronze bells and armlets and a variety of smaller ornaments appear to be Indian. The skintight trousers of the Sulu Moros are suggestive of Indian puttees" (Beyer, *The Philippines before Magellan*, Asia, Nov., 1921). The old names of coins used in the Islands are of Indian origin. Indeed, the Indian influence is most obvious "in all the most highly developed ancient handicrafts in the Philippines." From the evidences so far collected Professor Beyer sums up his conclusion thus: "The Indian culture made itself felt most strongly in the political, social and religious life of the populations among which it spread. Its material influence was relatively less important except perhaps in metal-working, and in the art of war though modes of dress and of personal ornamentation were also greatly affected. At the time of the Spanish discovery not only were the more civilized Filipinos using the Indian syllabaries for writing, but their native mythology, folklore and written literature all had a distinct Indian cast. The same was true of their codes of laws and their names for all sorts of political positions and procedures. The more cultured Philippine languages contain many Sanskrit words, and the native art a noticeable sprinkling of Indian design. A strong Brahmanistic religious element was also certainly introduced, although it seems to have affected chiefly a limited class as the mass of the people still clung to their more ancient pagan worship.....With the exception of recent European culture the Indian influences are on the whole the most profound that have affected Philippine civilization" (*History of the Orient*, p. 200). "There is no tribe in the Philippines," says Professor Kroeber, "no matter how primitive and remote, in whose culture of to-day elements of Indian origin cannot be traced" (*Peoples of the Philippines*, p. 11).

IDEALS OF THE INDIAN UNIVERSITY

An unusually large number of members and guests, both ladies and gentlemen, were present at the Rotary Club, Ceylon, on Thursday, May 10 last, when Dr. Rabindranath Tagore delivered an address on the "Ideals of an Indian University," a summary of which is gleaned below.

"Once upon a time we were in possession of such a thing as our own mind in India and I think that Ceylon was a part of it. It was living, it thought, it felt, it expressed itself. It was receptive as well as productive. But in the modern educational dispensation, the end of education was forgotten, and instead we are provided with buildings and books and other magnificent burdens calculated to overcome their minds—we bought the orchestra at the expense of the music, the spectacles at the expense of our eyesight.

"In India the goddess of learning was *Saraswati*. She dwelt in the hearts of men, which opened to us the light of the living. Western education, which we had chanced to know, was impersonal. Her complexion was white but it was the whiteness of the washed walls of the classroom. It dwelt in the cold-storage compartments of lessons. The effect which it had on my mind, when as a boy I was compelled to go to school, I have described elsewhere. My own feeling was the same as that of some living tree which was not allowed to live itself a full life but cut

down to a packing case. The mind was deprived for long of its natural food of freedom for growth and development, and, instead, there was created an unnatural craving for success in examinations. Success consisted in obtaining the largest number of marks with the strictest economy of knowledge and the outcome of it was a deliberate, clever attempt at intellectual dishonesty, a foolish disposition by which the mind was encouraged to rob itself. Yet as they were, we were supremely happy at the results attained. We passed examinations and shrivelled up to the positions of clerks and police inspectors, and died young.

"Universities should not be made into mechanical organisations for purposes of collecting knowledge and distributing it merely to equip students to earn a comfortable living. Through the universities we should attempt to disseminate the seeds of culture to the world. Through the length and breadth of India there is not a single university in modern times where a foreign or an Indian student can be awakened to a realisation of what is best in Indian culture, and no student in them is able to become the best product of the Indian mind. To achieve what we want we have to cross the seas and knock at the doors of England, France or Germany. What we do is to lower our intellectual self-respect.

"In India universities endow high-sounding degrees composed of borrowed feathers. After all, man's intellect must have its natural growth, which is the pride of its culture. And the criterion of cultural attainment is in the perfection of it, not in the external success. The lure of material advantage brought with it humiliation to the intellect in man, and modern India, had been made to suffer that humiliation. Once India provided herself with her own culture, which was the product of her ownself, but when her sons thrust aside their own and chose to tread the world of examinations, not for acquiring knowledge, but for notifying that they were qualifying for employment, organised and conducted in English, they became a community of qualified candidates and nothing more.

"In India, a vague feeling of discontent had given rise to numerous attempts at establishing national schools and colleges, but unfortunately their very system of education had been successful in depriving them of real initiative and their courage of thought. The training which they obtained in their schools was not to produce but to borrow. When they went to borrow help from a foreign neighbour they were overlooking the real source of help behind all external appearances, which did not consist of text-books, but was in the creative and receptive mind of man. It was important for them to consider that among Europeans in their varied activities, in their corporate life, in all their functions, they were in perpetual touch with great personalities of the land, who were creative and heroic in their constant acts of self-sacrifice. They had in India all the furnishings for the university except the human factor.

"The most important truth they were apt to forget was that the teacher could never teach unless he was learned himself. A light could not light another lamp unless it continued to burn its own flame. The teacher, merely repeating lessons to his students could teach nothing, could inspire nothing. And where there is no inspiration thought loses its initiative, and the greater part of their time in the schools is wasted because to most of them what is taught is a dead subject. The educational institution should have in mind the primary object of a consistent pursuit of truth and not that in which the living minds are treated as something to be artificially prepared. They should be open houses in which the students and teachers are at home, leading a common life, not in the atmosphere of one dominating the other, but pursuing a common purpose of the acquisition of culture. Its atmosphere should certainly be creative of personality, of intellectual

development. It is through this aspect of creative art alone that we are able to explain something of the human in them, something of the courage, of the spirit of sacrifice and skill. A merely academical training would not produce the best that is in human nature, and therefore the vital part of education remained incomplete. In their universities we must claim to produce no labels and authorised agents and distributors, but pursuers of the truth and the beautiful, comprising a mind force scattered throughout the country. That is the most important function of a university, which like the nucleus of a living organism, should represent the intellectual unity of the people.

"It has been said that the bringing about of an intellectual unity is impossible in India owing to the diversity of languages among the different peoples, but I think that it is an unreasonable supposition. Let them even admit that India is not like other countries. But if there were different races speaking different languages in India, could not the same thing be said of Europe, and still, in spite of the diversity of language among the peoples inhabiting Europe, she was having a common education without the advantage of a uniformity of language.

"There was a time when India, too, had a common system of education but that was before the idiosyncracies of Western education set in. If the body of a draught-horse is inserted into a race-horse it is safe to conjecture that such an anomaly would neither win a race nor be able to drag a cart. Western education may enable us to earn our living, but as the light from a distant sphere, it would never open for us any view of the truth which would help us to attain a cultural balance to life. That is the reason why European education in India has brought us mere school lessons and not culture, it had brought us text-book information but not the beauty and subtlety of the mysteries of life, to which we have become blind. I have no distrust of any culture because of its foreign character, but I believe that it is not productive of intellectual development in us, not only from the point of view of its classical character but also from the temperamental aspect of European culture, because it came to us not only from its knowledge but also with its affinities.

"It is this which makes him urge that our culture has to be developed not in order to resist Western culture but truly to assist to assimilate it, to get the best out of it by gaining a mastery of that culture and not live on what is derived from book learning. What we have borrowed has left us with no assets but only a legacy of debt. We refuse to believe what is always taught, that a great age of renaissance in history is brought about by what one man suddenly discovered, that is the outcome of the genius of the past. The unfortunate people who have lost the advantage of the past have lost the present age. We are begging for our daily livelihood. But no body should imagine that we are the disinherited people of the world. Let us make apparent to ourselves the dominating love of our ancestors and let us make our future our own and not content ourselves with an existence as the eternal counterfeits forged on other peoples' dustbins.

"So far, I have dwelt on the intellectual side of education, because the fullness of expression is fullness of life. No expression could be limited to mere language of words and we must therefore seek for other things than language itself in life and culture. We must also understand human nature, because the real aim of education is not merely to make ourselves perfect in intellectual attainment but to love mankind, and for that we must know and understand man. We should also study personality, which was the language of the heart. We must develop the creative side of our nature so that we might not be deprived of that feeling for humanity which had been gifted to everyone of us from the beginning of history.

"Our knowledge of modern European culture was limited within the boundary line of grammar, and we left the aesthetic side of nature alone, but where are our real hearts whence came that spontaneous overflow of spiritual magnificence? Through that great deficiency of our modern education we are condemned to carry ourselves through dead wastage and starvation of culture, denying ourselves all that is best and beautiful in it. Our education is a prison house, with double doors called decency and necessity to which we endeavour to fit ourselves in. Our vitality is warped and they shuddered at the thought of death.

"The life in an ideal university should be simple and clean. We should not believe that our simplicity would make us unsuited to life. It would never do for an Oriental to dally behind the West like an overgrown appendage. If the East ever tried to duplicate Western life, the duplication was bound to be a forgery. I have the greatest satisfaction, for my part, of being connected with a mission to which the last few years of my life had been devoted as a servant of a great cause, represented in my institution, of the ideal of brotherhood where men and women of different nations and languages would come together."

RESEARCH DEGREES IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES.

About a couple of years ago the Inter-University Board had made a recommendation to our Universities that there ought to be at least two research degrees representing two grades of research work: one the Ph.D., for all subjects, and the other D.Litt., or D.Sc., or LL.D., according to the Faculties concerned. But the proposal hardly found acceptance in our universities. In an article under the heading "Research Degrees in Indian Universities" contributed to the *Indian Review* (Madras, monthly), Dr. Jwala Prasad, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), pleads for provision in our universities of a graded course in research which he thinks to be educationally sound, and would bring us in a line with what we have at present in this respect in most of the British and other foreign universities. He writes:

The reason why there should be a graded course in research, and therefore also the corresponding examinations and degrees, is just the same as one would give for having graded courses at schools as a preparation for the School Final Certificate, or at colleges for the B.A. and M.A. Degrees. One who would argue that there should be only one research degree, and that the highest one, *viz.*, the D.Litt., D.Sc., or LL.D., may as well maintain that there ought to be only the Degrees of M.A., M.Sc. or LL.M., without the lower ones and the preparatory examinations leading up to them. What has to be remembered in this connection is that research work at the universities is essentially a training in the methods of scientific investigation, and that it is of a type different from that which their alumni get for obtaining the ordinary Arts and Science degrees. Hence the student who takes to research as a post-graduate study has to be initiated into it and guided by a competent tutor or supervisor in the first instance, and this period for supervised research should form a very important and distinct stage in his or her progress. Consequently, at the end of this stage there has to be provided a test, or tests, and a corresponding recognition of the standard in research which a candidate may have attained, by means of a suitable degree or degrees. It is to meet this kind of requirement that we have now the Degrees of M.Litt. and Ph.D. at Cambridge, and those of B.Litt. and D.Phil. at Oxford, the average period for Ph.D. and for D.Phil. being three years, and that for the others two years. With the same object in view some universities

have made their M.A. and M.Sc. research degrees either totally or partially. Later on, the highest research degrees like the D.Litt. or D.Sc. may be taken by a candidate independently, that is, without being supervised in his work. However, this is the general rule. In special cases it may be permissible to a candidate to supplicate for the highest research degree directly.

Now what we find in most of our universities is that they have only the highest research degrees with or without provision for expert guidance; and there seems to be in our country an influential group of conservative educationists who consider this arrangement perfect and such as should not be altered on any account. The reason usually given for maintaining the *status quo* is that only the best kind of research work should be recognised, and that a doctorate should represent only the highest standard of research. It will appear that this argument is evidently based upon the view that the universities stand mainly for the recognition and testing in merit, and not for training in research; and that research work of an average standard need not be recognised, which view, to say the least of it, is the most unsound from the educational point of view. Further, the argument does not at all disprove the need of having graded courses in research and the corresponding research degrees. The particular names of degrees do not matter. They are very often the product of convention, and may be retained or replaced by others. We have learnt to call our lady graduates B.A.'s, and I do not think this fact makes any difference to them or to us. Similarly so long as we understand what standard of research a particular degree represents, and the university or universities concerned see that the standard is carefully maintained, the names of degrees by themselves should not present any difficulties. As regards the very controversial question whether there ought to be two degrees of doctorate, one the Ph.D., and the other D.Litt., or D.Sc., etc., it may be said that if the standard of Ph.D. is kept at a fairly high level, as it is by some universities, the existence of this degree should always be conducive to the maintaining of an exceptionally high standard for the next higher degrees for the doctorate and the enhancing of their prestige. Otherwise what may usually happen is, and I know that in so many cases it actually does, that in those universities which provide only for the highest research degrees, the real standard of this is the same as that of the Ph.D., or of D.Phil., or even that of B.Litt., or of M.Litt., at some of the older well-established universities. I may repeat that it is not the name of a degree but its *standard* which matters. What is essentially wanted is a *graded* course and *training* in research, and it is these which it should be the policy of our universities to provide.

Before I close this article, I want to emphasize the need of expert guidance and supervision for research candidates. It is in the interests of the candidate himself that, in the first place, the subject of his proposed thesis should be approved by the university authorities concerned *before* he starts working at it; and that, in the second place, he should keep himself in touch with a competent supervisor who would guide him in his studies and criticise his written work during the various stages of its progress. The function of a university is not to challenge, as it were, the work of a candidate with regard to its value when it is ready for presentation, but to provide the best facilities for accomplishing it in the most efficient way. It will appear that if it discharges this function satisfactorily, the number of unsuccessful candidates must necessarily be small, as it is in most of the foreign universities. I have heard it said that the small number of failures in foreign universities is an indication of the fact that their standards are low—lower than those of most of the Indian universities which are well known for a heavy failure of their candidates.

I may say that nothing can be a more false criterion of the efficiency and standard of a university than the number of failures in its examinations. In fact, if a university functions properly with all its equipment of suitable libraries, laboratories, and tutorial arrangements, success in examinations ought to be the general rule, and failure only an exception; although this does not mean, of course, that all the universities which show a high percentage of passes are necessarily efficient. Considering the fact that in our universities the prospective candidates for research degrees are very often left to their own resources for the selection of their subject and the writing of their theses, it is no wonder that the work of a large number of research candidates is turned down by examiners every year, and that in some cases the thesis of a candidate is rejected year after year. It is needless to say that such a state of affairs is extremely deplorable, and it is high time that our universities take immediate steps to bring about the necessary reforms. So far as I know, the subject of research and research degrees did not find a place on the agenda of the last Universities Conference at Delhi; and if it really did not, this fact itself shows that our educationists are not yet sufficiently alive to the importance of this particular academic problem.

At Home and Abroad.

[A Monthly Record of news and views relating to cultural and academic institutions, events and movements at Home and Abroad.]

Education Portfolio, Bengal

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal has allotted the business of the Transferred Subjects of Education (excluding European education) and Registration to Hon'ble Nawab Kazi Mohiuddin Farouqi, Khan Bahadur (Minister of Agriculture and Industries), pending the appointment of another Minister in place of the Hon'ble Mr. Khwaja Nazimuddin, M.A (Cantab.), C.I.E., who has assumed charge as a member of the Governor's Executive Council.

Government of India State Scholarship

The Central State Scholarship which is granted annually by the Government of India, has been awarded this year to Mr. Balwant Singh Anand, M.A., of Beluchistan to enable him to study for the English Tripos at Oxford or Cambridge.

Lucknow University Convocation

The next convocation of the Lucknow University will be held on November 24. Sir Malcolm Hailey will deliver the convocation address.

Oriental Institute, Czechoslovakia

The Indian Section of the Oriental institute was opened by the Czech Indologist, M. Lesny, in the presence of Mr. Subhas Bose and other Indians.

Industrial Chemistry in Hindu University

The Department of Industrial Chemistry of the Benares University, for want of accommodation, both in the hostels and class-rooms, were obliged to refuse admission this year to a large number of candidates. This difficulty of limited accommodation will, however, be removed when the new building, which is under construction for the housing of the Department, is ready. Rai Bahadur Jagmal Raja of Allahabad has offered a scholarship of Rs. 100 a month to enable the Department to carry on special research in Indian essential oils. The Department has taken up, this year, the subject of candle manufacture, and one machine has just been purchased. It is meant for manufacturing candles of 12 oz. size. The work on the detection of adulterants in ghee is being continued with new appliances.

Girls' Education

The problem of female education was touched by Rani Laxmibai Rajwade of Gwalior at Saugor in her presidential address on the recent occasion of the annual meeting of Mahila Vidyalaya. The Rani Saheba congratulated the Vidyalaya on the manner in which the institution was being conducted. She referred to the responsibility of parents in regard to the problem and said it was wrong to think that their responsibility ceased the moment they put their wards in schools. It was their duty to make a thorough study of the nature of their children and instil into them the right ideas at the right time. Homes were responsible for the maintenance of proper discipline and it was there that children should receive their training.

Christian Colleges in India

The importance of the part which the Indian Christian colleges must play in future in the work of training India's leaders was stressed by Lord Lothian in a recent address at Manchester. He said that one clear ray of hope emerged from the commission which under the chairmanship of the Master of Balliol recently examined their position. The commission had seen more deeply than any others into certain aspects of the Indian problem. They saw that the answer thereto in the last resort depended on leadership which India itself could produce on the one hand to co-operate and on the other hand to solve India's own problems. Lord Lothian referred to the colleges' long record of success and pointed out that far from being regarded propagators of an alien religion, they were universally respected and welcomed by Indians.

Federal University

Presiding over a lecture on March last by Professor Dutt of Ramjas College, Delhi, on the ideal of a federal university, Sir George Anderson confessed that 15 years ago he was a great supporter of the unitary type of university, but he was convinced now that the federal type of university was most suited to Indian conditions. A federal university would not, he continued, annihilate good colleges with enviable traditions, but develop and encourage constituent colleges. It would not supplant but supplement them. The speaker believed that the most controversial point was about the federal university controlling its colleges.

Professor Siddhanta of Lucknow University supported a residential and unitary university, while Principal Seshadri of Ajmere College thought that the experiment was worth making.

The Bangabasi College, Calcutta

Mr. G. C. Bose will retire from the Principalship of Bangabasi College, Calcutta, from July 1 next and become Rector of the institution. He will be succeeded in the Principalship by his youngest son Mr. Prasanna Kumar Bose, a graduate of Oxford, who was for some time Professor of English Literature of the College. Principal Bose is now 81 years of age. He passed the B.A. Examination in 1876 and was the same

year appointed Lecturer in Science at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. In 1881 he was selected as a Government scholar for agricultural education in England. He passed out of Cirencester Agricultural College in 1884, having stood first in the examination. He was elected a Fellow of the Chemical Society of England. On returning to India he started the Bangabasi School in 1885 and after six years added College classes to the institution. Starting with only twelve students, the College now has 1,800 students on its rolls. Principal Bose was nominated a Fellow of Calcutta University in 1906 and remained a Fellow until 1926. He will continue to control the financial administration of the Bangabasi College when Mr. Prasanna Kumar Bose becomes Principal, the latter being in charge of only the academic side of the institution.

Lack of Teaching Hospitals in Bengal

The present condition of Western medicine and its slow progress present a depressing picture to those who look ahead, writes the Surgeon-General with the Government of Bengal in his review of the working of hospitals and dispensaries in the province. The report deals with the conditions at the close of 1932. In Calcutta some progress has been made in the last twenty years, but the Surgeon-General does not consider that "even in this city of two million inhabitants, there is a single hospital which approaches a good provincial teaching hospital in England of twenty years ago. Local funds have not the financial resources to provide efficient hospital relief, and the present state must continue until provincial revenues are utilised to finance the *sadar* hospitals. A start should be made with those hospitals associated with medical schools. It is not to be expected that doctors trained in these indifferent hospitals can contribute anything to increased public confidence in Western medicine. The policy of district medical schools would be sound enough if we could provide really efficient teaching staffs and up-to-date, well-equipped and well-staffed modern hospitals. We provide neither. There would be no demand for ayurvedic, unani and homeopathic dispensaries if our district hospitals were as good as English provincial hospitals.

Overcrowding in Allahabad University

The Allahabad University has closed for the summer vacation after the L.L.B. Examinations. There were about 150 candidates at the L.L.B. Final Examination and about 250 for the Previous examination.

The last meeting of the University Executive Council considered and adopted the recommendations of the Delimitation Committee. Among the recommendations of the Committee which are to take effect from July, 1934, when new admissions will be made on their basis, are the following: (i) That from the next session, combination of Mathematics with History or Politics should not be allowed in order to give some relief to these two overcrowded departments. (ii) That as a matter of experiment, the first-year students taking Ancient Indian History may be taught by the Sanskrit Department.

As regards the Law Department, the Committee noted that the Department of late had come in for a good deal of criticism. It felt no doubt that the present number of 250 students in the single Previous class in L.L.B. is much too large and unmanageable. They thought that if the same number was to be kept up next year, it would be absolutely necessary to divide it into two sections which in its turn can only be done if an

additional lecturer was appointed. The Committee was therefore strongly in favour of limiting the number of new admissions to 150 only, including the failed candidates of the previous year.

Antiquarian Studies in Assam

Arrangements are being made for the construction of a building for the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam near the Cotton College at Gauhati. This has been made possible by a donation of Rs. 10,000 which Rai Bahadur Radhakanta Handiqui of Jorhat recently made to the Government for a permanent home of the Department.

Communal Spirit in Colleges

"The only hope for the salvation of this Province and of this country lies in the emergence of the next generation as more broad-minded, tolerant and generous; more capable of thinking in terms of Bengal and India, instead of in terms of religious sects, than the generation of elders, who for the moment fill the stage but who cannot remain there forever." This statement was made by Sir N. N. Sircar, replying to a farewell address presented to him by members of the Calcutta University Institute. Mr. J. N. Basu presided.

"I have been painfully cognizant of the fact," Sir N. N. Sircar added, "that communal acrimony is slowly filtering down to college students. I am sure the process has not yet assumed large proportions. If the cloud is now no bigger than a man's hand, it is my fervent prayer that it may soon disappear. Let communal tension be left to people who are fighting over loaves and fishes, who are quarrelling over division of power, who are fighting for more seats in the legislatures, in the hope that it will ensure more jobs for one community, but keep out with a firm hand communal bickerings from colleges and other educational institutions. As a Hindu let me emphasize the point that we cannot do without the good feeling, co-operation and sympathy of the Moslem community who constitute more than a half of the total population of Bengal. We can no more do without them than they can do without us, and after all in most of the essential matters the interests of the two communities must be the same. I am not suggesting that in a policy of give and take one party alone should give and the other graciously take. If there is a will for peace it is never difficult to find the way. You as students in colleges ought not to be troubled with jealousies and bickerings, as while pursuing an academic career, the objects of Hindu and Moslem students must be identical. "If you are unable to keep the canker of communal dissension completely out when you are in early youth, you will find it impossible in later years to prevent its rapid extension."

Mutual Recognition of Degrees

The desirability of mutual recognition of degrees by Indian universities is suggested in the report of the Inter-University Board for 1933. "The fact that degrees of one Indian university are not recognized by another," the report says, "is apt to prejudice their recognition by foreign universities, while it is certainly anomalous that degrees of Indian universities should be recognized by the foreign university but not by an Indian."

university." A special committee had been appointed by the Board to study this question. The report of the committee has not met with general acceptance. The Allahabad, Annamalai, Calcutta, Dacca, Nagpur, Osmania and Rangoon Universities have accepted the report entirely, while the Agra, Andhra and Lucknow Universities have merely recorded the Board's resolution. The Aligarh, Bombay and Delhi Universities have not communicated their intentions, the Mysore and Punjab Universities have accepted the report with certain reservations while Madras University has not accepted it. The Board has accepted certain general principles which, in its opinion, should be adopted by Indian universities. It favours the migration of students from one university to another, and urges that the universities should not aim at having overlapping courses of study, especially in scientific subjects, but that different universities should develop particular studies. This would be possible if students were allowed to migrate from one university to another.

Proposed University for Assam

Conflicting views regarding a University for Assam were expressed at public meeting recently held at Jorhat, Assam, under the presidency of Rai Bahadur Rudha Nath Phukan, retired Additional Sessions Judge, Assam Valley Division. Stressing the need for a University Dr. Moydul Islam Bora of Dacca University said that without one Assamese culture could never be brought to the notice of the civilized world, and pointed out that, naturally, Assam's interests would suffer under the Calcutta University. Mr. S. C. Goswami, Inspector of Schools, Assam Valley Division, emphasized that if a university was to be constituted it should be an Assamese University, as distinct from an Assam University. He paid a tribute to the work of the Calcutta University, and expressed the opinion that for the present it would be advantageous for Assam to continue under it.

Delhi University Reforms

The financial implications of the proposal to develop Delhi University into a federal institution has recently been discussed in a letter addressed by the Government of India (Education Department) to the Chief Commissioner in Delhi. The letter indicates the type of expenditure for which the Government would be prepared to consider requests for contribution when financial circumstances permit. It is emphasized that it is essential that all unnecessary duplication whether between the university and the colleges or between the colleges themselves should be avoided. Universities should not become lifeless replicas of each other, says the letter but should strive to make a few distinctive contributions towards widening of human knowledge. Teaching should ordinarily be provided by the constituent colleges working in close co-operation with each other. The federal university should supplement not supplant the teaching of the colleges and that mainly in subjects which are beyond the normal scope of the colleges or in which centralized teaching is advisable. It is suggested in illustration that science might be provided by the university by the agency of teachers of varying ranks who would be appointed and maintained by the university. Similarly most of the activities of the law department would come within the same category though subjects which are common with those in the history department might conveniently be taught by the collegiate agency. Any sharp difference between university.

teaching and college teaching is therefore deprecated, not only as giving rise to unnecessary teaching but also as placing the university in a difficult position *vis-a-vis* the colleges.

Finally, the Government of India are reluctant to arrive at a definite decision until all avenues of solution have been carefully explored. New considerations are coming more and more into prominence. The growing tide of unemployment among graduates should be stemmed and there is now an uneasy feeling that the system of biennial examinations is open to grave objection especially as an incentive to cram and as an obstacle to continuity of study. It has been suggested that a more radical treatment is required and that though the present period of school training is too short for those who desire admission to university studies, it is also too prolonged for those whose bent does not lie in the direction of literary studies. A proposal has, therefore, been made to shorten the secondary course and increase its efficacy by providing all teaching except in English through vernaculars. By these means it is hoped that many students who now attend University courses will be diverted at an earlier stage either to occupations or to separate vocational institutions. Over and above a shortened secondary course, there might be a three-year higher secondary course for a smaller number of pupils desirous of admission to a three-year degree course in the University. Thus the evils of biennial examinations might be mitigated and the practical objection to accepting the present intermediate as the stage of admission would be removed.

The Government of India has invited the views of the University on this general proposal which has received support from the recent University Conference.

Calcutta Teachers' Conference

Presiding yesterday at the Calcutta Teachers' Conference held at Bowbazar School, Mr. J. Chaudhuri, a former Fellow of Calcutta University, discussed certain important problems relating to secondary education in Bengal. At present, he said, there was no agency for the systematic control or guidance of secondary education. Neither the University nor the Government Education Department had any real responsibility with regard to the curriculum prescribed for over 1,000 secondary schools in Bengal. The text-books for the Matriculation standard and the preparatory classes were prescribed by the University, and those for the lower classes by the Text Book Committee. There was thus little co-ordination or continuity in the existing system of education with the result that "both the time and energy of the students were wasted to a great extent in the course of the ten years that they spend in school." "In the lower classes," Mr. Chaudhuri went on, "such a multiplicity of books and subjects are prescribed, that it is sheer cruelty to make the boys get them up by rote and the education imparted serves more often to create confusion of ideas in the minds of children than to stimulate their intellect or regard for truth. The teachers are not responsible for this unsatisfactory state of our school education. It is the absence of any system and method on which such education is conducted that is responsible for the unsatisfactory results. The machinery and method of selecting text-books for our schools has assumed a character that is little short of a public scandal. The Text Book Committee functions without the co-operation of the only men who could advise it best, namely, the teachers. It can hardly be denied that the average Bengali school boy of to-day is distinctly inferior to his predecessor of 20 years ago and the reason for that deterioration is to be sought not in any

general decline of intelligence, but in the foisting of ill-written text-books and in the introduction of diverse new-fangled methods of teaching which are little followed in practice. Complaints are often heard that merit is not the only consideration that prevails with the Text Book Committee in the selection of text-books. Whether that charge be true or not, it is beyond question that the books chosen reflect a lack of understanding of the needs of boys and a lack of the sense of what is proper for young and impressionable minds.

Educational Films

That in each State there should be a central national organization to be co-ordinated with the Institute of Educational Cinematography in Rome, which would act as a clearing house for information and suggestions and practical propaganda, was amongst the resolutions passed at the first International Congress of Educational Cinematography, which concluded its sitting in Rome recently. Resolutions on questions relating to methods of using films in schools and outside for educational purposes and for rural uplift were also considered and adopted, says a Rome message.

State subsidies for the production of suitable films were also recommended.

Teaching of Law in Universities

The need for reform in the teaching of law in the various Universities of the United Provinces has for the past few months been the topic of discussion not only in the University Councils but also in the Press. The main criticism levelled against the law departments of the Universities is that the course at present in existence conduces to turn out a large number of Law graduates of inferior standard, resulting in the overcrowding of the profession and a general lowering of efficiency. The Universities of Allahabad and Lucknow have recently introduced certain palliative measures with a view to combating this evil. The Allahabad authorities have made it a rule that no student can appear simultaneously in two final examinations in post-graduate courses. This means that a student has to put in three years if he wants to qualify for the Master of Arts or Master of Science degree along with the Law degree of the Allahabad University. The Lucknow University, while placing no such restriction on students, has taken certain steps to regulate admission to the Law Department. Evening classes will still be held, but arrangements have been made to hold tutorial classes in the day and, with this end in view, the authorities recently made provision for the appointment of two full-time Readers. This step will prevent many outsiders employed in other professions, as well as the majority of science students preparing for the M.Sc. Examination, from taking the Law course. These measures, however, are merely palliative and will not achieve the desired result. Persons interested in the future of the legal profession are, therefore, straining their endeavours to get the various Universities in the Provinces to introduce more radical reforms. In this connexion a suggestion has been made to call a conference of the five Universities of the United Provinces with a view to co-ordinating the teaching of law in such a way as to increase the efficiency of the Department. The conference is expected not only to devise a uniform scheme for the imparting of legal education but to put an end to the rivalry that at present exists to attract students to the Law Departments at the cost of efficiency.

Calcutta Historical Society

The annual general meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society which completed last year the 26th year of its existence, was held yesterday in the Society's office at 3, Government Place, West. Mr. C. W. Gurner presided. The financial condition of the Society was becoming weaker and weaker every year and the Committee appealed to all those who are interested in the cause of historical research in this country, to exert their personal influence to increase the membership of the Society. "The Committee," the report went on, "are greatly indebted to Sir Evan Cotton who, even in his retirement at Eastbourne, continues to watch the activities of the Society with paternal interest. We are particularly grateful to him for his valuable contributions to *Bengal: Past and Present*, each issue of which contains one or more articles from his masterly pen. The Committee are also thankful to all those who have helped the journal with their valuable and interesting contributions. The following office-bearers were elected for the year 1934: Chairman of the Committee, Sir Jadunath Sarkar; Editor, Mr. C. W. Gurner; Honorary Treasurer, Mr. D. C. Ghose; Honorary Secretary, Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali; Honorary Manager and Assistant Editor Mr. Narendra Nath Ganguly.

Indo-Italian Cultural Co-operation

(a) Prof. Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar delivered lectures at the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East, founded in Rome by Mussolini, with a view to promote the ideal of approach between Europe and Asia.

Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar delivered a series of five lectures on Indian culture and philosophy. The Italian Press spoke highly of the lectures and published the photo of Dr. Sarkar. His Excellency G. Tucci, member of the Royal Italian Academy, wrote a highly appreciative article in *Il Messaggero* on Dr. Sarkar's lectures, of which the following are a few translated excerpts:

Prof. Mahendranath Sarkar, author of many valuable books on Indian philosophy, has come on invitation to develop in five lectures a most interesting subject: 'The mystic and speculative development of India through some fundamental stages.' He has followed a different method from the one universally accepted. He did not start from the old to arrive to the modern time, but studying some of the most representative figures of contemporary India, as Ramkrishna, Vivekananda and Aurobindo Ghose and illustrating the fundamental attitude of their spirit and their mystic visions or their speculative constructions, has shown how the old Indian soul lives in them once more unexhausted and full of vigour; that Indian soul which already establishes in the sublime philosophy of the Upanishads and triumphs with all the violence of its mystic impetuosity in the insuperable pages of the Bhagvat Gita and spreads itself in the Tantra. The lessons of Sarkar have had the remarkable merit that, leaving aside any doctrinal classification and any heavy systematical structure they have brought one directly to the essential forms of the Indian thought, to those fundamental institutions without which not only one could not think of the religion of India or of her mysticism, but not even of her historical life.

(b) The Italian Fascist National Federation against Tuberculosis have placed at the disposal of the International Union against Tuberculosis six scholarships at the Benito Mussolini Institute in Rome.

These competitive scholarships, of a value of 6,000 liras respectively, plus board and lodging, are intended to enable foreign medical practitioners to stay at the Benito Mussolini Institute in Rome for the purpose of following a course of studies. This stage of eight months will correspond with the academic year (from November 15 to July 15) including the usual holiday periods.

The scholars will reside at the Institute.

The scholarships will, preferably, be awarded to young physicians who are already familiar with tuberculosis problems and who wish to improve their knowledge of this branch of medicine.

The kind of work undertaken at the Institute will be subject to an agreement between the Director of the Institute and the candidate.

The publication expenses resulting from this work may be defrayed partly or entirely by the Institute.

The scholarships will be awarded at the summer session of the Executive Committee, which will meet this year in connection with the Conference of Warsaw, on Monday, September 3, 1934. The names of candidates, accompanied by particulars as to their age, qualifications and professional experience, must be forwarded to the Organizing Secretary, King George Thanksgiving (Anti-Tuberculosis) Fund, Indian Red Cross Society, "Sherwood," Simla, W. C., so as to reach him not later than July 1, 1934.

Educated Unemployment

"It is the lack of adequate facilities for vocational and specialized training and also the disinclination of our educated young men for anything other than clerical and literary work which are responsible for much of the unemployment among them," observed Rao Bahadur S. E. Ranganathan, Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, in the course of an address on "Education and Unemployment" at the Ootacamund Y. M. C. A. to-day. His Excellency Sir Muhammad Usman presided. Proceeding, he said that educational reorganization alone could not solve the problem of middle-class unemployment. An important factor in the solution of the problem was a radical change in the psychology of the classes which sought education and the creation of conditions favourable to the development of the industries, trade and commerce of the country. "The diversion of the great majority of students," continued the speaker, "at the end of the high school stage either to occupations or to technical institutions is absolutely necessary both for reducing unemployment and for maintaining university work at a reasonably high standard." Prof. Ranganathan suggested the establishment of vocational institutions by Government so that students after finishing their secondary course could be trained to become skilled industrial workers. As industrial initiative was still weak in India, Government might set up model factories at suitable centres in order to encourage private agencies to follow their examples. He next referred to the efforts of the Universities Conference to tackle the unemployment question. Apart from the establishment of the University Employment Bureau, it was the considered opinion of the conference that the time had come for the universities to make adequate provision for technological education. Technological courses of study would provide work for a certain number, but the aim of instituting such courses was not so much that the universities should solve the problem of unemployment as that they should, through these advanced scientific studies and research, assist in the development of the industries of the country and promote national well-being.

Indian Education Review, 1927-32

The danger of the increasing number of University students, most of whom are unfitted to benefit by university education, is stressed by Sir George Anderson, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, in the tenth quinquennial review of the progress of education in India during the years 1927 to 1932.

It has been suggested by the Calcutta University Commission, as well as by other authorities and persons, says Sir George Anderson, that a remedy for this defect would be to *remove the intermediate classes from the jurisdiction of universities and also to strengthen the School foundations by formation of intermediate colleges*. Attempts have been made to carry out, though incompletely, this proposal, notably in Bihar, the Punjab, the United Provinces and at Dacca.

The problem will not be solved merely by the arbitrary removal of these pupils. It is not equitable that boys should be denied facilities for education merely because they have no bent for literary education. Effective substitutes more suitable to their needs and capacities are required. Such substitutes would be a type of higher vernacular education in rural areas which will be capable of expansion, which will be in harmony with village conditions and requirements and which will train up boys and girls desirous of remaining a part of the village and of spending lives of service to the countryside. In urban areas it would ordinarily take the form of vocational training of various types, imparted in separate institutions and probably adjusted to the general scheme of education.

There was a slackening in the rate of expansion of education in all provinces, *except in Bengal and Assam*. In the Punjab the recognized institutions decreased during the period by 1,860 and in Bihar and Orissa by 2,458. The enrolment figures for all recognized institutions compared unfavourably in most provinces with those of the previous quinquennium but all provinces, except Bihar and Orissa, recorded an increase. This, the review regards, is generally satisfactory in view of the abnormal nature of the times.

It seems probable, the review goes on, that the supremacy in education which Madras gained in the past over other provinces on account of other reasons will be increased still further by its more stable financial position.

At the other end of the scale is the recently constituted province of Bihar and Orissa. With tremendous leeway to make up, it is all the more unfortunate that Bihar receives so little financial support.

The review next discusses the advantages and disadvantages in regard to education resulting from the transfer of responsibility to the provincial Governments. Many advantages, it says, have resulted from the transfer—in the development of initiative and the desire to experiment in the closer contact with public opinion, and in the removal of delays caused by the necessity of referring all important questions to a distant authority.

Several provincial reports and the Hartog Committee's findings are quoted to illustrate the disadvantages which have accrued from the transfer of responsibility. The Hartog Committee were of opinion that the Central Government should not be relieved from all responsibility for the attainment of universal primary education. The Committee were further of opinion, that the Government of India in making grants for mass education should take measures to assure itself that waste was not perpetuated.

The Government of India have been impressed by the force of these suggestions. These have been forwarded to provincial Governments for

their opinions and advice. The response received from the provinces has been distinctly favourable, and there is a clear indication that a spirit of aloofness and exclusiveness is giving way to a keen desire for increased co operation and interchange of thought and experience.

The review mentions several defects in the administration of education. The foremost of these is stated to be insufficiency and inefficiency of the inspecting staff. Some of these defects are attributed by Sir George Anderson to the cessation of recruitment to the Indian Educational Service and still more, to the long delay in substituting anything in its place.

With regard to the prospects of future development of universities, the review expresses the opinion that, though undoubtedly beneficial in certain directions, unitary universities in India have not been successful in affording relief to the already overstrained affiliating universities. In spite of the fact that there were eighteen universities in India, Calcutta University had an enrolment of 28,000, Madras of 16,000, Bombay 14,000 and the Punjab 17,000. The increase in enrolment in the Punjab University was phenomenal. Whereas in 1917 students numbered 6,583, the enrolment in 1932 approached 17,000 in spite of the creation of the Delhi University.

In every university, the review remarks, there is a danger of power passing into the hands of a small clique of interested persons but the danger is greater if a university is located in a small centre where there is a paucity of interests and which is aloof from the wider currents of public life. In such cases the best remedy is to make ample provision for representation of outside interests and persons. This can best be effected by preserving a sufficient measure of nomination.

"It might have been hoped that, having been freed from wasteful overlapping and duplication, which is an almost inevitable concomitant of the affiliating system, unitary universities would have proved to be economical but such is far from having been the case. One of the main causes of high expenditure is the unregulated competition which now runs riot between universities, affiliating as well as unitary.

Each university seeks to be a self-contained unit, bent on providing ample facilities for higher education and research in almost every conceivable subject, needless and often ignorant of what is being done in other universities. This danger of overlapping is particularly great in the domain of science in consequence of the high initial and annual expenditure involved. It is difficult to suggest remedies to prevent this insidious form of extravagance but India should have a university system which will promote higher learning and research, which will provide suitable training for her young men and women and which, above all, will be within her means. A better solution of these vexed problems would appear to lie in the direction of a federal type of university in which the university and its colleges, especially those which are in close vicinity, would be bound together in a close co-operative union.

The review quotes copiously on the question of secondary education from provincial reports and comes to the conclusion that the position is critical in all the provinces. The several stages of education should be recast and redefined, so that each shall have a clear and attainable objective. The primary stage should provide the means of attaining literacy and the rudiments of learning for the masses. The secondary stage should be freed from university domination and from merely urban requirements; its completion should be marked by an examination which would be a clearing house for those requiring further preparation for admission to a university, as well as for those who

would be diverted to vocational training. The collegiate stage should not be clogged by a large number of students ill-fitted for such education. Vocational training should cease to comprise a few additional classes in secondary schools. The scheme of examinations should be recast. Facilities for the teaching of a vernacular in the collegiate stage and for the training of graduates who have taken up a vernacular course should be improved as the most effective means of introducing throughout the secondary stage better teaching in and through the vernacular. The vernacular system of education should be both extended and developed. Its aim should be to provide a sound general education, complete in itself, which, if properly regulated, would do much to build up a spirit of leadership and initiative in the countryside.

The review next deals with the wastage in primary education, i.e., premature withdrawal of pupils from schools, and with stagnation, i.e., retention in a lower class of a child for more than one year. It expresses the opinion that the high hopes entertained five years ago with regard to compulsory primary education have not been fulfilled, and doubts whether large additional sums should be spent on compulsion in many provinces. Increasing interest was taken during the period under review in the education of girls and women. The number of girls at school increased during the quinquennium by as many as 650,292 as against 958,744 additional boys. But the necessary financial support was not forthcoming owing to the inability of provincial Governments to maintain the increased measure of financial support which had been given in the previous quinquennium. The position, therefore, was critical.

Indian Students for Europe.

The folly of sending Indian students to foreign countries without ascertaining beforehand their qualifications and fitness for prosecuting studies abroad, is emphasized by Dr. Quayle in his report on the work of the Education Department of the High Commissioner's office for 1932-33. Dr. Quayle, with whom Sir Bhupendra Mitra entirely agrees says: "It is of the utmost importance that Indian parents and guardians should carefully assure themselves that the requisite training is not available in India and that students are in every way fitted by physique, temperament and training, and also that there are adequate financial resources for prosecuting their studies in the West. Many young Indians who came to this country are not only unable to derive any benefit from their sojourn, but definitely suffer in health, pocket and peace of mind. The total number of students which the universities and colleges of the British Isle can accept is limited and a substantial majority of admissions must necessarily go to those whose homes are in the British Isles. Most of the remaining vacancies are filled by students coming from all parts of the Empire, and of this overseas contingent, about three-fifths come from India. While, therefore, it is a fallacy to suppose that there is any tendency to bar Indians because they are Indians, it is equally fallacious to imagine that an Indian ought to be admitted, merely because he is an Indian."

Ourselves

[I. A Dastardly Outrage. II. The late Sir Bipinbehary Ghose. III. Sir Asutosh Day. IV. Professor Herambachandra Mastra. V. Professor J. R. Banerjee VI. Dr. Montessori. VII University Appointments. VIII. Ghosh Travelling Fellowships. IX. Indian Universities and Royal Commissioners' Scholarships. X. Employment Advisory Bureau and the University. XI. Journal of the Department of Science. XII. New Affiliations. XIII. Lectures by Dr. A. K. Das XIV. A Gift for Anglo-Indian Education. XV. History Syllabus for B.A. XVI. A new Ph.D. XVII. Sir Asutosh Medalist. XVIII. Dacca Board. XIX. Recognition of a Lecturer. XX. Examination Results. XXI. New Fellows. XXII. Notifications.]

I. A DASTARDLY OUTRAGE.

The dastardly attempt on the life of His Excellency Sir John Anderson when he was attending the races at Darjeeling on 8th May last has received a chorus of condemnation from one and all, irrespective of caste, creed or political opinion. This is the second occasion within a period of about 28 months when an attempt has been made on the life of the Governor of Bengal. On both the occasions the escape has been truly providential. The Syndicate met at a special meeting on 9th May last when the following resolutions were adopted:—

(1) That the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate offer their sincere congratulations to His Excellency the Chancellor on his providential escape and they strongly condemn the dastardly outrage and deplore the exploitation of pupils and students for terroristic activities.

(2) That the Registrar be requested to communicate the above resolution to the Private Secretary of His Excellency the Chancellor by wire.

At the meeting of the Senate held on 26th May the Vice-Chancellor communicated the resolution to the Senate. We desire to associate ourselves whole-heartedly with the sentiments expressed in the resolution of the Syndicate.

II. THE LATE SIR BEPINBEHARI GHOSH.

The death of Sir Bepinbehari Ghose, on 22nd May last, has removed from our midst a distinguished Bengali. Sir Bepinbehari was one of the leading Vakils of the Calcutta High Court and for several years was one of its eminent Judges. He received his early

training at the hands of his great brother, the late Sir Rashbehari Ghose. He discharged his duties as a Judge with great ability and distinction. Apart from his legal acumen, he was well-known for his impartiality and independence and thus won the spontaneous confidence of the members of his profession as also of the public at large. Even after his retirement from the Bench he was not allowed to enjoy his well-earned rest. He was called upon to act twice as a member of the Bengal Executive Council and once as the Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He was a man of wide culture which was attributed mainly to his extensive reading and travel. He was one of the kindest of men and in private life was entirely unostentatious, never allowing anyone to feel the superiority of his official rank. He was intimately connected with our University, having been a member of the Senate for the last eight years and for some time Dean of the Faculty of Law. We desire to convey our sincere condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

III. SIR ASUTOSH DAY.

The tenth death anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was celebrated in Calcutta on 25th May last. A short and simple ceremony was organised in the morning at the foot of the statue which was recently unveiled at the Chowringhee corner. The statue was garlanded and bedecked with flowers. In the evening the marble bust at the head of the main stairs of the Darbhanga Building was elegantly decorated with flowers and foliage. Members of the Senate, teachers and students were all assembled to pay their silent tribute to the memory of one who had done so much for educational progress in Bengal. On both occasions Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Vice-Chancellor, presided. Speaking in Bengali, he paid eloquent tributes to the memory of Sir Asutosh, pointing out that although ten years had passed since his demise, he was still remembered with increasing feelings of loyalty and affection.

IV. PROFESSOR HERAMBACHANDNA MAITRA.

Professor Maitra has resigned his appointment as a paid teacher of the University. We shall be failing in our duty if we do not record here our sense of deep appreciation of the services which he

has rendered to the University practically since the inauguration of the scheme of Post-Graduate studies in Calcutta. He was indeed a tower of strength; he inspired generations of students as much by his erudite lectures as by his lofty character. We are glad to find that he has agreed to continue as an honorary teacher in the department. The continuance of his association, whatever be its form or character, will bring credit and honour to the department itself.

V. PROFESSOR J. R. BANERJEA.

The retirement of Mr. J. R. Banerjea from the office of Principal, Vidyasagar College, has recently been announced. Mr. Banerjea is a well-known figure in the field of education in Bengal. Apart from his scholarly attainments, he is justly regarded as perhaps the most fluent speaker in English in the province. We cannot but recall on this occasion the devotion with which he has worked for the educational advancement of Bengal. His record of work in Vidyasagar College extends over an unbroken period of more than 40 years, a record of which any one would justly feel proud. Mr. Banerjea's energy is still unabated and we note with pleasure that he has accepted an appointment as professor of English in Ripon College from the beginning of next session.

VI. DR. MONTESSORI.

It will be recalled the Senate appointed Dr. Montessori a University Reader some time ago and invited her to deliver a course of lectures dealing with methods of school teaching. Her visit to India however has been delayed, much to the disappointment of persons interested in seeing a new educational system introduced in our schools. We are now glad to announce, according to intimation received from the Royal Consul General for Italy, that Dr. Montessori expects to visit India during the next cold weather. Arrangements are being made by the University and the Calcutta Corporation for an exhaustive course of lectures which will include a complete and fair elucidation of her method of teaching and is likely to be extended to a period of at least three months.

VII. UNIVERSITY APPOINTMENTS.

The Senate have re-appointed Mr. Jaygopal Banerjee University Professor of English for another year. Several other re-appointments in different departments of study were also sanctioned by the Senate. Two new appointments have been made in the department of English. Mr. Jitendralal Banerjee and Mr. R. C. Bonnerjee have been appointed part-time lecturers. Both are scholars of repute; it is needless to say that they will strengthen the staff in English and their active association with the teaching side of the University will act as a stimulus to the students.

The Senate on the recommendation of the Post-graduate Executive Committees have appointed Mr. Arthur Mowat, M.A., and Mr. Nibaranchandra Ray, M.A., Extra-mural Lecturers in English and Physics respectively for 1934-35. Both of them belong to Scottish Church College.

VIII. GHOSE TRAVELLING FELLOWSHIPS.

The Rashbehary Ghose Travelling Fellowships for the year have been awarded to Miss Sakuntala Rao, M.A. (Arts), and to Dr. Jogendrachandra Bardhan, D.Sc., and Mr. Bhabeschandra Mookerjee, M.Sc. (Science). This is the first time since the foundation of the endowment by the late Sir Rashbehary Ghose that the Fellowship has been awarded to one of our lady graduates. Miss Rao has done creditable work in Calcutta and those who know her and her work feel confident that she will do full justice to the fellowship granted to her. She will study a subject which is of immense practical value to us, namely, "how far Western methods of women's education can be utilised in India, particularly in Bengal, in consonance with the traditional ideals, psychological, social and religious outlook of India's womanhood, keeping in view the new transitional facts and influences of the present regenerative age."

Dr. Bardhan who is now working in the University College of Science and has already established his reputation as a research worker of first-rate merit, will continue his researches in Synthetical investigations in the Sterol and Oestrain group at the Royal College of Science, London.

Mr. Mookerjee who is now Professor of Physics at St. Paul's College, Calcutta, will undertake investigations into the modern principles of long-distance telephony, picture telegraphy and television, subjects which are capable of immense development in India.

IX. INDIAN UNIVERSITIES AND ROYAL COMMISSIONERS' SCHOLARSHIPS.

The Syndicate have recently taken up the question of participation of students of Indian Universities in the scholarships annually awarded by the Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851 in England. It appears that a number of these scholarships is open to overseas Universities of the British Empire but the Indian Universities are not included in this category. It may be that when the rules were originally framed by the Royal Commissioners, Indian Universities had not attained the status which they now enjoy. There can be no question that Universities in India, at any rate several of them, notably Calcutta, have now made elaborate arrangements for higher teaching and research in various subjects of Arts and Science. The Universities can also legitimately claim to have produced in recent years Indian scholars and advanced students whose activities have won recognition from all parts of the world. It is therefore only fair, to put it mildly, that the students of Indian Universities should have the same chance as students hailing from other Universities of the Empire. The Syndicate have addressed the Secretary of the Inter-University Board on the subject so that the Royal Commissioners may be approached on behalf, not of one, but of all Universities. The Syndicate have also requested the Government of Bengal to take up the matter and to approach the Government of India, so that the latter may also directly address the Royal Commissioners on the subject. In view of the importance of the question, we trust some members of the Indian Legislative Assembly will also be good enough to take the matter in hand.

X. EMPLOYMENT ADVISORY BUREAU AND THE UNIVERSITY.

The Syndicate recently considered the report of the Committee appointed by them dealing with the question of the establishment of an Employment Advisory Bureau, a matter on which the opinion of the University was asked for by the Government of Bengal. The

Committee consisted of Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, Mr. C. C. Biswas, Professor P. N. Banerjee, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and Professor P. N. Ghose. The Syndicate have adopted the report and have addressed Government accordingly.

The Committee point out that while the University should welcome the proposal as a step towards the solution of the problem of unemployment among the educated youths of Bengal, such a bureau by itself can never secure the end in view. It is accordingly suggested that before the work of the bureau can be expected to be successful, there must be an adequate guarantee that it will receive the active co-operation of the various business interests and large-scale employers in the province. Employers must agree to serve on the bureau and its services should be utilised by them at the time of filling up vacancies. We are aware that Employment Bureaus have been established in other provinces in India but most of them have hardly been of any practical help. The Committee have therefore laid special stress on this aspect of the question and have requested Government to ascertain how far the employers would be willing to assist in the actual working of the bureau. The Committee have included in their report a list of employers who in their opinion should be approached by Government for such co-operation.

The Committee have also suggested that the existing Students' Information Bureau, whose main purpose is to assist students who want to proceed to foreign countries for study, may be reorganised and entrusted with the work of the bureau.

The Committee have also expressed their opinion that there should be one bureau for the whole of Bengal which may have a working committee at Dacca.

XI. JOURNAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE.

The University now publish two journals, one of the Department of Letters and another of the Department of Science. The journals are not however published at regular intervals. They contain articles mainly written by University teachers and research-workers and are published when a sufficient number of articles has been collected. A new scheme has just been approved by the Syndicate which will result in the re-organisation of the journal of the Department of Science.

Henceforth it will be regularly published three times a year. It will mainly deal with Botany, Geology, Zoology, Physiology and Anthropology. The reason why Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry have not been included in this list is that three journals dealing with these subjects are already printed at the University Press and are largely contributed to by the members of our staff. These three journals are Bulletin of the Indian Mathematical Society, Journal of the Indian Chemical Society and the Indian Physical Journal. Although the University Journal will deal mainly with the sciences noted above, the Board of Editors may publish monographs dealing with other sciences, if important contributions reach their hands and they consider their publication desirable in the interest of research. We hope the new journal will be able to maintain a high standard of quality of articles and will soon establish its reputation as a first class journal.

XII. NEW AFFILIATIONS.

The following colleges have been granted extension of affiliation in the subjects noted below:—

College.	Subject.	Examination.
Bankura College, Bankura	Bengali (as second language) and Physics.	B.A. and B.Sc.
Bangabasi College, Calcutta	Biology	I.Sc.
Vidyasagar College, Calcutta	Pali	B.A.
Lecro House, Calcutta	Elements of Civics and Economics (Pass).	I.A. and B.A.
Scottish Church College, Calcutta	Zoology	I.Sc.

The Scottish Church College has also been granted permission to open B.T. Classes for women.

XIII. LECTURES BY DR. A. K. DAS.

The Syndicate have thankfully accepted the offer of Dr. A. K. Das, M.A., D.Sc., of the Indian Meteorological Service, now at Alipur Observatory, to deliver a course of three lectures on *The Physics of the Earth*. The lectures will deal with the general topics of Geophysics, such as cosmical evolution of the earth and its atmosphere, the phenomena of the atmosphere in relation to climate and weather and other electrical and optical phenomena of the atmosphere. The lectures are expected to be delivered when the new session begins in July.

XIV. A GIFT FOR ANGLO-INDIAN EDUCATION.

The question of interpreting an indenture of settlement executed by the late Mr. Samuel Saunders in 1903 came before the High Court last month. The University was greatly interested in the matter as there was a provision in the deed that under certain conditions the University would receive a sum of two lacs of rupees for the encouragement of Anglo-Indian education. The grand-daughter of the late Mr. Saunders contested the claim of the University. As there were doubts as to what the effect of the settlement was, the matter came before the High Court for decision. We have no desire to refer to the details here. It will be enough to note that the dispute has ended in a manner which is not entirely unfavourable to the University. The parties have come to a settlement whereby it has been decided that after the death of the grand-daughter and her father and mother, the University will receive a sum of a lac of rupees which will be spent for the purposes contained in the original deed of settlement. We quote below the object for which the University will be entitled to spend the income of this sum :—

“ Out of the income, the University will grant such and so many scholarships and of such amount or amounts per month to the sons or daughters of Anglo-Indians or Eurasians of English, Scotch or Irish descent who having passed the I.A. or I.Sc. Examination of the Calcutta University would be desirous of prosecuting their studies and entering the profession of law, medicine or engineering and tenable for such period or periods as the University may determine.”

The gift was accepted by the Senate on 26th May last. All honour to the memory of the late Mr. Saunders, who though, not a Bengali, had faith in the work of Calcutta University and realised more than 30 years ago the influence which the University was likely to wield in furtherance of the best interests of his community.

XV. HISTORY SYLLABUS FOR B.A.

It will be recalled the syllabus in History for B.A. (Pass and Honours) was revised two years ago. As the syllabus introduced many new changes and the text-books prescribed in accordance therewith were also largely altered, the University, acting on representations received from the colleges, decided to postpone the operation of

the new regulations till the commencement of the session 1934-35. During the last few weeks the University have received further representations from some of the colleges suggesting that the operation of the new regulations might be postponed for a further year. The matter was fully considered at a meeting of the Board of Studies in History. It has been decided that the regulations should be given effect to from the ensuing session. The principal difficulty, it appears, arises out of the fact that a number of alternative subjects has been prescribed. The Board has made it clear that it is not intended, neither is it expected, that each college will make provision for the teaching of *all* these alternative subjects. The Board feels that the colleges will not find it difficult to give effect to the new syllabus if they limit their attention to one of the alternative subjects for the present. It has also been suggested that in July next an informal conference may be held between the members of the Board and the professors of History in the Calcutta Colleges so as to decide how the alternative subjects might be distributed among the colleges in Calcutta. Any agreement at which the colleges might arrive as a result of such deliberations cannot obviously be given effect to before 1935-36. The Syndicate have generally approved of the recommendations of the Board and have directed that the colleges be informed accordingly.

XVI. A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Sukumar Datta, M.A., has been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He submitted a thesis entitled "A Critical Survey of Supernaturalism in English Romantic Poetry, its growth and Phases of Development (1780-1830)," which was examined by a Board consisting of Professor E. Legouis, D.Litt., Professor H. W. Garrod, C.B.E., D.Litt., and Dr. Oliver Elton, M.A., D.Litt. Mr. Dutt is now working as professor of English at Delhi, and is well-known as a sound scholar and a successful teacher. We offer him our congratulations on the new academic honour earned by him.

XVII. SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE MEDALLIST.

The Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal in Letters for 1932 has been awarded to Mr. Nalininath Dasgupta, M.A., the subject of his thesis

being "*History of Vaishnavism in Bengal.*" We offer our congratulations to Mr. Dasgupta on his success.

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XVIII. DACCA BOARD.

Mr. C. C. Biswas and Mr. S. P. Mookerjee have been elected representatives of the University on the Dacca Secondary and Intermediate Board for 1934-35.

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XIX. RECOGNITION OF A LECTURER.

We are glad to find that the Ministry of Education in Persia have recognised the devoted labours of one of our University teachers in the department of Arabic and Persian, Mr. M. Ishaque, M.A. He recently published a book written in Persian dealing with the poets and poetry of Modern Persia. Mr. Ishaque was not satisfied with carrying on his research work in Calcutta and at considerable inconvenience he went to Persia last year and spent a good deal of his time in collecting necessary materials for his book. The book has been very well received and the Persian Government have awarded him a medal in recognition of Mr. Ishaque's work. We offer him our cordial congratulations.

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XX. EXAMINATION RESULTS.

We give below a tabular statement of the results of the I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations, 1934, and also of the medical examinations.

I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations.

	No. of Candidates.		Percentage.		Division.			P.C. of Colleges.	
	Appeared.	Passed.	1934.	1933.	I.	II.	III.	Calcutta.	Mohussif.
I.A.	4,812	2,815	58.7	60.6	862	1,433	520	56.5%	60.77%
I.Sc.	3,574	1,948	54.8	53.6	645	971	332	52%	60%

Medical Examinations.

	Appeared.	Passed.	Percentage.	
			1933.	1934.
Pre. Sc. M.B.	237	167	78.5	70
First M.B.	166	113	68	68
Second M.B.	129	89	69.4	71
Third M.B.	131	105	80.1	83
Final M.B.	217	65		31.4

XXI. NEW FELLOWS.

Three new Fellows have just been appointed by H. E. the Chancellor. They are Mrs. A. N. Chaudhuri, B.A. (Cantab.), Prof. Z. Siddiqi, Ph.D., Asutosh Professor of Islamic Culture at the University, and Mr. Mukunda Behari Mallik, M.A., B.L., M.L.C. We extend to them our cordial welcome.

XXII. NOTIFICATIONS.

(i) *Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectureship on Comparative Religion, Calcutta University.*

The Senate of the University of Calcutta will proceed in the month of July, 1935, to appoint the *Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer* to deliver a course of lectures on *Comparative Religion* at the University.

The lectureship was founded with the object that the Lecturer should endeavour to show that the highest ideal for man lies in love and service to his fellow-men according to the essence of the teaching and life of Christ and that life lived under the guidance of this ideal constitutes the highest advancement of human personality, the acceptance of a particular creed or dogma being of subordinate importance.

The honorarium of the Lecturer will be Rs. 9,000.

The course of the Lectures is required to be delivered in English and is expected to consist of eight lectures which should be delivered not more than twice a week. The lecturer will have to deliver to the University a complete copy of his lectures within a month after their delivery and the copyright in the lectures shall belong to the University.

The lectures are to be delivered during the cold weather of the session 1936-37.

Applications for the Lectureship should reach the Registrar of the University not later than the 30th June, 1935, and should be accompanied by: (a) a brief syllabus indicating the scope of the lectures proposed to be delivered, (b) a statement of the original work or investigation in Comparative Religion which the candidate may have done.

(ii) *Sir Taraknath Palit Professor in Physics.*

1. Applications are invited for the post of the *Sir Taraknath Palit Professor in Physics, Calcutta University.*

2. The salary attached to the Chair is Rs. 800-50-1,000, but in making appointments to the Chair it shall be open to the Senate to offer a higher initial salary in a special case.

3. The Professor shall be a whole-time officer of the University and shall not, without the sanction of the relevant authorities previously obtained, hold any other office to which any salary, emolument or honorarium is attached.

4. The Professor shall be entitled to receive a gratuity according to rules or to the benefit of the University Provident Fund.

5. The Professor shall be eligible for the privilege of regular academic vacations and holidays of the University and shall be subject to such leave rules as the Senate may pass from time to time.

6. The Professor may be placed on probation for a specified period at the end of which the appointment may be made permanent.

7. The Professorship is open only to Indians (that is, person born of Indian parents as contradistinguished from persons who are called statutory natives of India).

8. The duties of the Professor shall be as follows:—

(i) To devote himself to original research in his subjects with a view to extend the bounds of knowledge.

(ii) To stimulate and guide research by advanced students in his special subject in the *University College of Science* and generally to assist such students in post-graduate study and research.

(iii) To superintend the formation and maintenance of the Laboratory of the College of Science in his own subject.

The Professor shall be required to arrange for the adequate instruction of students for the degree of Bachelor of Science with Honours, Master of Science and Doctor of Science and also of other students who may be exceptionally qualified in the subjects concerned although they may not be even under-graduates of any University provided that they be recommended by the Governing Body.

9. The Senate may, on the recommendation of the Governing Body of the Palit Trusts and on such terms as the Senate may decide, require the Professor-elect to receive special training abroad, before entering upon the duties of his office.

10. The Professor may voluntarily resign his appointment at any time upon not less than six months' notice given by him in writing to the University. He shall be liable to removal by the Senate on the ground of misconduct or neglect of duty, if a recommendation to that effect is made by the Governing Body after a full enquiry into specific

charges brought against him, provided that at such enquiry he shall be allowed adequate opportunity to defend himself.

11. The Professor shall ordinarily vacate his office upon completion of the sixtieth year of his age, unless upon the recommendation of the Governing Body the Senate is satisfied that his services should, in the interest of research, be still retained by the University and in such event the Senate may, on the recommendation of the Governing Body, sanction his retention for a period not exceeding 5 years.

Applicants should state their age and full particulars of their academic qualifications and experience in teaching and research in their applications which should be accompanied by a précis of the particulars to be furnished in a statement form which may be obtained from the Registrar.

Applications, with copies of testimonials (which will not be returned) must reach the Registrar, Calcutta University, on or before the 30th June, 1934.

(iii) Lecturer in Statistics, University of Madras.

Applications which should reach the Registrar, University of Madras, Triplicane P. O., Madras, on or before the 29th June, 1934, have been invited for the post of a Lecturer in Statistics on a salary of Rs. 210-15 (annual)-300 per mensem. The appointment will be in the first instance for a period of three years and subject to confirmation thereafter. The lecturer will be required to deliver lectures, conduct classes, and to engage in research and to assist in any other academical work relating to the Departments of the University which require his services. Applicants for the post are requested to forward their applications (9 copies) containing full particulars as to age, nationality, present position and salary, academic and other qualifications, teaching and research experience in general and in the subject, together with copies of recent testimonials and names of two persons to whom a reference can be made.

(iv) Lecturer in Telegu, University of Madras.

Applications which should reach the Registrar, University of Madras, Triplicane P. O., Madras, not later than 22nd June, 1934, have been invited for the post of Junior Lecturer in Telegu in the Oriental Research Institute, on a salary of Rs. 150-10-200. Applicants must be scholars in Telegu. Preference will be given to

who possess a knowledge of English. Claims of distinguished pandits in traditional learning and holders of Oriental Titles Examination Diplomas who have pursued advanced study and research will be specially considered. Applications which should be accompanied by testimonials and references, must contain detailed particulars in the following respects: viz.; (1) age, (2) nationality, (3) academic distinctions, (4) languages known and standard of proficiency in each, (5) advanced studies pursued and research done, (6) publications if any, and (7) present position.

(v). *Imperial Mycologist, Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research, Pusa.*

Applications which should reach the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Simla, not later than 14th June, 1934, have been invited for the post of Imperial Mycologist at the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research, Pusa. A candidate must be a British subject and (a) have a post-graduate degree in Botany, or its equivalent, (b) have specialised in Mycology and produce evidence of his capacity to conduct direct research work in that subject, and (c) have had experience of research work, preferably in a University or Agricultural College. The salary attached to the post is (a) for a person, not already in Government service Rs. 275-300 (probationary period), 325-25 650 (efficiency bar)-35-1,000, plus a special pay of Rs. 150 per month. Initial pay which is not subject to emergency cut, shall be determined according to qualifications; (b) for an officer already in permanent Government service (other than the Indian Agricultural service) according to the substantive pay which he is drawing at the date of his appointment; and (c) for a member of the Indian Agricultural service, his pay, in the time scale of that service (subject to the emergency cut) with a special pay Rs. 200-50-400, subject to conditions. The post is permanent but appointment will be on probation for 2 years. Application forms and further particulars can be obtained from the Secretary, Public Service Commission, "Kennedy House Annexe," Simla. Applicants for forms must state the name of the post for which they apply.

(vi) *Colorado School of Mines, Golden, Colorado.*

A communication from the Government of India, regarding the offer of a scholarship to an Indian student, by the Colorado School

of Mines, Golden, Colorado, has been received by the Secretary, Inter-University Board, India, who has been requested to invite applications for the same from the different universities. Applicants should therefore forward their candidature to their respective universities so as to reach the Registrar on or before 9th June, 1934, who will send all applications so received to the Secretary, Inter-University Board in due course. The applications will be forwarded to the Government of India, who will make the selection of the scholar and send his application with their recommendation to the authorities of the Colorado School of Mines, for consideration.

The Scholarship exempts the holder from the payment of all laboratory and tuition fees, but does not include exemption from deposits, Matriculation and Student fees, nor certain fees in Geophysics. This scholarship is for a period of four years or any part thereof, but must be used continuously. The value of the tuition and the laboratory fees will average approximately \$250 per year or \$1,000 for the four year course. This scholarship makes no provision for living or other expenses. The School of Mines offers courses leading to degrees in mining, engineering, metallurgical engineering, geological engineering and petroleum engineering. Electric courses in coal mining, fuel engineering, geophysics, and the production and utilization of cements, refractories, clays and other non-metallic minerals also offered.

Applicants for Scholarships must satisfy the entrance requirements. Their scholastic standing should be at least in the upper third of their high school preparatory, or college classes. Students who have had several years of College work as well as those who have recently completed their secondary or preparatory education are, if other conditions are met, eligible for the scholarship. Applicants should be vigorous, both mentally and physically, and should possess character, courage, determination, force and the ability to think clearly. Specifically, they should possess scholarship and also those other qualifications essential to the making of a *successful engineer*. Students already in attendance at the School of Mines are not eligible for this scholarship.

(vi) *Senior Botanical Assistant, Institute of Plant Industry, Indore.*

Applications, on forms to be obtained from the Director, Institute of Plant Industry, Indore, which should reach the Director not
been invited for the post of

Assistant, to the above Institute. The post will carry a salary of Rs. 250-25-375 per mensem subject to a 5 per cent. emergency cut. Candidates must hold an advanced degree in Botany or Agriculture and have research experience in Genetics or Agricultural Botany. Knowledge of modern development in the statistics of small samples is desirable.

